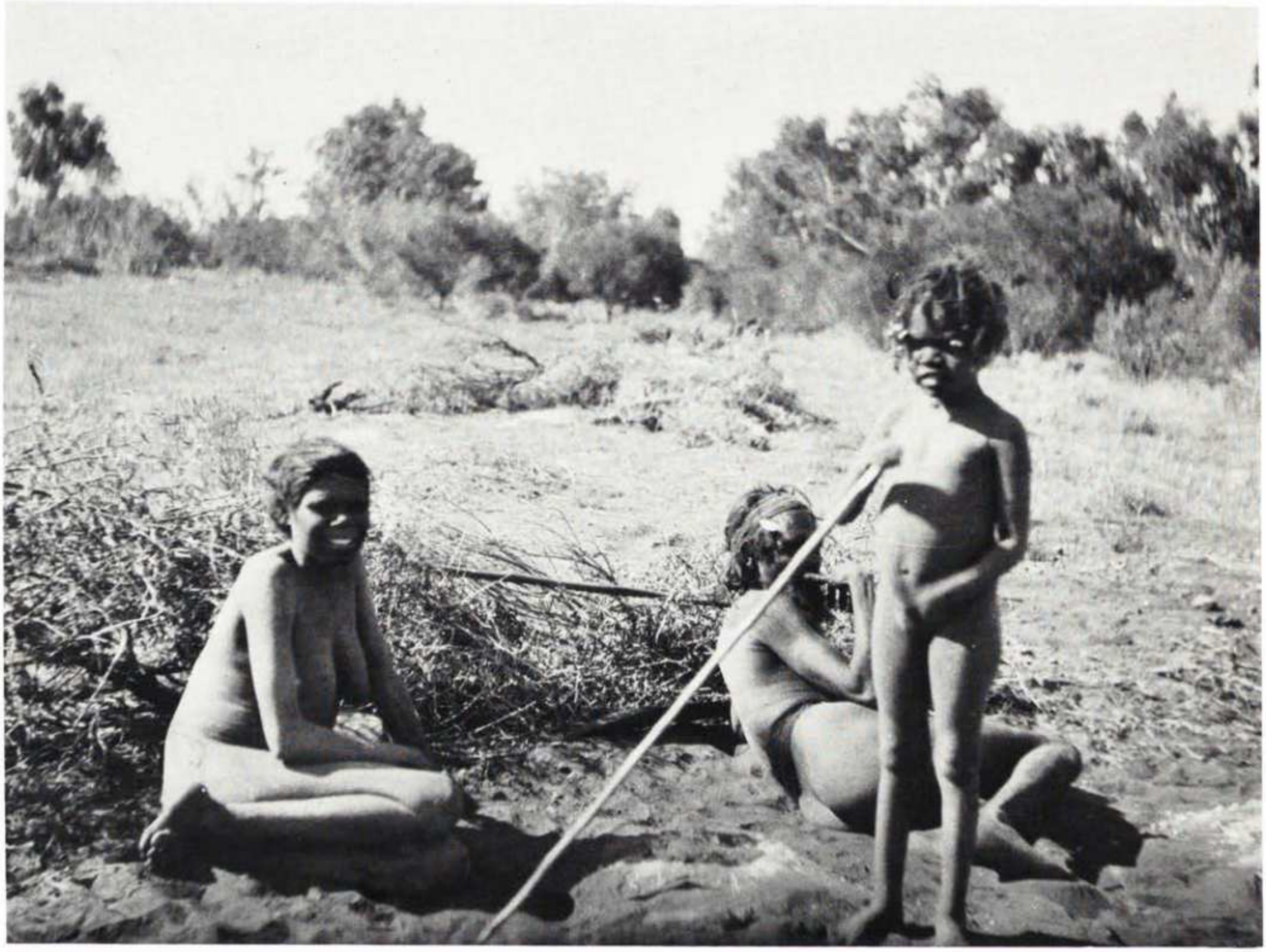
ABORIGINAL TRIBES OF AUSTRALIA

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Frontispiece. Camp of man, wife, and first child, Ngadadjara tribe, at Warupuju, Warburton Ranges, Western Australia, in August 1935. It is situated on bank of a dry sandy creek with river red gum trees (*Eucalyptus camaldulensis*) marking its course.

ABORIGINAL TRIBES OF AUSTRALIA

Their Terrain, Environmental Controls, Distribution, Limits, and Proper Names

By NORMAN B. TINDALE

With an Appendix on Tasmanian Tribes
by RHYS JONES

AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY PRESS
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ERRATA

ABORIGINAL TRIBES OF AUSTRALIA

Because of a technical error, for which the author is not responsible, all color plates except no. 32 are printed in reverse as mirror images.

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To the memory of Father Ernest A. Worms
whose active encouragement, beginning in
the year 1952, led to the preparation of
this work in its present form.

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Acknowledgments

During the fifty years of my inquiries into the distribution of Australian tribes, I have become indebted to many people for data and help.

First and foremost I pay tribute to the several thousand people of Australian aboriginal descent who have contributed from their direct knowledge, great or small, of their own and their neighbors' territories, and thus have laid the foundation for the present study. Many of their names appear in the dozen or more folio volumes of genealogies preserved in the South Australian Museum that form an unpublished background for this work.

Directly and indirectly, the continuing series of expeditions organized through the Board for Anthropological Research of the University of Adelaide for the study of the aborigines have been supported by the South Australian government and by the several research foundations that are interested in recording primary data on the development of man and his institutions. They include the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Guggenheim Foundation, the National Science Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. The last-named organization twice made direct grants, enabling me to check data in the field. This support has continued up to the time of publication.

So far as has been practicable, the help given by other researchers has been directly linked with the reference section attached to each tribal listing, but the influence of general discussions cannot be overlooked, although it would be impossible to record more than a portion of the general contributions. In mentioning the following names, I realize that they reflect only a cross section of those who provided stimulus and data. Because of the long period involved, a quasi-historical arrangement would have been best, perhaps, to outline the contributions of other research workers. Many have continued their help up to the present time, but some of those who first influenced and encouraged me have since passed away and their names can be mentioned now only as tributes to their memories.

Commencing with Walter Baldwin Spencer, who gave me instruction to assist me in fulfilling my first assignment of a year and a half on Groote Eylandt in 1921–1922, the list of those who have directly helped, inspired, or debated with me virtually represents a catalog of the more notable contributors to knowledge in the field of Australian anthropology. My first teachers were Henry Kenneth Fry, the social anthropologist, J. Fitzherbert in linguistics, and Douglas Mawson in the geology of the Pleistocene and Recent.

Fellow workers on the Board for Anthropological Research, from its inception in 1926, who contributed directly to the study of tribal situations, include Murray J. Barrett, Thomas Draper Campbell, John B. Cleland, Frank J. Fenner, Henry K. Fry, Hugo Gray, C. Stanton Hicks, T. Harvey Johnston, R. LeMessurier, Brian G. Maegraith, Charles P. Mountford, Robert H. Pulleine. E. O. Stocker, and Leslie Wilkie.

Others linked with the work through the South Australian Museum include Peter Aitken, Herbert T. Condon, Harold M. Cooper, Robert Edwards, Charles E. Fenner, Herbert M. Hale, Walter Howchin, Arthur M. Lea, Graeme L. Pretty, Edward Charles Stirling, R. A. Stirton, Richard H. Tedford, and Edgar R. Waite.

Workers who have shared fieldwork with me include Herbert M. Hale in the Flinders Ranges and north Queensland, John Greenway, Cecil J. Hackett, Walter V. Macfarlane, and Peter Aitken in the Western Desert, and Donald J. Tugby in western New South Wales. Peter Aitken was a most helpful associate also on memorable field trips to the Gulf of Carpentaria in 1960 and 1963.

In 1936–37 while traveling as a Fellow of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, I met Alfred L. Kroeber and Carl O. Sauer at the Berkeley campus of the University of California, T. Griffith Taylor at the University of Chicago, and Earnest A. Hooton at Harvard University. Through Hooton, I met Joseph

B. Birdsell. Because of their efforts I was able, a year later, to lead into the field, with Birdsell as my associate, the Harvard-Adelaide Universities Anthropological Expedition of 1938–1939. Although interrupted by the outbreak of World War II, one outcome of the expedition was the appearance in 1940 of a preliminary edition of a Tribal Map, published by the Royal Society of South Australia, defining the territorial limits and proper names of the tribespeople we had encountered, together with a preliminary assessment of the available literature on areas we had not been able to cover.

After a decade of interruption, our work together was resumed with Birdsell as leader of the UCLA–Adelaide Universities Anthropological Expedition of 1952–1954. Areas in northwestern Australia and the Northern Territory, neglected or unknown earlier, were covered. The associations with Birdsell have continued to the present day in shared field data and discussion. Although we have consciously tried to keep our results independent for the better furtherance of our several aims, I acknowledge with great pleasure the avenues of help and the stimulus of his discussions, both in private and in joint seminars at the University of California in Los Angeles.

Roy T. Simmons, a recipient of most of our serological material, contributed much to an understanding of the underlying differences between some of the several peoples both Birdsell and I have studied.

When the urgency of obtaining additional information became apparent, a further field support came from my own institution, the South Australian Museum, with the strong backing of the Wenner-Gren Foundation and the help of other colleagues, notably Walter V. Macfarlane of the Waite Research Institute in Adelaide and John Greenway of the University of Colorado. Fieldwork continued in the 1950s and in 1964 contacts were made with members of the last of the hitherto unknown Western Desert tribes. They proved to be the Ildawongga of the vicinity of Jupiter Creek. In 1965 and 1966 further field contacts with another new people, who proved to be an isolated group of the Ngadadjara, living near Tekateka, brought the active gathering phase toward a conclusion. Field checking continued with the assistance of the Wenner-Gren Foundation until late in 1972 and the work then took its present form.

The inspiration and help afforded by Ernest A. Worms is acknowledged elsewhere in this text.

To John H. Calaby I am indebted for discussions on the distribution and life cycle of the dingo and of the fox, as aid to a possible estimate of the degree of stability of tribal distributions in Australia. Gordon Flinders Gross, acting Director of the South Australian Museum, helped in supplying vocabulary and other data on the Antakirinja tribe in northern South Australia.

Mrs. K. Emmerson of Chinchilla, Queensland, provided helpful discussion, some of which is acknowledged in the main text. My daughter, Beryl Rae (Mrs. Ronald) George, in the course of her studies, checked manuscripts associated with the early South Australian pioneer Simpson Newland, who wrote of the Encounter Bay, Darling, and Paroo Rivers tribespeoples.

General field support goes back to the men, including the Reverend Hubert E. Warren, Alfred J. Dyer, H. L. Perriman, Jellani of Makassar, and others with whom I shared the excitements and occasional perils of the detailed exploration of Groote Eylandt in 1921–1922. I acknowledge also the help afforded me in 1922 by Constable Raymond R. Bridgeland of Leichhardt Bar on the Roper River, and the station people of the then remote Elsie and Hodgson Downs ranches who provided both transport and aboriginal help in my study of Roper River tribes in the Northern Territory.

J. A. Heinrich at the Hermannsburg Mission in the Northern Territory in 1929 and other helpers since, too numerous to mention, smoothed our way in subsequent years. Alan Brumby, my camel team leader during travels in the Western Desert in 1933 in company with Cecil J. Hackett, along with Munji and her two daughters, afforded much help because of their intimate knowledge of Pitjandjara ways.

No acknowledgment would be complete without reference to the indefatigable help afforded by the Chief Patrol Officer of the Western Desert Reserves, Walter B. MacDougall, who took me to places far from any existing tracks and introduced me to people such as the Nakako, who had not till then known of our world.

It should not be forgotten that Murray Newman, an aged Wudjari tribesman, was able to link me with the kodja ax using past generation of the people of the Esperance district, and that William Hamlet, another most intelligent first generation mixblood of the Wadjari tribe of the Murchison River district in Western Australia, provided some of the important final links necessary to our understanding of the earlier distribution of peoples in parts of Western Australia.

Of many Australian aboriginal helpers, my most grateful tribute is to the late Clarence Long (Milerum of the Tanganekald tribe of the Coorong in South Australia) who for nearly ten years, until 1941, worked to furnish me with a detailed picture of the several peoples of the lower Murray River in South Australia. He had known my mother from the time they met as children in Kingston, when he was first brought out of the bush with his parents to face a new life in the strange world of Western man.

In later stages of the work I was much assisted by lists, map compilations, and direct checks made by Theodore George Henry Strehlow for the Aranda tribal areas, William E. H. Stanner in the Daly River region, Bernhard Schebeck, Annette Hamilton, and Nicolas Peterson in Arnhem Land, while Ronald M. Berndt and C. G. von Brandenstein provided similar data for parts of Western Australia. A most helpful list of languages and informants for northern Queensland was made available by LaMont West, Jr., and this gave very accurate checks on names, once we were able to come to a mutual understanding of his phonetic vehicle. J. Gavan Breen provided data on tribes and languages in western Queensland. Unfortunately his final study came too late for detailed consideration and should be consulted for finer details in that area.

I am particularly indebted to Rhys Jones for providing, at short notice, a summary of his analysis of data available on the former tribes of Tasmania. He was able to fill the gap when it was discovered that the best available base map for this work was designed to include Tasmania. The appendix, together with the short separate bibliography of the literature on Tasmanian tribes, is entirely his work. Much new Tasmanian material has become available through the efforts of N. J. B. Plomley in editing the diaries of George A. Robinson, 1828–1834, hence it was considered desirable to provide preliminary indications only by quoting the assigned English names currently believed to denote valid tribe-sized groups in Tasmania, pending a more detailed consideration of lists of possible valid native names for these and for the smaller band-sized units. In my absence in the United States, Rhys Jones also advised the cartographer during some critical phases of the drawing of the map.

For the use of the base map, I am indebted to the Department of National Mapping in Canberra. They provided the basic drawings on which were superimposed the tribal data. Through the Prehistory Department of Australian National University, Miss Winifred Mumford made the four sheet drawings of the final map that appears in this work. No special tribute is necessary, for the magnificent result speaks for itself.

In final stages of the work Derek John Mulvaney and Jack Golson not only assisted by making available services in the Prehistory Department of the Australian National University, but also assisted in negotiations that have helped the project to reach the press.

Kathleen (Mrs. Robert) Edwards and Verna Richardson in Adelaide shared in the ordering and typing of the final manuscript from the almost innumerable pieces of information upon which it was based. Their skills in reading my handwriting were often better than my own.

My first wife, Dorothy May Tindale, who died in 1969, had helped in the compilation of references, and in an earlier period, during the Harvard-Adelaide Expedition of 1938–39, she had gathered much information relevant to the views on life of aboriginal women. Muriel Nevin Tindale, my present wife, has shared in fieldwork in Queensland and Western Australia, during the past two years, while I was checking data gathered in former years.

Harold E. Burrows of the South Australian Museum drew the originals of several of the detailed maps, and for figure 16 I had the skilled help of Hans E. Gunther of the Human Geography Department of the Australian National University through the courtesy of R. G. Ward of that department.

Contributions from the literature in confirmation of field results in general are indicated in the appropriate places. Nevertheless it is a duty and pleasure to record in a special appreciative note the debt of all anthropologists to Robert Hamilton Mathews, a South Australian licensed surveyor, who, in the last years of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth, working alone and without research aid, expert direction, and the encouragement of any one organization, brought together primary data on the Australian aborigines in more than 185 papers. A few years ago it was fashionable to decry his work, but my years of field survey have convinced me that the facts given by Mathews, where they have been checked and properly understood, pass all tests. The manner in which Mathews's data on tribes has fallen squarely into place, item by item, has given me a profound respect for his integrity and zeal in the

pursuit of knowledge of the aborigines. Perhaps we are more indebted to Mathews than we realize, for even those versed in Australian literature may not have noticed how often his work was absorbed into the writings of A. R. Brown, one of his detractors, in such a manner as to obscure the fact that he was quoting rather than reporting primary data.

One of the earlier records of the method of obtaining native maps from aborigines, using crayons or pencils and sheets of paper, is given by Daisy M. Bates (1913:74). She describes in some detail results of such gatherings from a Wadjari tribesman. Unfortunately, her maps have not been traced, but her data plotted on a large scaled map gives a pattern comparable with that obtained by conventional inquiries in later years. My own use of the technique, together with drawings on ceremonial matters, was independently initiated, in company with Robert H. Pulleine, among the Iliaura in 1930, at Macdonald Downs in the Northern Territory. The method was subsequently much used by later-coming members of the Expeditions of the University of Adelaide.

The photographic plates are in two series, numbered separately. The photographs in color are given in the text as color plate 1 and the black and white reproductions as simply plate 1, and so on. These illustrations have been chosen for the specific purpose of describing the Australian tribal situation. Most of them are referred to in the main text; the others appear as illustrating aspects dealt with in the Catalog of Tribes. It was not considered desirable to place them strictly in the order of their appearance in the text but rather to group them so that they would tell their own story. Since this book deals with the ethnographic present in a rapidly changing society, it has been considered desirable to indicate the year, and where relevant the month, the photograph was taken.

The color photographs, with some obvious exceptions, are intended to illustrate some of the ecological settings in which the people of individual tribes live. Such features are best illustrated in color. Most of the photographs used were taken by myself. I am indebted to J. C. LeSouef for access to the drawings of Pangerang aborigines shown in color plates 43–46 and for other information. E. J. Stuart kindly offered the use of his photograph of Sunday Island raft users, plate 3, and I am indebted to Professor Hans Petri for the use of the photograph of the pearl shell ornament shown as plate 73. B. H. Stinnear permitted the use of two photographs taken on the A. T. Wells Geological Expedition during 1957 at Madaleiri in Western Australia.

On the technical side of the production of this work, I am particularly indebted to the editor, Shirley L. Warren, and for help at all stages from James Kubeck and Alain Hénon. Professor Walter Goldschmidt initiated the idea of the publication of the work by the University of California Press at a time when I was a member of the staff of the University of California at Los Angeles. The work on the manuscript was completed at Malibu, California, and given to the University of California Press on 8 November 1971; a few additions were made for the Queensland area in December 1972.

Finally, an invitation to a Fellowship in the Research School of Pacific Studies, at the Australian National University, Canberra, extended to me through Professor Derek Freeman, has enabled last-minute details to be taken care of in a most stimulating setting and in close collaboration with my longtime field associate, Joseph B. Birdsell, who kindly read through the completed work in proof form.

12 October 1973 Norman B. Tindale

Introduction

HOW TO USE THIS BOOK

The arrangement of this book leads the reader to a detailed discussion of the ecology, nomenclature, and structure of the Australian tribe.

Anyone seeking direct information about a specific area or about tribes in a known place may go directly to the tribal map of Australia where he will find the name of each tribe set out with a systematic phonetic rendering according to the International Phonetic System, together with information as to what is known about the limits of its distribution. He can then check the information available in Part II: Catalog of Australian Aboriginal Tribes which is arranged on a statewide basis. In the catalog, tribes are listed in alphabetical order, according to the Geographic II spelling versions of the names.

Anyone researching a name that purports to be of tribal status should go to the list of valid tribes and, if unsuccessful, to the list of variant spellings which will direct him to the acceptable version of the name, give its Geographic II rendering and state list in which he will find full details of its location and the coordinates of the center of its geographical location. These coordinates have been read to the nearest five minutes on maps of the World Aeronautical Chart series I C A O 1:1,000,000. Such maps are readily available for those who need very detailed information. The listed numbers for sheets covering the area of Australia studied in this work are: 3097–3099, 3108–3112, 3219–3223, 3229–3235, 3340–3346, 3351–3357, 3456–3459, 3461–3462, 3469–3470, and 3556. The map of tribes was originally compiled on the above listed aeronautical charts and then the data transferred to a late map developed by the Division of National Mapping, Department of National Development in Canberra. This is on a simple conic projection with standard parallels 18°S and 36°S. The four sheets of this map are of course on a far smaller scale, hence do not carry all the names available on the large scaled charts. Some names of particular importance to anthropologists have been added, others will not be present. Fortunately, the Reader's Digest *Complete Atlas of Australia* (Sydney, 1968) is based on the above-mentioned aeronautical sheets and thus may be profitably consulted where additional details are required.

Using the coordinates listed in the catalog, and observing the international phonetic version of the name printed on the right-hand side of the listing, it should be easy to find the position of the tribe on the map. A check with the index will show whether the tribe has received important notice in the general text.

In the catalog a Geographic II rendering is given on the left-hand side of the column with a closer phonetic version on the right. A brief description of the location of the tribe is given in terms of present-day place names. This description supports the boundaries given on the map, firmly drawn when these are well established and shown in barred or dotted line when less clearly established. Then follows an indication of the center of the area occupied by the tribe together with an estimate of the effective area given in square miles and square kilometers. This figure is a broad approximation, no more correct as a rule than a calculation to the nearest 100 square miles, except in the case of tribes occupying very small areas. The original calculations were made using square miles; the metric versions are also broad-brush approximations. A list of alternative names and spellings follows. Some effort has been made to indicate the more valid alternatives at the beginning of the list with poorer versions following in descending "pecking order," but this could not be followed at all times. Names given by other tribes are listed in the general form—Njiabali (of western neighbors), Loritja (Aranda term, derogatory), and so on. Finally, a list is given of the principal references consulted in the preparation of this work. It could not and does not pretend to be a complete statement. Full titles of the works are to be found in the Bibliography.

The phonetic transcription employed on the map is an adaptation of the International Phonetic Alphabet arranged by a language Committee at the University of Adelaide, with additions (Tindale, 1935, 1937, 1940; Capell, 1940). For convenience the symbols employed may be summarized as follows:

CONSONANTS

	Labial	*Interdental*	*Alveolar*	*Palatal*	*Cerebral*	*Velar*
Plosives	b p	ď ť	d t	dj tj	ḍ ṭ	g k
Fricatives	v w		ð θ	j	ṛ	w h
Nasals	m	ň	n	nj	gn	ŋ
Rolled			lightly r ř strongly			
Lateral			l	lj	ḷ	

VOWELS

[i] it, machine
[e] there
[ẹ] allez (French), almost they
[ə] earth, nurse
[a] father, Mann (German)
[a] cat
[ă] cut
['] stress mark at beginning of stressed syllable
[ˤ] glottal stop
[u] full, food
[o] comme (French), *almost* not
[ọ] obey, *almost* oak
[ei] they
(ai) light
[au] Haus (German), *almost* house
[oi] boy
[:] indicates lengthened vowel or consonant
[ ] indicates that isolated word in general text is phonetically transcribed

A median course has been chosen in the differentiation of vowel sounds. This may have perpetuated some slight errors, but these are perhaps of less importance, since the pronunciation of vowels is subject to variation in the mouths of the aborigines themselves.

In some loose transcriptions, even though placed within square brackets, [ŋ] may be written as [ng]. This usually is done when the source was an earlier note in which the ng and ngg were not specifically differentiated, hence a slight measure of doubt may remain. It will be understood that in the text ng is pronounced as in *singer* and ngg, as in *finger*.

In the past, mistakes made by reason of the absence of accurate phonetic renderings have been responsible for much confusion. In the parts of Australia where there are many different prefixes and suffixes associated with names, further confusion and unnecessary duplication of tribal terms have resulted. There are also often wide variations of current usage within a single tribe, as instanced by Tindale (1935:264). In this case there were half-a-dozen variants for the name Pitjandjara, of which the most frequently employed was chosen for use in the catalog.

The Queensland tribal name Maithakari ['Maiðakari], which tends to vary as ['Maiðəkuri] and ['Maiḍakadi], is an illuminating example of the additional hazards of recording introduced by the range of the imperfect attempts at transcription made in past times. The normal variation of [r] to [d], which is indicated in the above phonetic transcriptions, has probably helped to amplify the confusion. Attempted spellings of this tribal name include Mitakoodi, Mitakudi, Mitro(o)-goordi, Mit(t)agurdi, Maitakudi, Maidhagudi, Mayatagoori, Mythuggadi, and Mythaguddi. In the first four names the first vowel written as "i" evidently should be given the value of the diphthong [ai]. The [ď] sound has been variously attempted and it is evident that lack of a sure phonetic vehicle has been responsible for the majority of the seeming differences. Each transcriber probably had confidence in his own rendering, but on the basis of the literature, without any field control, David S. Davidson (1938) preferred *Mitakudi* which, read phonetically according to his system, might have perpetuated an error originally caused by lack of a phonetic vehicle.

A glaring fault in old Australian vocabularies, extending to tribal names, is the defective hearing and transcription of nasal sounds. This is marked in the rendering of [ŋ], as in singer by [gn] thus producing *Gnuin* for ['ŋewin], a tribal name in the Northern Territory; *gnamma* for ['ŋama] meaning a rockhole of water; *Wongkognuru* for ['Woŋkaŋuru], another tribal name. Some of these errors of hearing, or transcribing, are so confirmed in popular use that critical observations to the contrary are apt to be decried and ignored. The error is the more insidious since occasional fieldworkers who should know or listen more carefully have found difficulties in discriminating between [ŋ] and [gn], habitually using [gn] in place of [ŋ] in speaking aboriginal words, especially those with initial [ŋ]. The cerebral nasal [gn] does occur but is rare. Still others are completely tone deaf to initial [ŋ] and leave it out of their transcriptions; others replace it with [n]. In the body of this work I draw attention to

such errors, which occasionally mar the work even of some present-day researchers.

The extraordinary variety of spellings given by the authors of papers on aborigines and in the popular press are a result of several factors: (1) a general lack of a stable phonetic vehicle among English users; (2) a general lack of training and interest in phonetics; and (3) the undoubted variations engendered by the aborigines themselves. Lack of appreciation of the prefixes and suffixes associated with the transmission of the name to the observer is also a factor. The several "schools" of Australian anthropologists have not, by their actions, helped to achieve uniformity, while Italian, Dutch, American, Scandinavian, and German visitors have heard some sounds indifferently, often adding their phonetic peculiarities and the idiosyncrasies of spelling found in their own languages. Among the best and earliest trained recorders of the nineteenth century were undoubtedly the three German missionaries from Dresden—Christian G. Teichelmann, C. W. Schürmann, and Heinrich A. E. Meyer—who arrived in South Australia in the late 1830s and were at pains to work with the then governor, Captain George Grey (later Sir George), in preparing a stable orthography that dominated all recordings by South Australian workers for many years. It is a sad commentary on the Australian university educational systems that after 140-odd years their shining example of careful phonetic transcriptions have not been standardized or emulated by more than a handful of modern workers.

As many published variations as possible are listed in the catalog; casual minor errors have been passed over. Arbitrary phonemic conversions of correctly written unvoiced and voiced spellings, done merely for the sake of conformity to special systems and not obtained in the course of fieldwork, are generally ignored. Their inclusion would almost double some paragraphs of the catalog without adding one jot of wisdom to the whole. By means of Part III, Alternatives, Variant Spellings, and Invalid Terms, the reader will generally be led to the tribal name and spelling considered most desirable. The aim has been to transcribe the names carefully enough to be approved by the aborigines to whom they are of primary concern. In searching the literature it seems evident that no previous writer has had the privilege of setting up standards of phonetic accuracy and then being able to gather and check in the field, over a whole continent, on the detailed scale that has been possible through the several research opportunities afforded me. In addition to regular fieldwork, association with anthropometric teams has made it possible to hear and to have tribal data supplied and checked by over eight thousand individuals at nearly one hundred different field stations covering all the states of Australia.

HOW THE STUDY BEGAN

The beginning of this work can be traced to a year long association in 1921 and 1922 on Groote Eylandt, in the Gulf of Carpentaria, with Maroadunei an old Ngandi tribe songmaker from the interior of Arnhem Land (pl. 1). He became my personal helper during a twelve-month residence among the then little known Ingura tribesmen. Tim, the white man's name he liked to be called, had been for many years a carrier of trade parcels of unifacially flaked quartzite blades of *leilira* type, used as spearheads and knives, from the stone mines east of the Katherine River in southern Arnhem Land. For half of his adult life he had traveled through much of eastern Arnhem Land, keeping south of the border of the spread of the rite of circumcision, singing and dreaming up new songs for ceremonies, and on occasion introducing new drone-pipe rhythms to the people of the several tribes among whom he was a welcome guest. These songs and his neatly wrapped trade parcels were his passport to visit distant tribes and to see places denied to most tribesmen.

It was he who introduced me to the idea of the existence of tribal boundaries, limits beyond which it was dangerous to move without adequate recognition. His account of the tribespeople he had visited and his guidance in the matter of vocabulary changes enabled the writing of a paper containing data and a map of southern Arnhem Land tribes (Tindale, 1925). The editor to whom it was submitted refused to accept a map with finite boundaries, making the assertion, then popularly believed, that aborigines roamed at will over the whole country—free wanderers. By a compromise the dotted lines that appear on the map were permitted to remain and the paper was accepted.

From this time onward, my attention was focused on items of information that had a bearing on territoriality. In 1927 I was appointed Curator of Anthropology at the South Australian Museum, and the many field research opportunities that came in the following forty years were used to glean further data by direct contact with aboriginal peoples.

The aims of this work are modest. It places in the hands of the interested reader and the researcher in anthropology a summary of results of these years of inquiry into the distribution, structure, and nomenclature of all the valid tribal groupings to be met on the Australian continent. A detailed purpose of the study, as outlined afresh in 1936, under the influence of Alfred L. Kroeber at Berkeley, California, was to provide accurate

information for the study and delimitation of unit traits of culture. In the same year, under the influence of Earnest A. Hooton of Harvard, who realized the importance of having accurate knowledge of tribal distributions and boundaries for studies in anthropometry and serology, the directions of study were even more clearly defined. It was through Hooton's influence that in 1937 the Carnegie Corporation of New York set up a generous fund to enable major fieldwork to be done by me, with my chosen fellow worker, Joseph B. Birdsell. The work began under the joint auspices of Harvard and Adelaide universities. The teamwork and studies so auspiciously commenced in 1938 have continued up to the present so that the content of this work is in a true sense a product of a team, one of whose aims was focused on providing the most accurate delineation of the Australian tribe it was possible to achieve. In later years many other organizations helped with the project and their contributions are acknowledged in detail in the Acknowledgments.

In 1939 the Royal Society of South Australia accepted for publication a text and map (Tindale, 1940) that summarized the data gathered by the Harvard-Adelaide Universities Anthropological Expedition of 1938–1939.

World War II intervening, other duties prevailed. It was 1947 before further active work was possible, and this has continued to the present.

The disturbed state of the world after 1945 at first prevented all but small-scale studies. Many valued informants had died of old age, and first efforts, therefore, were devoted to recording what data remained in Victoria and southern South Australia, with more extended visits to Ooldea to follow up work begun in 1934.

In 1952 Birdsell, who was by then Professor of Anthropology at the University of California, Los Angeles, received research support for the continuation of our studies from the Guggenheim Foundation, the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, and the National Science Foundation. As a result, a new anthropological expedition was organized under the joint auspices of the University of California, Los Angeles, and the University of Adelaide. We commenced work at Tartanga, on the Murray River in South Australia in November 1952, and the expedition continued in the field with some changes in personnel until 1954. Work was concentrated in Western Australia and the Northern Territory, enabling detailed coverage of much of the area left untouched and therefore poorly documented in the 1930s.

In 1952 and 1953, when preparing for this fieldwork in northwestern Australia, I was much helped by a series of letters from Father Ernest A. Worms, S.A.C. (d. 1963). In these he discussed tribal distributions. His communications continued for many years. One dated February 7, 1953, was most encouraging: "I admire the work which you have put into this important catalog. It should appear in a special book form as I am quite sure it would find many more friends." From this time onward, my thoughts were of a book that could be dedicated to him as one of my most learned and inspired friends and associates.

During the 1950s and 1960s there were many other major field trips during which data were gathered: Central Australia 1951, 1953, 1956, 1965; Western Desert 1957, 1963, 1966; Mornington and Bentinck Islands and northern Queensland 1960, 1963; Western Australia 1961, 1964, 1966, 1968, as well as shorter visits to many places in New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia.

Meetings with the Tekateka horde of the Ngadadjara in 1966 and interviews with the Jupiter Creek group of Ildawongga tribespeople at Papunja in central Australia enabled us to fill in the last major gaps in our knowledge of the distribution of Australian tribes, and with diminishing returns of new information obtainable from reading of the literature, serious thought was given to publication.

A Wenner-Gren Foundation grant was approved in 1968 for the purpose of completing and drawing the map, which summarizes a considerable part of the information that has been brought together. This book is thus the outcome of numerous field expeditions to study the aborigines of Australia. Its first aim is to give a clear picture of the distribution of the approximately 600 tribes of hunting men, who have existed until modern times in the manner of our own Stone Age ancestors. These early Australians have been living on the Australian continent since well before the coldest days of the last (Wisconsin) Ice Age, having arrived at least 40,000 years ago. The study also tries to indicate the dynamic forces that placed and held the aborigines in their individual territories in the remotest part of the Eastern World.

Understanding of the ways of these age-old people has great importance for all men who would wish to know something of the slow and often painful steps by which early modern man approached the New Stone Age and the more settled ways of the civilization we enjoy. They are the largest and most widely spread group of simple hunting man still on earth, and they give us a picture of life situations that probably are similar to many of those our own distant ancestors must have faced. They occupied a whole continent and were molded in various ways by their often hostile environment and by the serious

problems of obtaining a living by preying on wild game and by finding roots, nuts, corms, and the seeds of grasses and other plants to fill their needs.

The principal theme of this book and its accompanying maps, after first giving an outline picture of these people and their ways of life, is focused on telling as much as has been learned of the distribution, size, composition, and dynamics of the Australian tribes and the history of the aborigines in terms of tribal placement. Important parts of the text and map therefore are lists of all established tribes, together with the various alternative names, synonyms, nicknames, incorrect and mistaken terms assigned to them, and with summaries of the principal misspellings and other stupidities of understanding that have arisen about them in the course of time.

Whenever possible there is a concise account of the known boundaries and areas and a précis of any recorded recent natural tribal displacements. I have endeavored to give a clear picture of the distributions of all aboriginal tribes as they were prior to the onset of the major disruptions and displacements that have accompanied the coming of Western man during the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

So far as possible, new information, principally from personal inquiries in the field, has been the basis of the maps, and where this has failed, published information and personal communications from other professional research workers have been preferred. In the absence of both these sources, attempts have been made to assimilate the masses of less critical data available in the general literature. It is hoped the method of setting out the tribal lists will enable new data to be distinguished from that culled from published sources. In the course of study, information has been obtained about the component hordes and minor groupings within many of these tribes; this data is not usually given herein except in certain illustrative examples. Its detail could be an embarrassment and what is known is often so imperfectly recorded as to be more confusing than useful.

There are chapters discussing subjects that have a material bearing on the character and distribution of tribes. Space necessitates the omission of much data that it would have been desirable to include, such as 150 word parallel vocabularies of over 200 tribes and social organizational frameworks on the H. K. Fry pattern for 200 or more tribes. Omitted also are the detailed genealogies of Australian aborigines. My associate, Professor Birdsell is studying the anthropometric data and the standard photographs of nearly 5,000 Australian aborigines and part aborigines represented in our genealogies. Samples of these genealogies have been published for the Cape Barren Islanders (Tindale, 1953) and for the Kaiadilt of Bentinck Island (Tindale, 1962). Birdsell intends to write about them from the anthropometric point of view. He has already been able, for example, to draw most useful conclusions about the trihybrid nature of the Australian population (Birdsell, 1967) based on the data gathered by our expeditions.

PART I

THE PEOPLE AND THE LAND

1

The People

INTRODUCTION

One way to commence a study of the Australian tribe would be to ask a simple question: "What happens when a few small groups of people of family size are wresting a living from a given area of land by searching for food, over whose presence and growth they have no direct control?"

Such persons are neither farmers nor animal herders and they have no means of transport or travel other than that inherent in their possession of legs and, in the special case of the presence of water, their ability to use simple canoes and rafts as limited aids to travel.

Their land yields a return in food, water, and materials for living only from personal exertion in search and associated activities, which take up an appreciable part of each and every day of their lives. This exertion is minimized only by virtue of knowledge of the actual capabilities of each area of land, and success requires an informed search, from which no able-bodied person is long exempt and from which death soon eliminates most seriously incapacitated persons.

While 2 square miles (5.2 sq. km.) of uncultivated land may yield a continuing supply of naturally occurring food for a single person in nature's most bountifully endowed areas of mainland Australia, the annual traversing of 100 and more square miles (260 sq. km.) of country and utilization of its products may be necessary where less favorable climates, meager rainfall, and sterile soils place limits on yields of food and water.

In normal years such persons may be in sufficient harmony with their immediate surroundings that they feel the need to exert themselves in work and travel only to the extent that they are content with a good and balanced diet near the lowest level of adequate nutrition. It can be asserted as a generalization that having attained such a level of nutrition Australian aborigines tend to slacken their efforts and to seek in inaction such respite as is possible from the pressures of the continuing necessity of finding food. When seasonal bounty occurs, surplus energy and time free from food-gathering activities may be channeled into extending contacts with others for a variety of purposes, including trade, marriage arrangements, ceremonial activities, and for traveling and meeting with those living within reasonable distances from the areas where they normally roam.

Because game seeks refuge from man's attack and plants yield food only seasonally and in a variety of places, every small group is faced with a compulsory minimal distance of annual travel. This distance can only be extended at the expense of time devoted to rest, to food gathering, or to tool and equipment making and thus tends to be limited. Since direct knowledge of an area and its seasonal food yield is a material advantage, radius of travel tends to be circumscribed and to be limited to a definite series of paths, tracks, or "lines" about which knowledge has been handed down from the experience of those of past generations.

The greatest dread of such family groups tends to be of ngatari ['ŋatari] or strangers—fears stronger even than that of evil spirit beings ['mamu]—hence the familiar paths and scenes at some point give way in every direction to areas seldom or never traversed, feared because unknown, or remembered only in legend or tradition.

Since even such a basic unit as the family in Australia is exogamous, some persons are always present in any family who represent one or more other families. The extended family groups and the normal groups that tend to live in close association in a locality will be discussed under the subheading "Clans and Hordes." At this level of discussion, no one family is likely to be permanently isolated and out of touch with other families living in like circumstances. Sufficient contact exists to prevent knowledge being absent of adjoining areas in certain directions, and communication can be readily restored whenever a local group meets with another. This may happen when there is the advantage of the presence in one or other of their territories of some temporarily augmented food or water supplies that enables them to spend a season together. According to local circumstances this may be caused by the passage of a localized storm giving an unexpected lift to food supplies, by a regular good season event, or by the recurring seasons of stress and water shortage. It may last only for a brief period or extend over much of each year. In today's situation of relatively abundant government charity dispensed at "mission

stations," the coming together phase has been artificially promoted and certain modern anthropologists may even have come to think of it as the natural situation.

By keeping contact in this fashion, a few or even many extended families or hordes (often more than twenty) may maintain a sufficient degree and sense of community to consider themselves one people. Such gatherings often take place at times when a limited area of country has a temporarily augmented carrying capacity. At such times there is a richer community life; there is a sharing of ceremonies; initiations of young into adult life take place; there is enjoyment of the advantages of contact and trade; and there is even the excitement and vicarious pleasures and fears inherent in dispute and contention.

The opportunities for such congregation are usually limited by the economic necessity of finding food. Many a group of men sharing secret ceremonies have rudely relearned the facts of life, when their slaving wives have revolted at the necessity of tramping too far afield, more than 3 miles (5 km.), to seek the vegetable foods, sufficient quantities of which are enabling their husbands temporarily to withdraw from reality into a spiritual world of mime, song, and myth, and take part in the ritual creation of food, a mystical procedure inherent in their "increase ceremonies" (pls. 75–78).

Such rude awakenings reverse any centripetal tendencies and the several hordes withdraw toward their familiar territories. Such reversals place limits on areas about which any one group of men may have knowledge. The centripetal activities, however, do keep alive a common pool of knowledge, limit changes in vocabulary and speech, and enable men to have sufficient knowledge of others to regard them as members of their community. The exchange of wives between clans helps, since in other hordes there are sisters and daughters from their own hordes, and they have among them women who constantly talk about and keep alive the remembrance of the clan into which they were born.

It is now time to consider the differing types of community that may be present in Australia.

COMMUNITY PATTERNS

R. K. Beardsley and others (1956) have discussed at considerable length the differing patterns of community recognized by anthropologists and have distinguished seven primary types. Since we are dealing with simple hunting peoples, we need discuss only those of particular concern to us, and of the seven primary types we need examine only three. Their simplest communities were regarded as "Free Wandering."

"Free Wanderers" were probably restricted largely to a time in the late Pleistocene (perhaps about 40,000 B.P. or earlier) when as new arrivals on the Australian continent they were confronted with ever virgin country as they ventured farther into their vast new home. This phase may have lasted for many centuries but probably took only a small part of the whole time man has been in Australia. The matter will be considered at some length in chapter 9.

Some of the less critical observers of the nineteenth and early twentieth century assumed that free wandering was the normal condition of Australian man in the immediate past. Only in the stories of the free wanderings of the semimythical heroes of aboriginal story do we hear of such a state. Today the traveling songman and the occasional carrier of trade parcels come close to this earlier condition, but even they are restricted in their wanderings. In the Western Desert the decline of peripheral tribes, through culture contact with Europeans, through migration out of the desert into better lands, and through attraction to civilization, has left a few people of the innermost desert areas temporarily in a postclimax phase of free wandering, but because of ignorance of the dangers inherent in strange country, a few such people have perished of thirst and hunger while attempting to use the unfamiliar territories before them. The existence of tribal boundaries, as evidenced by the foldout map, indicates that Australian wanderings are at present and have long been restricted within specific territorial limits.

The most free condition probably was that of "Restricted Wanderings" as defined by Beardsley. This was controlled by: (1) political pressure from other peoples; (2) seasonal demands of water, food ripening, and exposure to weather; (3) psychological fears of the unknown beyond; and (4) limitation due to inability to travel. We recall the beliefs of the Ramindjeri of Encounter Bay about Kangaroo Island, the landmass off their coast, which they could see on the horizon but could never visit because their types of watercraft—reed rafts and flat bark canoes—were too flimsy to allow them to cross the gap of several miles of stormy ocean. It became the unattainable land to which only the spirits of the dead had access.

The most significant type of Beardsley's community patterns for Australia is that of "Centrally based Wandering," characteristic of peoples of the coastal estuaries and reaches of the Murray River and some favored localities in Victoria, coastal New South Wales, and elsewhere. Only a semiannual migration from shore camps of summer to inland winter camps disturbed the pattern of semipermanent residence. The archaeological relics of their existence are the so-called marniong ['marnioŋg] mounds or kitchen middens that are to be found on favorable sites in southeastern Australia. They

may date at least from the early Pirrian period onward (say, 5000 B.P.) but not always in the same places in antiquity, as in more recent centuries.

Indications are that in Australia the most frequently observed numbers of people who thus came to share even in a part-time fashion any Australian "tribal area" range from a minimum of about 100 to a maximum of 2,000 persons, the mean being around 450 persons. Some supporting evidence for these figures is given in chapter 8.

In general, tribal numbers may be as great in desert areas as in areas of optimum climate and greatest abundance of food; it is the area utilized by such a number of people which tends to vary, so that there are clines between:

people who are semisedentary → people who travel extensively
small tribal areas ← large tribal areas.

The consequences of these variables are many and some are obvious. Desert dwellers are limited in what they can carry and tend to have fewer possessions. Their needs are similar, hence their tools are often more efficient and have multiple uses. Greater knowledge and planning enter into even the simplest move in a desert tribe. In aboriginal terms a desert man may be far more skilled than a nondesert man. A group inhabiting better land may only need to drift from one place to another as summer or winter seasons dictate or immediate social contacts determine. They are more defensive in attitude, fearing others who may usurp their territory and tend to hold closely to their own limited territories.

When we calculate the effects of the above short list of factors on our few families, we note that where food is bountiful smaller areas will be covered; conversely, in desert areas of minimum productivity, larger territories will be traversed.

As already indicated, food and water requirements demand a given minimum of travel distance, which is very great in the case of desert dwellers, and slight only in the most favored of peoples. Extension of travel time beyond the essential minimum reduces the time available for food-gathering and thus can only be indulged in either when nature has been bountiful or when the specter of starvation or thirst forces an often irreversible burst of such activity. "Rain time—good time—any place is then a camp" is the gist of a Western Desert song that succinctly sums up the native ideal of nature's bounty.

My discussion will now focus on the Australian tribe at the several levels of organization that have been mentioned, working up from the smallest unit—the family—to the largest—the tribe—under the following general subheadings: "The Family," "Clans and Hordes," and "The Tribe."

THE FAMILY

The smallest social living unit among the Australian aborigines is the simple family and the frontispiece shows such a family at home near Warupuju watering place in the Warburton Ranges of Western Australia only a few days after they had made their first direct contact with men of the Western world, as represented by members of the Expedition of the Board for Anthropological Research of the University of Adelaide, in August 1935.

Father of the family was about thirty years of age, his wife was younger, approximately twenty-four years old, and their first daughter was between five and six years of age. She still occasionally suckled at her mother's breast. The wife was pregnant with her second child. Home for the moment for these Ngadadjara tribespeople was an open place on soft, sandy, and therefore warm ground, about 100 yards (100 m.) from a creek bed. The time was midafternoon and the wife, having returned from foraging for vegetable food, was enjoying temporary respite and conversation before fetching water from the sandy bed of the creek and firewood to make up the sleeping area for the cold night that will follow the lazy warmth of this August midwinter day. They rest behind a simple breakwind of twigs and leaves placed on the southeastern side of their home to protect them from the cold southeasterly trade breezes that continue through the night, when the temperature, which during the day rises to nearly 90 degrees, will drop to as low as 20 degrees Fahrenheit (32° to −13°C). Ashes from sleeping fires show that the family had occupied the place for at least one previous night.

There was still an abundance of succulent grass growing on the adjacent plains, a benefit from the rains of the previous summer. The husband, who had been hunting with spear and spear-thrower, which may be seen lying in the breakwind near his elbow, had already eaten a share of kangaroo meat and had rubbed the fat from around its abdominal tissues over his forehead, which shines with a newly applied mixture of grease and black charcoal. The summer season of rain had been kind and it can be inferred that the woman's vegetable food-gathering chores therefore had not been prolonged, since she had had leisure to decorate her daughter's hair with ['tartu], the seed pods of *Eucalyptus camaldulensis,* the river gum trees that grow in the bed of the seasonally flowing creek, part of whose course is seen in the background of the photograph. The little girl is playing

with her mother's digging stick ['wana]. In the background to the south the sleeping place and ashes of the fires of another family who had moved elsewhere is evident, so that already only an archaeological trace remains of their brief residence.

A group of families of this elemental character will live together in one area. Usually the males are the descendants of one man or of men who are brothers and in the case of patrilocal residence in marriage, as we have among the Ngadadjara, a group of these families constitutes a horde. They are a group of patrilineally related men and their children, together with the wives they have acquired from other hordes, but minus the girls they or their fathers have sent away in marriage in order to receive these women in exchange.

The patrilineally descended family can be viewed in another way as a clan that is tied to a given area of country by descent from a common ancestor, symbolized by an ancestral totemic being. In the Ngadadjara tribe, for example, father's father, father, son, son's son, and their brothers have inherited from the past a totem, ['tjukur] or ['tum:a], linked with a specific place or series of places and associated with a detailed story of an ancestral being, his life activities, wanderings, confrontations with enemies, and final departure into a spirit world. This ancestral being may have an animal name, such as ['malu] kangaroo, ['kalaia] emu, ['waijuta] opossum, or especially in the Western Desert may have a manlike name, hence ['Njiru] or ['Jula] the "Moon man," ['Wati 'Kutjara] the "Two men" (who also have animal identities as two species of goana ['jungku] and ['milpali]). Men who are related as father and son possess the same totem or a related pair or group of totems which are the emblem or emblems of their clan. A clan thus is considered to be composed of all the men and women who are directly descended from a given ancestral man. The girls of the clan, however, do not remain in their clan territory, for as they grow to womanhood they are sent away in marriage and as adults they live in association with men of other clans. For this reason it is usual to regard the horde, sometimes called the local group, as the extended family unit that normally lives and roams about a given territory. It is the family extended through several generations plus women brought in and minus the girls of the family who live elsewhere.

In practice, as in all human institutions, every conceivable form of variation occurs. Women run away and go back to their fathers' camps, bringing children born of their estranged husbands; a lonely widowed father of a married daughter may elect to live near her and so becomes an accepted stranger in the horde to which his daughter now belongs; and there are endless variations and compromises born either of historical accident or casual choice.

If we go back to our little family beside the sand soak water at Warupuju, we will find that the man belongs to one class (or section) of a four-class system of social organization and he possesses one of six terms which are used in his tribe. Two of them, however, are really synonyms of two others, having entered the tribal vocabulary because of intertribal marriages, a complication that we will pass over now but discuss in a later part of this work.

Our man is a ['Taroro], his wife is a ['Panaka], and his daughter is a Purungu ['Puruŋu]. A Taroro man calls many women in his own generation ['kuri]. This term may be translated as wife, "potential wife," "woman available as possible wife," or simply as mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter, for this is the detailed bond that links them and has brought them together as husband and wife. His wife has come from a different clan and the arrangement by which she became his wife began years previously when our man was still a boy, a young uncircumcised youth ['tjitji'murdilja] who had been driven out of his mother's and father's camp to live with other youths of his age, all of whom were near puberty. The boy then possessed only a child name ['eni 'tjitji:nkata]. His father took the opportunity of a meeting together of adjoining hordes to discuss a possible exchange of girls, offering one of his daughters in return for a bride for his son. His discussions were with a ['Kaimara] man, the father of Panaka children, who would be ['kuri] to Taroro of the same generation. Our youth's father had been successful in his arrangements because the boy had a younger sister, also a Taroro, who was likely to be an acceptable mate for the Panaka brother of his potential ['kuri].

The agreement reached by these two fathers had a whole series of consequences that are sketched lightly here to give an idea of patterns of family life. The man with whom the arrangement for the exchange of girls was discussed belonged to another horde and therefore had not been seen often by the youth whose life he was to affect in dramatic fashion. The man was of the same generation as the youth's father, he was a ['Wiltjalaŋuru], that is, at ceremonies he "sat in the shade," whereas his son and our youth, were of the next generation, the ['Tjindulakalŋuru], "those who sit in the sun." The boy would soon be admitted to knowledge of the detailed significance of this alternate generational classification; he already knew that his aged father's father also was a Tjindulakalnguru. It should be noted that the girl being mentioned as the youth's future wife

also is a member of this generation, a Tjindulakalnguru, and if the youth's father had not been able to find a Tjindulakalnguru girl close to his son's age, as wife for his boy, he would have had to accept either an aged Tjindulakalnguru woman of the generation above his own or receive a promise of some perhaps as yet unborn girl of the second generation below the youth, in which case the boy might not have been able to be married for many years after his initiations had been concluded. Men who possessed daughters from whom such a selection could be made were the boy's ['om:ari], a term that could be translated as wife's father, potential wife's father, or just father's mother's brother's son.

Soon after the agreement was reached between the two men there came a season of temporary plenty when life was less of a food-hunting chore. Having received messages, several hordes came together at the one place. There were initiation ceremonies during which our youth was seized, and following great excitement in the camp, appeared in public with his hair arranged as if he were a girl. Soon after, when the distant sound of bull-roarers was heard and women and children had fled, he was exposed, for the first time, to the secret songs of his clan totem, saw for the first time some phases of men's ceremonies, and was circumcised by his ['om:ari], along with several other youths. Then for months he was kept apart in hidden places while his wounds healed, made to conform to prohibitions on speech and on eating of certain foods, and was shown over the principal places and waters and the places named in the traditions of his country. He was then returned with ceremony to his horde as a young man, a hunter of game, but still only half a man. Then, after an interval of living in a bachelor camp with other half men and young unmarried full men, he was seized again, subjected to the rite of subincision, again secreted until his wounds were healed and presented once again to his people, now as a full man (pl. 81 illustrates such a Ngadadjara youth).

By the time he had passed through all these phases of his education he was about twenty-two years of age, a skilled hunter and provider of animal food with added responsibilities of sharing generous portions of his food gains with others of his horde. He had learned almost the full content of his father's secret stories and the songs of his totem and had developed skill as a performer of the dance routines of the increase ceremonies, a necessary part of his knowledge of his totem. He now had a full totemic name; he was ['Waijuta 'tjukuru'pa], as this animal, the opossum, was the totem of his clan, and he had begun to assume responsibilities in magically creating opossums as food for his people by taking over some phases of the increase ceremonies performed by his father's father, who was becoming too old to enact the important routines. His kuri also had grown to full womanhood. When she was first promised she was an ['ipi 'tuntumba] (one with small breasts). Her father had taken her to a certain place where she had been decorated with paint, including rings of red ochre around her still small breasts and her body had then been rubbed against a great painted Woman stone so that she would come to be of marriageable age sooner.

Some years after the boy was first seized for initiation the two hordes again camped in close proximity. The girl now was between sixteen and seventeen years of age (pl. 82 shows several Ngadadjara girls at this stage in their life). One day her mother gave her a newly kindled fire stick and an armful of firewood and sent her to make a new breakwind in a certain part of the camping area, a place so geographically oriented that everyone knew what was to happen. Our youth, now a man, returning from the day's hunt, was very well aware of what was to take place. He sat down in the shelter of the new windbreak and ignored the girl who sat nervously there. Soon she departed. The next day she was there again and this time she remained. She was his ['kuri]; he was a married man; they were ['kuriara], a married pair.

At this point it is important to introduce more fully the kinship system of the Ngadadjara, as one of the many and varied examples met with throughout Australia. Figure 1 sets out Ngadadjara kinship terms genealogically arranged on the model framework devised by Australia's first Oxford trained anthropologist, the late Dr. H. Kenneth Fry. Formerly it was difficult to set out Australian kinship and classificatory marriage systems in such a way as to make them directly comparable. The difficulties are lessened when proper forms are used.

Fry first devised his framework in 1929 while on a visit to Hermannsburg in central Australia, with an expedition from the University of Adelaide (Fry, 1931). I was privileged to be one of eight expedition members who saw the development of the idea in the field. Succinctly, the Fry scheme replaced the various less effective listings and arrangements of terms still favored by so many other anthropologists. A symmetrical framework with the terms properly arranged quickly brings out the complete harmony that is inherent in any truly classificatory system. Thus much unfruitful labor is avoided and checks are readily applied.

Class systems and kinship terms can be placed together all on the one framework, but it is often more convenient to use slightly different forms. The first form (fig. 1), which is arranged like a genealogy, shows the Ngadadjara kinship system as viewed by a male (ego). His position is at the left center of our diagram. The

——— lines show marriage links. The main contractions used for terms such as father, mother, sister, son, and so on, are self-evident. The numbers 1 and 2 shown at the left-hand side will be better understood when the next two diagrams are studied. They stand here for generation levels. These have been mentioned as being Tjindulakalnguru and Wiltjalanguru among the Ngadadjara.

Figure 2 uses the same Fry framework but in a more formal manner. Each group of kinship terms now falls into a compartment arranged on the same pattern as the first, and we see that our Taroro man's class or section terms falls into a pattern that is equally symmetrical. In fact the sheet can be taken and rolled into a cylindrical form either horizontally or vertically. It shows that the generational terms in the Ngadadjara tribe are fixed—Tjindulakalnguru men are Panaka and Taroro, while those of the next generation, Wiltjalanguru, are Purungu and Kaimara. In this regard the Ngadadjara differ from their eastern neighbors the Nakako and the Pitjandjara who use terms Nganandaruka and Tjanamiltjan which are not fixed but mean literally "our bone" or "our people" and "the others" and thus depend on the generational status of the speaker. These eastern peoples differ also in that until the last generation, that is until after the year 1940 they had had no knowledge and no uses for classificatory terms such as Taroro, Milangka, and others, but used exclusively kinship terms in working out relationships.

Figure 3 provides us with the general scheme for a patrilineal kinship system. The diagram, with its system of numbers and letters represents the dominant Aranda

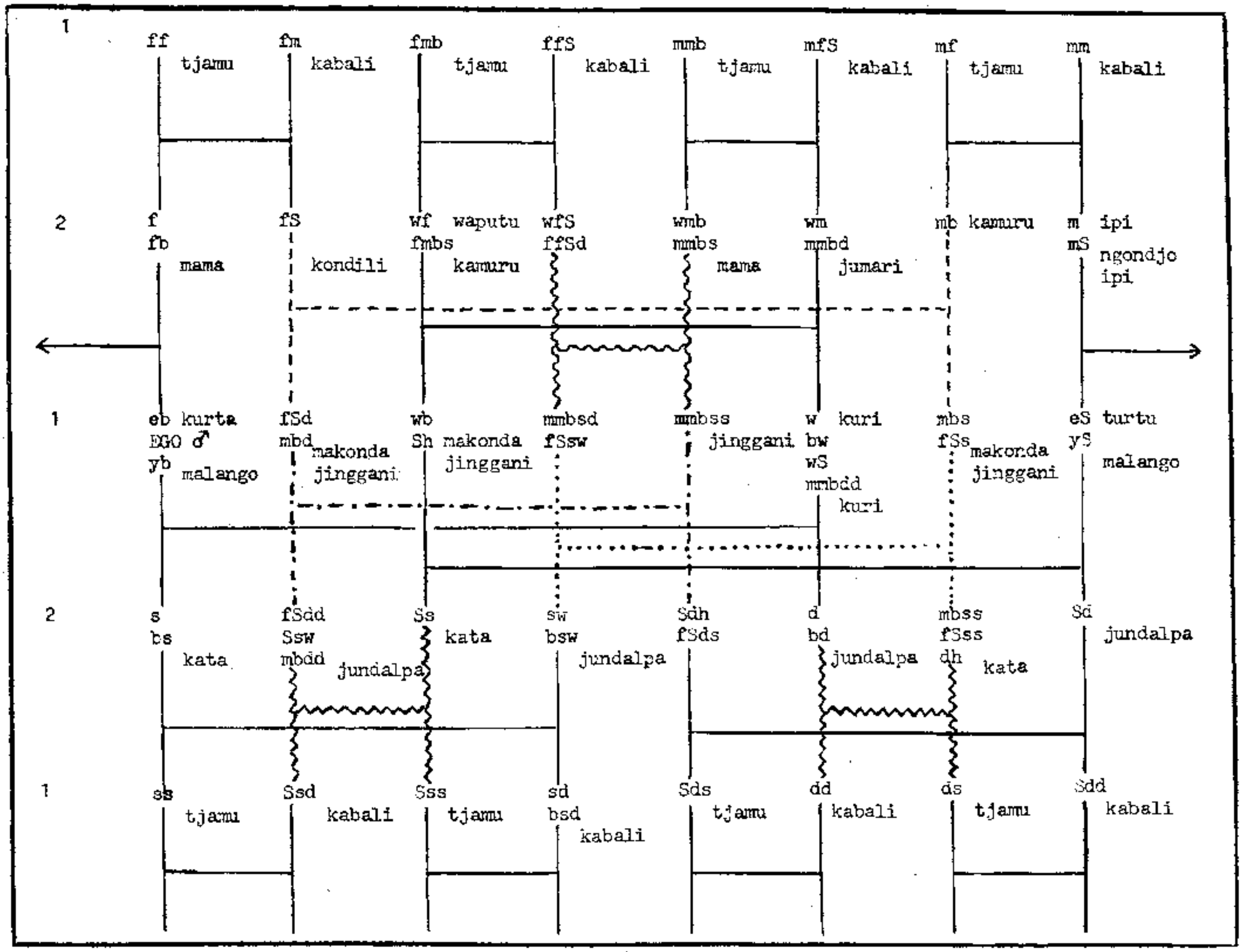


Fig. 1. Ngadadjara kinship terms arranged genealogically on a Fry framework. s = son, S = sister, e = elder, y = younger. Based on fieldwork by N. B. Tindale, 1935 and 1939.

TJINDU.	Taroro ff ffb	PANAKA fm	Panaka fmb	TARORO ffS	Taroro mmb	PANAKA mfS wmm	Panaka mf	TARORO mm
WILTJA.	Purungu f fb	PURUNGU fS mbw	Kaimara wf fmbs	KAIMARA wfS ffSd	Purungu wmb mmbs	PURUNGU wm mmbd	Kaimara mb fSh	KAIMARA m mS
TJINDU.	Taroro eb Ego male yb	PANAKA fSd mbd	Panaka wb Sh	TARORO mmbsd fSsw	Taroro mmbss fSdh mbdh	PANAKA w bw wS mmbdd	Panaka mbs fSs	TARORO eS yS
WILTJA.	Purungu s bs	PURUNGU fSdd mbdd Ssw	Kaimara Ss	KAIMARA sw bsw	Purungu Sdh fSds	PURUNGU d bd	Kaimara mbss fSss dh	KAIMARA Sd
TJINDU.	Taroro ss bss	PANAKA Ssd	Panaka Sss	TARORO sd	Taroro Sds	PANAKA dd	Panaka ds	TARORO Sdd

Fig. 2. Ngadadjara four-section system of social organization as viewed by a Taroro male. Alternate generations are named, specifically Tjindulakalnguru and Wiltjalanguru. The term I:paruka may replace Panaka, and Milangka may replace Kaimara. The above diagram is a symmetrical cylinder both vertically and horizontally.

system with eight class (eight subsection) terms. In this scheme the numbers along the left margin represent the generation level while the a b and A B represent the moieties, with lowercase letters indicating males and upperclass females. The 1 and 2 that follow the letters represent the division of the sections into subsections. In the so-called Kariara system of A. R. Brown (1918) which is best exemplified, not by the Kariara tribe itself where there are some complications, but by the Ngarla, the next-door tribe to the north east, the 1 and 2 after the letters are not significant and the diagram is consequently much simpler, the right and left halves being identical.

Many of the other section and subsection systems met with in the patrilineal areas of Australia use variations of the Aranda scheme. Some compromise by ignoring the subsection pair numbers. A few add complications by differentiating between the marriageability of older- and younger-mother's brother's daughters, and so on. This is one of the playgrounds of those interested in social organization.

The scheme for a typical matrilineal kinship system is shown in figure 4. The same general pattern appears with the a b and A B categories falling into different arrangements, as is to be expected. Such arrangements are widely spread in eastern Australia. Subsections are not generally known in matrilineal kinship patterns where, however, rules or restrictions do exist, usually based on inheritance of totems that serve similar purposes in preventing certain marriages. When section terms only are being recognized both 1 and 2 running horizontally across the diagram may represent the same class or section term.

CLANS AND HORDES

In Australia several terms have been used for groups larger than the simple family but smaller than that known as the tribe. These terms include horde, clan, and

1	a1 ff ffb	B1 fm	b1 fmb	A1 ffS	a2 mmb	B2 mfS wmm	b2 mf	A2 mm
2	a1 f fb	B1 fS	b1 wf	B1 wfS	a2 wmb mmbs	A2 wm mmbS	b2 mb	B2 m mS
1	a1 eb ego male speaking yb	B2 fSd mbd	b1 wb	A2 fSsw mmbsd	a2 fSdh mbdh mmbss	B1 w bw mmbdd	b2 mbs fSs	A1 eS yS
2	a1 s bs	A2 Ssw fSdd mbdd	b1 Ss	B2 sw	a2 Sdh	A1 d	b2 dh	B1 Sd
1	a1 ss bss	B1 Ssd	b1 Sss	A1 sd	a2 Sds	B2 dd	b2 ds	A2 Sdd

Fig. 3. General patrilineal kinship pattern. The numbers in the left column represent alternate generations of a patrilineal kinship pattern. The letters a b and A B represent moiety symbols; lowercase letters represent males; uppercase represent females. The numbers following the letters represent subsection pairs; when section terms only are recognized, both 1 and 2 represent the same section terms. The Aranda represent the dominant subsection system, the Ngarla with the Kariara, and most other section systems lying between, with marriage rules compromising in various ways by partly ignoring the subsection pair numbers.

TABLE 1

TYPICAL MARRIAGE PATTERN: PATRILINEAL

Adults			*Children*		
Male	marries	Female	Male	and	Female
1 a 1	"	1 B 1	2 a 1	"	2 A 1
1 b 1	"	1 A 1	2 b 1	"	2 B 1
1 a 2	"	1 B 2	2 a 2	"	2 A 2
1 b 2	"	1 A 2	2 b 2	"	2 B 2
2 a 1	"	2 B 2	1 a 1	"	1 A 1
2 b 1	"	2 A 2	1 b 1	"	1 B 1
2 a 2	"	2 B 1	1 a 2	"	1 A 2
2 b 2	"	2 A 1	1 b 2	"	1 B 2

local group. The first two have some pretensions to being particular, the third is more general in its application. Authors have used the terms in different ways.

In this study, the term local group will be used as the most general term. The term horde will denote the normal exogamous group whose members generally live together; several or many of these hordes together constitute a tribe. The term clan will denote those groups of persons, in both patrilineal and matrilineal societies, who claim descent from a common ancestor and ownership of a definite area of country whose focus or focuses is one or more sacred places that are the subjects of legends and ceremonies belonging to the country and are the authority for possession of the territory. The members of contiguously placed clans exchange women for wives and meet together with some regularity. Each clan group *minus* the persons departing from it in marriage *plus* the ones imported as spouses constitutes a horde. A series of hordes that are contiguously placed and share certain common practices are recognized as a tribe.

Following a brief examination of the historical origins of the principal terms, and a look at the views of some other researchers, data obtained from aborigines in several parts of Australia will be cited to give a more detailed view of the significance of the territorial aspects inherent in the concepts of horde and clan.

A general dictionary meaning of the term *clan* is: "A number of persons claiming descent from a common ancestor, and associated together, a tribe." In this form it is applied to clans of the Highlands of Scotland and extends to the Lowlands but is rarely used by the Irish. The term derives from the ancient Gaelic word *clann.* Old Irish forms are *cland*-and *clann.* It may have the significance of family, stock, or race, and its meaning has been extended to similar tribal groups in other countries.

The term *horde* is from the Turki word *orda.* An early reference (Eden [1555] Decades 280) says: "Tartares are divided by companies which they caule Hordas. . . . They consiste of innumerable Hordas." Two formal dictionary meanings are given:

(1) a tribe or troop of Tartar or Central Asiatic nomads dwelling in tents and wagons and migrating from place to place for pasturage or for war or plunder; also applied to other nomadic tribes.
(2) a great company especially of the savage uncivilized or uncultured.

In Australia both these terms have to be employed with caution and with considerable reservations as to detailed meaning. They are both firmly established in the literature, otherwise it would have been wiser perhaps to select from some Australian aboriginal group a proper term and define it for general use, since the unconsidered employment of terms from nonhunting cultures could readily introduce incorrect ideas and extensions of meaning, when applied in an area where they are foreign. One may appreciate this possibility by considering the example of the false note struck by a nineteenth-century English writer on Australian mythology in recording passage of a great meteor across the Australian sky (visualized by the Ramindjeri people of Encounter Bay as the flight of an evil being named Mulda, harbinger of sickness and blindness). In a flowery passage the happening was described as "a chariot of fire racing across the heavens."

Radcliffe-Brown (1929:400) was one of the first to define the local group in Australia as a horde. To him

this was the small group that owned and occupied a certain defined territory. He considered that over much of the continent the horde was a closed patrilineal group. This horde was exogamous in the general case, therefore he considered the normal Australian horde should be regarded as "a small exogamous patrilineal local clan." Although he introduced the term clan into his definition, he did not either specifically define its meaning or clearly differentiate it from the term horde.

H. K. Fry (1950) considered that "the unit of all aboriginal societies is the exogamous local family group or horde, which owns a definite area of country, and the sacred places, ceremonies and legends belonging to that country. Varying numbers of adjacent hordes constitute a tribe." Johannes Falkenberg (1962) and William E. H. Stanner (1965) have both helped our understanding of the nature of the horde and the clan. Falkenberg used the terms *clan area* and *horde territory.* For him each clan area in a tribe is composed of a number of different totem sites, each surrounded by horde territory or, in the exceptional case, two territories together surround the totem sites of one clan.

The Murinbata term ['dar], interpreted as country, can be used in western Arnhem Land for a given clan area with its surrounding horde territory, but may also denote the horde territory alone. There is resemblance between the term ['dar] and such words as ['taurai], the hunting territory of the Kumbainggiri; ['tjar] meaning land, earth, or soil among the Wotjobaluk; ['taura] ground, among the Ngarigo; and ['tauara] meaning totem center among the Baijungu of Western Australia. Among the Jarildekald on Lake Alexandrina ['taua] means red ochre, an important possession, which gives rise to a place name Tauadjeri, "place of red ochre," a small island in the sheltered waters of the Coorong, now on the maps as Towadjeri. Instances, which are more than coincidences, can be multiplied. The Barunggam term for hunting ground is ['tauri]. Among the Kamilaroi the term ['taurai] is the country or a hunting territory. At their initiation Kamilaroi youths sit on the side of the initiation circle facing their own taurai (Mathews, 1896:329). Among the Dainggati the term for the localized patrilineal horde is ['dawun] (Mathews, 1919:329). Such wide correspondences for a term may suggest that it is a very old root word widely spread east, west, and south in Australia, in company with the idea of "territorial possession." If an Australian term is needed to clarify the concept of clan, the word *taurai* of Mathews (1896) or the *dar* of Falkenberg (1962) could well be used. Other terms used widely in Australia are discussed in detail in another section of this chapter.

The land-possessing local group, technically the clan, tends to claim an area by reason of tradition. Generations of use extend back to the limits of man's memory. Their rights to the land are registered in their myths and in the songs of their ceremonies. These recall to them the heroic acts of ancestral beings who discovered, created, and occupied the area. Members of a clan and their associated wives forming the horde do not live always on their own land, but several hordal groups may gather at other places within their tribal territory to exploit such foods and water supplies as are in general abundance and sufficient for all. At times and especially at seasons when they utilize particular foods and other supplies peculiar to their own portion of the country, they may

1	a2 ff ffo	B2 fm	b2 fmb	A2 ffS	a1 mmb	B1 mfS wmm	b1 mf	A1 mm
2	b2 f fb	B2 fS	a2 fmbs wf	A2 fmbd wfS	b1 mmbs wmb	B1 mmbd wm	a1 mb	A1 m mS
1	a1 eb ego male speaking yb	B2 mbd fSd	b1 wb	A2 mmbsd	a2 mmbss	B1 w bw mmbdd	b2 mbs fSs	A1 eS yS
2	b1 s bs	B2 Sw	a1 Ss	A2 sw	b2 Sdh	B1 d bd	a2 dh	A1 Sd
1	a2 ss bss	B2 Ssd	b2 Sss	A2 sd	a1 Sds	B1 dd bdd	b1 ds	A1 Sdd

lower case letters indicate males — upper case are females

Fig. 4. General matrilineal kinship pattern. The numbers in the left column represent alternate generations of a matrilineal kinship pattern. The letters a b and A B represent moiety symbols; lowercase letters represent males; uppercase, females. The diagram is perpetual—it can be made into a cylinder, the top line is repeated at the bottom. The numbers following the letters represent divisions at the subsection level. Subsections are not generally known in matrilineal kinship patterns where, however, rules or restrictions do exist usually based on inheritance of totems that serve similar purposes in preventing marriage. When section terms only are being recognized, both 1 and 2 running horizontally across the diagram may represent the same class term.

TABLE 2

TYPICAL MARRIAGE PATTERN: MATRILINEAL

Adults			Children		
Male	marries	Female	Male	and	Female
1 a 1	"	1 B 1	2 b 1	"	2 B 1
1 b 1	"	1 A 1	2 a 1	"	2 A 1
1 a 2	"	1 B 2	2 b 2	"	2 B 2
1 b 2	"	1 A 2	2 a 2	"	2 A 2
2 a 1	"	2 B 2	1 b 2	"	1 B 2
2 b 1	"	2 A 2	1 a 2	"	1 A 2
2 a 2	"	2 B 1	1 b 1	"	1 B 1
2 b 2	"	2 A 1	1 a 1	"	1 A 1

travel and live apart. As a Western Desert man defined it, "my country is the place where I can cut a spear or make a spear-thrower without asking anyone."

The seasonal gathering of hordes is well known and has long been recognized as a fact. Sometimes, as in well-favored lands, the coming together is to exploit abundant fruits. An example: the ripening of bunya pine seeds, at intervals of several years, is a classic case of tribal reunions at longer intervals than one year. The hordes of the Tanganekald of the Coorong came together along the seashore once each year to take the abundant supplies of a big fish, the mulloway, (*Sciaena antarctica*) large migrating shoals of which swim along the shore in the surf. Fruits such as mantari ['mantari] of *Kunzea pomifera* (Myrtaceae), which at certain seasons yields an almost inexhaustible supply of food, are similarly the occasion for interhordal visits in the same area. They also could come together at those irregular intervals of time when the skill in magic of one of their "strong" men had resulted in the stranding of a whale. At other times they tended to be dispersed in hordal territories, each paying attention either to their own special fish traps for mullet along the sheltered shores of the Coorong waterways or setting up their duck nets on the swamps and lagoons of their "back country," by which term they meant the country further inland.

Men of other hordes could and did accompany such groups, exploiting friendship and using the legitimate rights and bonds of kinship to feed for a while in their ['mut:awu'ruwi], the clan territory from which their father's mother had come. In such a place a man was a relative stranger, his position was that of a visitor, and as a rule one who was not one of the particular country tended only to be tolerated.

In the Western Desert the patterns are similar, but the economic forces behind them are somewhat different. Men disperse in hordal groups to their own territories for the obtaining of specific foods such as dingo puppies, precious spear woods such as *Pandorea doratoxylon* (Bignoniaceae), and supplies of stone from their mines. The temporary supplies of water available after summer rains enabled this dispersal, and it was at this time that each horde lived in its own area, until increasing heat of spring and the drying up of unsafe waters forced it back to those portions of the whole territory which were capable of supporting life during the normal period of water stress, which comes in late spring and early summer. This season of water scarcity tended to be also their period of temporary abundance when several hordes of people could live together because they were able to command the few open watering places where much of the animal life in their territory also was forced to gather in order to obtain water.

There has been a tendency in recent years for anthropologists who have been studying Australian aborigines to reinterpret the role of the horde as a unit. They now find their subjects living in relatively large numbers near fixed food depots and government stations. Under these circumstances the role of the horde has in some instances weakened, for the dispersal phase is no longer mandatory and is replaced by ration distribution at government depots. The relative abundance and permanency of these supplies are sufficient to buffer them against the lean and testing times. Thus the value of their hordal territories has been lessened. It is unfortunate that some who work without an eye for history are happy to revise theories about the horde, using the artificial situations they now find as if they were evidence that people had always existed in large groups.

The idea of a hordal territory or "country" is well recognized by aborigines, and, as part of the general indication of the antiquity of this idea, we note the widespread distribution of some other basic words for country. Thus a word ['ruar], which means a hunting territory at Stradbroke Island near Brisbane, occurs through much of the Murray River Basin extending into South Australia with meanings of country, earth, or a place of birth, as is evidence in the following list:

Word	*Meaning*	*Locality*	*Tribe*
'ruar	hunting territory	Stradbroke Is., Qld.	
'rue	earth	Balranald, N.S.W.	Muthimuthi
'ru	country	Northwest Bend, So. Aust.	Ngaiawang
'ŋa:ru	my country	Northwest Bend, So. Aust.	Ngaiawang
'ruo	country, territory	Moorundee, So. Aust. (south of)	Nganguruku
'ru:we	country	Coorong, So. Aust.	Tanganekald
'ru:we	land, country, birthplace	Encounter Bay, So. Aust.	Ramindjeri
'jaruwe	hunting territory	Mornington I., Qld.	Lardiil

It may be only a coincidence that although the people of the Western Desert rather widely use the word ngura ['ŋura] to indicate a camp, the Konejandi of Fitzroy Crossing in northwestern Australia have the term ['rewe].

The term ['rowa]→['ru:wa] also is a Kaiadilt term on Bentinck Island in the Gulf of Carpentaria, meaning a

restricted area of territory, a hordal territory or that area possessed by a patrilineal clan; thus ['dolnoro 'ura-dangka] which includes the root of this word "clan country man," a man of a given clan area. There is a broader term ['dulk] or ['dulka] for territory or country applied to the whole of a given area, thus the main island of the group, Bentinck, is ['Dulka 'walnge:d], the "land of all." The smaller islands also are ['dulka] but they are ['dulka 'wari 'daŋka] "lands without people." The term ['ru:], ['ruwa], ['ruwe], ['jaruwe], is thus very widely used in Australia with an aura of meanings linked with a limited area of land.

Among the Njangamarda of the interior of the Nullagine area in Western Australia, the term ['mili] denotes a horde territory, the whole tribal area being divided into many such mili (fig. 5). Since residence is patrilocal, a man's birthplace normally is within his mili. He differentiates between his own personal mili and that of his father, however, as well as the mili of others. Thus his own is ngadjimili ['ŋadjimili]. The mili of his father he calls ['palinmili]; it is the specific mili of his father and also is part of his own. An informant stated the rule of living when he said, "I live in ngadjimili; I go to tjanamili; I turn back at places beyond at my ['kol-po:no]." ['Tjanamili 'karti 'kolpo:no] is described as the "turning back place." This informant called a mili to the west of his own tjanamili ([tjana] = other). It was there he was initiated; it is the country from which his wife came to him. He had visiting rights there.

The term for the boundary of a horde in this tribe is ['mindaru]. It is also applied to the tribal boundary. When defining Karbardi as an important refuge water for the Njangamarda people as a whole, an informant, whose own mili was at ['Windapu], 80 miles (129 km.) west of the tribal border, said, "Our ['mindaru] finishes at ['Karbardi]." He had previously defined his own eastern hordal mindaru as situated a few miles east of Windapu, and his western one as near ['R̄ankatjiri] (Cuncudgerie Hill on maps), showing that the term has a broader as well as a more restricted meaning.

The Wanman of the country north of Lake Disappointment in Western Australia live in very poor *Triodia* grass-covered sandhill country, with but few trees and without many definite creeks or flowing waters. They are one of the grass seed milling peoples. There were probably six hordes.

Baltu, a Wanman tribesman of the country west of Lake Wooloomber in Western Australia, drew a map that depicted the main waters of his own horde. It was also the country of Kutanda, his brother. Their twenty-four principal waters enabled his hordal group to range over about one-fourth of the total area claimed by his tribe. He indicated places where his hordal group made contact with the Nangatara, a separate tribe, at Mululj in the east, and with the Njangamarda tribespeople at Pulburukutji in the west. Of his series of twenty-four waters, he said: "These are all my main waters, also those of Kutanda. Along these tracks I am free to cut any tree for boomerangs without asking anybody; it is my country."

This definition of a horde territory seems to contain more substance than any formal one could convey, and the word picture he gave of the economic resources of his horde territory is worthy of quoting in detail, together with a list of all his main food supplies. He indicated his country comprised great areas of *Triodia* grass-covered sand hill, without creeks. There were few trees. There were no big animals such as emu or kangaroo to be captured. The principal meat was that of the hare wallaby (*Lagorchestes*). Their grain food was seed milled to make a bread and for the greater part of the year there were the resting bulbs of nut grass (*Cyperus*), abundantly present on flats that were flooded during summer rains.

Wanman Foods

Triodia grass seed ['ŋotja 'waruru], the main ['mai] or cereal food.
Cyperus bulbs ['ŋalku] on flooded clay flats irrigated by rains, and lying between the parallel sand hills.
Hare wallabies ['mala], the most prevalent food, killed with the throwing club ['kitibaru].
Opossum ['kuji], also called ['wiŋumu], the "best" or most desirable meat.
Porcupines ['tjilka] desirable but rare.
Cossid moth grubs ['pilku] from roots of shrubs.
Pig weevil grubs (*Leptops*) ['tjulalu].
Lizards ['watawata] black goana, and ['walana] sand goana, ['luma] sleepy lizard.
Frogs ['boboka] found in the sand hills during the times of rain.
Ducks ['kunjilidja]; they came only when water lay about after big rains and were hard to kill, but their eggs were plentiful.

Tracks of emu ['kalaia] were sometimes seen but the birds usually were too elusive to be killed.

South of the hordal territory of Baltu was that of ['Pi:ndju], extending east of the Rudall River as it flooded out of the ranges onto the flats leading to Lake Dora ['Walere'lere]. His territory embraced about one-tenth of the whole tribal area. This man was born in the years just after 1900 and first saw white men when he was a boy. He was a grown man when he first came into the Marble Bar area. A Njangamarda native brought out sugar to his country from the European settlement there and he and his people came in to get more of it,

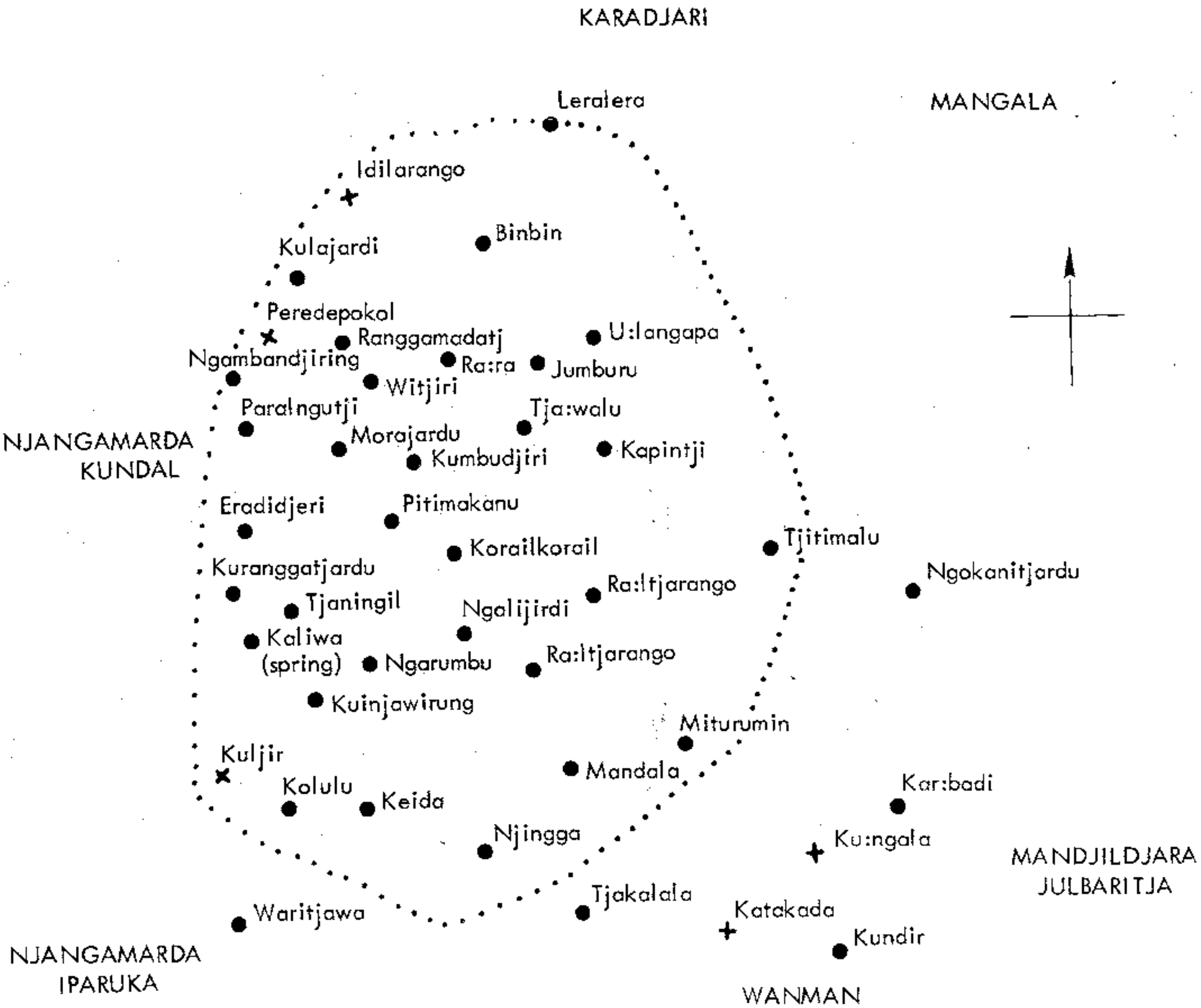


Fig. 5. A native map of the mili or clan territory of the northeasternmost group of the Njangamarda Kundal. There is no fixed scale but the known distance between Idilarango and Katakada is 100 miles (160 km.). A cross indicates the place is fixed on our maps. This is one of the most desolate areas in Australia.

transgressing for the first time the territorial boundary of another tribe.

The Wanman term waran ['waran] describes their whole tribal territory and all Wanman people had the one waran. Each important watering place was a wongal ['woŋal], and all had equal rights to water there. On the margins of their territory, wongal were shared with other tribespeople. Thus Mangala men sometimes came into Wanman territory at ['Wungal] or ['Wongal], a specific water in the north of their country, and Walmadjari (a people known to the Wanman as Tjiwaling) came in at ['Muŋgakulu], which probably is the Adverse Well on maps (123°50′E x 20°48′S). In similar fashion Njangamarda and Wanman men met at ['Iljara] which has springs of running water. There from time to time they shared initiation ceremonies, but they met so seldom that the Njangamarda and the Wanman never learned to understand fully each other's speech and even after taking part in increase ceremonies together they only half understood what was being displayed to them.

The Walmadjari have the patrilineal clan or horde organization well developed. They term each such unit area a ngurara ['ŋurara] and visualize each as a "living area." The term evidently is based on their word ngura

['ŋura], which means camp. Marriage between people of the same ngurara is not permitted. All marriages must conform closely to the dictates of their eight-class system, irregular marriages being permitted only between persons from remote parts of the widespread tribal area such as between hordes of the Tjiwaling (in the west) and the Wanaeka (eastern side). Between such distant ngurara, a marriage corresponding to one with father's sister's daughter would be permissible, the male parent being then ignored in allotting a class term to the children. Thus

Tjanggardi	NAKARA
Tjuŋura	NJANDJILI

whereas in an orthodox marriage the father would have been a Tjawalji person. The children of a Tjawalji man are Tjungura (sons) and Njandjili (daughters).

M. and R. Piddington (1932) considered that the Karadjari were not restricted to living and hunting in their own horde territory but were free to roam over the whole coastal territory of the tribe. Their work was done in a period when there was already disruption of horde boundaries. Notwithstanding this, I have heard a Karadjari man seek permission to hunt in an area not his own; there still is acknowledgment that such activities are a privilege, not a right.

The people of Mornington Island are collectively the Lardiil, and they are recognized as forming four geographically oriented lesser groups, all of whom speak the same language. These are:

Tjiruko:mben	Northern people
Larumben	Southeastern people
Lilumben	East side people
Palumben	Southern people

Each man has a defined territory, called a jaruwei ['jaruwei], in which he has hunting rights over land and sea animals. If anyone else takes a creature in the sea off his jaruwei—for example a dugong or turtle—he has just claim for a substantial portion of the kill. Each man has a name linked with his ['dolkeia] or birthplace. Brothers by the same father share a jaruwei in common; it is also the jaruwei of their father. A typical jaruwei is that of the Lardiil man Gully Peters (my valued assistant in the study of the Bentinck Islanders), whose jaruwei extended along the northern coast of Mornington Island from a place called Nedalan, northeastward for a distance of seven miles to Jiingen, where it terminated at the boundary of the jaruwei of a man named Bambura, most of whose territory ranged inland from the coast.

The reluctance of aborigines to leave the area of their own territory is often noted. The words of G. D. Hunter, reporting in June 1842 about the aborigines of the District of Bligh, in New South Wales are useful: "As to the residence of the aborigines in any particular spot, it is necessary to remark, that a tribe never leaves a certain part or portion of country known to them, and called their jouri." From the obvious relationship of this word with the widespread term taurai already mentioned in an earlier paragraph, it is clear that Hunter was in fact discussing a hordal group.

Walter E. Roth (1910:81–82) gave a useful picture of the local group or horde names of some Queensland peoples, indicating their generally geographical significance and linking a man and his near kin with the country over which they hunted. He indicated the varieties of origin he has detected for the names given to such local groups that occupy a district. He noted that physical conformations of the country had a great deal to do with the development of major differences, as also enmities between coastal and inland peoples; other causes were differences in past history or just of speech. For the groups at the level of the horde, he gave a good word picture of the significance of the -bara local group, as illustrated by those comprising the Darambal (Tarumbal) tribe. In this tribe there were local groups, such as the Karun burra at Rosewood, Rakki wurra at Yeppoon, Wollea burra near Prairie, and the Warra burra at Gracemere.

John Mathew (1910) also demonstrated that hordelike groups in southeastern Queensland had names. These were descriptive of their principal differentiated food-gathering or other characteristic activities. The hordal term was formed with a suffix -bora, or more correctly, [-bara]. A list of seven local groups of the Kabikabi based in great part on his data illustrates the manner of recognition; the suggested meanings of the names are his and the group names in parentheses are as he recorded them:

'Daua bara	(Dauwa-bora)	North of Mount Bopple	Noise of hacking people
'Ganda bara	(Gunda-bora)	Mount Bopple	Cabbage palm people
'Gidjar bara	(Gigar-bora)	Widgee	Sweet people
'Kaia bara	(Kaiya-bora)	near Widgee	Bite people
'Kanjam bara	(Kunyam-bora)	South of Mount Bopple	Pine tree people
'Kuli bara	(Kuli-bora)	South Burnett	Native bee people
'Baiam bara	(Baiyam-bora)	Yabba Creek	Pipe people

Printed below are some types of territory that were of sufficient importance to constitute items of possession by individual hordes, extended families, and individual families. They will serve as illustrations rather than as a complete catalog; names of tribes that recognize such possessions are given in parentheses:

Individual swamps yielding roots or other foods (Lardiil).

Rocky outcrops among which *Pandorea* vines grew. These provided the butt ends of spear shafts (Pitjandjara, Ngadadjara).

Salty claypans on the dry surfaces of which skins were pegged out to dry and cure (Kaurna, Tanganekald).

Flood flats where crops of seed grasses sprang up after summer rains and which were harvested the following winter after species of harvesting ants had gathered the seeds into heaps over their nest holes (Iliaura, Ngadadjara, Wakaja).

Known areas where the bulbs of nut grass (*Cyperus*), ['jelka] were present (many tribes).

Specific underwater caves and holes in the Murray cliffs in which large Murray codfish take refuge and could be killed (Maraura, Nganguruku).

Grass tree (*Xanthorrhoea*) groves, distributed rather sparsely on plains in the western MacDonnell Ranges and to the southwest. The dark resin was so superior for hafting weapons that a grove constituted one of the most treasured of possessions (Jumu, Pitjandjara, Kukatja of MacDonnell Ranges).

Outcrops of hard stone suitable for biface fist axes (Kaiadilt).

Large mulga and myall and similar hardwood *Acacia* shrubs that, having assumed with age and luxuriant growth the dimensions of trees, were treasured for making large sacred boards (many Western Desert tribes, e.g., Ngadadjara, Njangamarda, Ngalea).

Red ochre mines, quarries for flint, deposits of yellow earthy nickel (sometimes considered tribal property; at other places belonging to specific hordes).

Hunting activities may range over the whole tribal area. In some other areas they may be completely limited so that each horde or family has a separate range. In yet other cases they are subject to partial, seasonal, or particular restrictions.

Hunting territories restricted to hordes or families are by no means universal in Australia. No detailed tribe-by-tribe study has ever been made, and in many areas it is now too late to gather precise information. In some areas, however, inquiries have yielded interesting information, and it is possible to indicate that wide differences occur:

1. Total absence of family hunting territories. (Selected example is the Indjibandi of the Hamersley Ranges.) The Wanman have been mentioned earlier in this chapter.

2. Seasonal or partial recognition of horde or family territorial rights. (Examples are the Pitjandjara and the Tanganekald.)

3. Complete or virtually complete restriction of hunting and food gathering rights in a given territory to a single horde or extended family group. (Selected example is the Kaiadilt of Bentinck Island among whom there are eight such territories or dolnoro.)

The absence of family hunting territories among the Indjibandi is worthy of comment. They inhabit the valley of the Fortescue River in Western Australia where it passes in an east to west direction along the Hamersley Ranges. All people may hunt over the whole of the Indjibandi country. Adults may hunt without question. Young men may hunt, but there are restrictions on some animal foods they may eat, and in addition a prohibition called ['tadji] is invoked after the death of a man of a specific totem, so that those who mourn for him refrain from eating this food for extended periods after which they are physically forced into eating it again. There is only the one mori ['mori] or boundary, the one that separates their territory from those of other tribes. The Indjibandi mori or boundary line with the Kariara, for example, is at the Yule River.

Hunting success rites, complete with songs, were in this tribe shared by many people. The rites were called ['juŋguri]. Men sat down around a fire about midmorning. They sang songs and each placed a mori marnda ['mori 'marnda], a special type of pebble, in the fire. They watched the stones as they sang. If the stone an individual had placed in the fire suddenly burst it was a sign that he would have success in hunting. After this rite they would go into the ['walbara] and hunt. The porcupine grass would be fired in such a way as to drive the game to a place where the animals could be speared. There would be a "hell of a big fire." They might get "ten or eleven" kangaroos. The association of the term mori (boundary) with this hunting magic rite is of interest.

The Pitjandjara who do recognize hordal territories often spend the early months of summer, the period of water shortage, camped closely together near their reserve water supplies and then share in common the foods available in such areas. At the beginning it may be a time of relative plenty, for all animals are forced to come in for water as lesser supplies dry out and they are

then readily captured. When the summer rains had fallen and dispersal was possible, there was an early exodus, for usually little or no food remained near the main centers. Each extended family or hordal group moved out in a well-recognized direction to exploit specific areas for dingo pups and other meats and to gather vegetable foods, which would begin to develop after the rains. At first it could be a time of hunger, but as food plants came to maturity, it turned into plenty. They then could gather, each from his own territory, not only general foods but such items as the treasured spear-butt sticks from *Pandorea doratoxylon* shrubs, the slabs of mulga wood for spear-throwers, and the "dead finish" and other hardwoods used for the making of ceremonial boards. Groves of these trees were horde property. So also were special resins, such as that from *Xanthorrhoea thorntoni*, ochre supplies from specific places, and implement stones from certain mining places. These were exploited at this time of the year. As one of their songs relates, "Green time is the good time." A man's real home is the country where he can take any spear wood, timber for shield or club or spear-thrower, without having to ask anyone else for it.

In the areas of territories shared with other hordes for part of the year, many of these important products may have been so depleted by overuse in past generations that to all intents and purposes they do not exist, so that the question of property rights may seldom arise. In such a place east of the MacDonnell Ranges in another tribe, I have seen two Iliaura men simultaneously start to run toward a mulga tree. One touched it before the other and later returned to split off a boomerang from a particular bend in the trunk which both had seen and one had marked by touching it. Here there was no question of hordal right—the first man won.

The five principal Pitjandjara hordes lived in different parts of the whole territory. They met in a few places favored by springs of water during the annual season of drought in early summer. They usually had to congregate in the western Musgraves where there were virtually assured water supplies.

At other times, the Kurujulta horde was generally in the northern part of the tribal area, extending eastward from Patupiri, the principal water in the Kathleen Range. Many of the people of this horde, including the oldest remembered person, Patupiri, are dead, and Imandura, an unmarried girl of about eighteen years of age who was at Giles Pinnacle in 1963, was almost the only known survivor still living in her country, along with some Ngadadjara persons. The latter had for some years extended their living area into the western Petermann Ranges, having usurped it after the Pitjandjara withdrew to the east, first because of drought, and then to take advantage of opportunities afforded by contact with white settlers.

The Maiulatara as a horde claimed areas to the east of the Kurujulta. They moved eastward to Tempe Downs and Areyonga many years ago, one of the first hordes to make contact with white men; they are now partly absorbed into the Matuntara tribe. Some are at Areyonga. The mother of the aged F_1 white half-caste Tommy Dodd was a Maiulatara. She spoke Pitjandjara, but her son Tommy was brought up among Jangkundjara people in the Everard Ranges.

The southeastern horde, many of whom are now living near Oparinna and Musgrave Park, is the Wirtjapakandja. It was this horde that commenced the movement into the eastern Musgraves after the great drought of the 1914–1915 season when they usurped part of the Jangkundjara territory. Their name has some connotation of meaning "displaced people." The Mulatara held the country just to the west of them, their territory extending southward to Kalaiapiti, near Mount Sir Thomas, and westward to near Mount Hinckley.

The Pibiri were the northeastern group, living west of Mount Connor, and claiming Ayers Rock and Mount Olga. Their hunting area adjoined the boundary with the Matuntara tribespeople who possess a different dialect or language, known to the Pitjandjara as Aluna.

Since formation of the Mission Station at Ernabella, and distributions of rations at other places, these older hordal patterns are now being greatly modified.

The Tanganekald of the Coorong in South Australia (fig. 6) were divided into some twenty-two patrilineal exogamous clans, each of which generally lived in its own ['ru:we] or hordal territory. There they exploited specific fish traps, used nets set up on the recognized flight paths of ducks, and engaged in spear hunts for kangaroos at recognized watering places within their own hordal territory. They visited with neighboring hordes according to recognized principles that a man had some food rights in his father's mother's former home ['mut:awu'ruwi] as well as in his mother's mother's clan territory ['pak:awu-'ruwi]. There were, however, certain periods of seasonal abundance, often coinciding with times of food stress elsewhere, which led to invasions by other hordes-people. There were times for the taking of schools of mullet, the gathering of ['mantari] (*Kunzea pomifera*), native cranberries (*Astroloma hemifusum*), and other seasonal fruits. Further the unplanned, though supposedly magically induced, stranding of a whale was an occasion for massive invasion of any hordal territory once the aroma

of a "feast" had been wafted downwind. Thus in the Tanganekald there was a partial limitation in territorial rights, but the times of separation were "usual" and the times of coming together "exceptional," whereas the reverse might be said to be true among the Pitjandjara, when sometimes unusual rains had to be awaited in order that hordes-people could traverse difficult country to exploit fully, on a hordal basis, the products of their own particular territories.

The Kaiadilt of Bentinck Island are an example, perhaps a little atypical, of those tribes in which each horde normally lives only on its own territory and exploits its own foods. All rights in food remain with the ['dolnorodaŋka] who is the oldest adult male of a specific ['rowa] or hordal territory, and any exploitation by others was a privilege for which they paid heavily, up to one-half or more of all their takings. In the case of the taking of a turtle or a dugong, the dolnorodangka receives most of the good meat and his only duty to other hordes-people is to give each individual a cooked dugong rib, this distributional gesture being confined to those who might be present. Visitors from other dolnoro were usually given opportunities to take, prepare, and consume the offal. Even in the taking of emergency standby foods, such as reef oysters, permission is sought and a man has no right to walkabout and spearfish in the confines of any but his own family fish traps, and no one would dare to take red ochre or hard stone for implements from another man's dolnoro.

Trespassing to hunt was one of the main causes of fights between tribes, as well as between persons of local groups within tribes all over Australia. This form of trespass threatened the limited and always hard-pressed fundamental sources for living. Since careful planning and rigidly observed food prohibitions often were necessary to ensure that food supplies were protected, any interference, or even the bare suspicion that trespass might have occurred, roused intense emotion. The suspicion that a group of unidentified strangers might have trespassed on the western boundaries of the Pitjandjara in the region of Kalaiapiti, which was deduced partly from otherwise unaccountable smokes seen on the horizon in 1957, led to a government patrol journey of many miles into country not traversed since the Elder Expedition named its principal features in 1892. An old man of the horde, who had not been there for many years was highly disturbed at signs several week's old showing visits to the area. It was not until several years later (Tindale, 1965) that the trespassers became known to be the Nakako, remnants of a small tribe whose normal territory lay southwest of Bell Rock Range in Western Australia. In 1957 the thought that native tobacco, growing in the cave mouths and other sheltered places after rain, might have been the object of plundering was anathema to the old man. He visualized this might have taken place and was very much disturbed because these plants were considered particularly precious possessions of the horde.

A measure of the seriousness of trespass as a wrong can be gathered from accounts of the formal combats that took place among the Jinibara of the Brisbane area. They were pursued in order to settle disputes, and the late Dr. L. P. Winterbotham has indicated (pers. comm.) that the act of trespass as a crime was considered more serious than the enticing away of a woman, and even more evil than the practicing of secret magic, such as was done by rival medicine men (gundir).

A man visiting his mother's horde among the Tanganekald could go hunting with his mother's brothers and others of the horde, but if he was inordinately successful there could be bitter words. In any event, the best parts of any animals he took had to be distributed to his mother's brother's family. The same was true when a man visited the horde from which he had received his wife; he might be well received but could always feel as if he were a stranger and that his wife's people were watching his every action. As is the custom of many peoples throughout Australia, he would of course be avoided by his wife's mother and he himself was often uneasy in case she should be near. Such emotional states and general fear of being accused of taking something that was sanctioned tended to maintain a certain barrier of sentiment even at the level of the horde.

Tenure or possession of a given clan territory and of the hordal areas surrounding it is registered in a variety of ways, and the individual often is linked with the territory by name, by knowledge of a tradition, or by some tangible marker.

One of the most interesting of these material markers is the tjurunga ['tjuruŋa] of which a variety of stone and wooden forms are met with throughout the Western Desert and its northeastern and western fringelands. Until this generation they were seemingly unknown among the Kokata and the Pitjandjara and have not been used within historical times among noncircumcising tribes of the east, southwest, and western coasts of Australia. Tjurunga seem to have originated as bull-roarers, which are thin, long, ovoid pieces of wood with a hole pierced through at one end and strung on a loop of string. The primary function of the bull-roarer was as a noisemaker; it was whirled around the head of the user so that the blade spun rapidly. In the secret ceremonial life of the men of areas in Australia where circumcision is practiced, its booming or howling note, depending on size

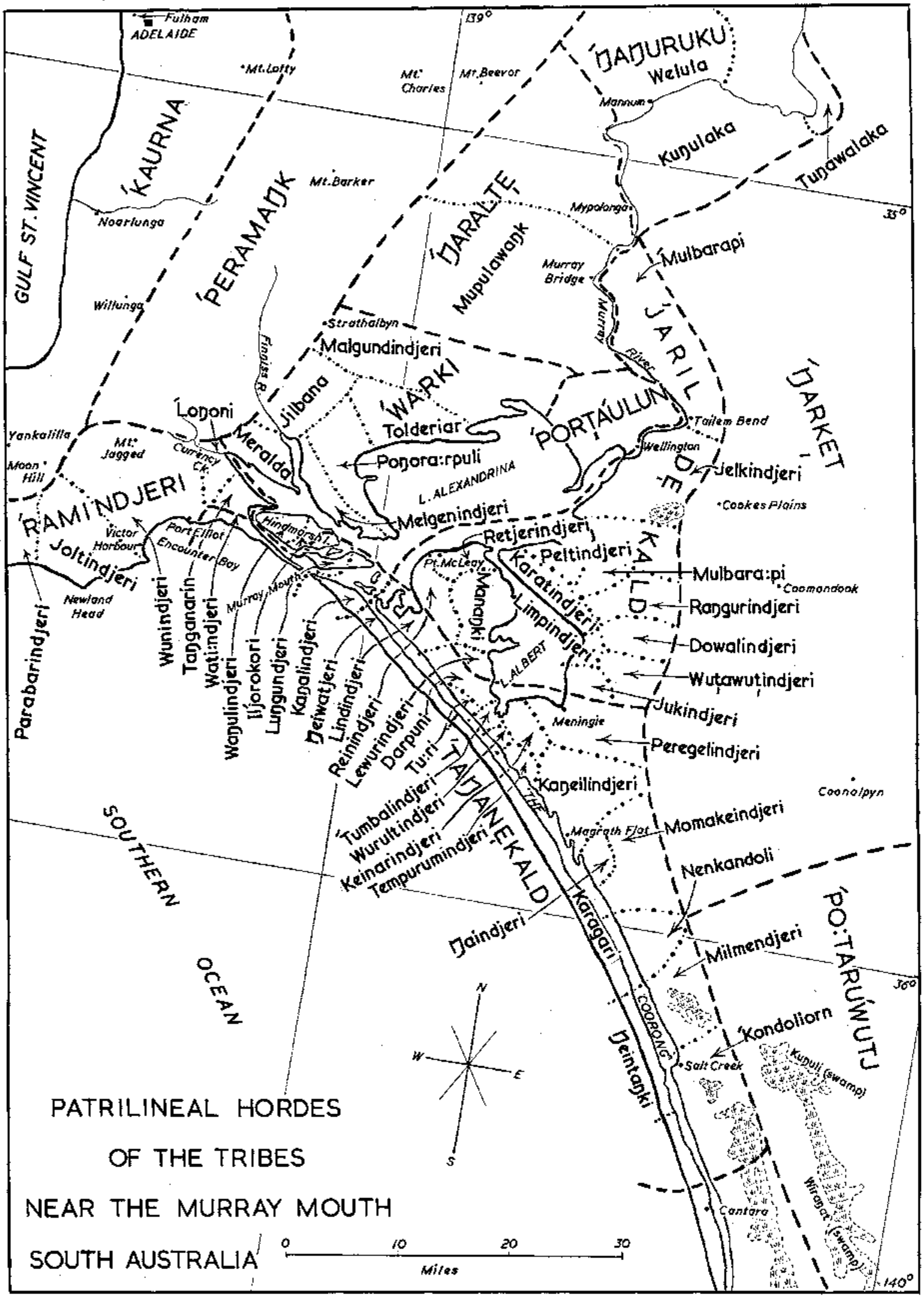


Fig. 6. Patrilineal clan areas ['ru:we], of the Tanganekald and some of their neighbors near the mouth of the Murray River in South Australia, illustrating placing of clans and concentration on areas of greatest abundance of marine products.

and spin, was the voice of a spirit being and it was used, unseen, to warn women and children of the presence of spirit forces that they had to avoid. A series of youths during their ritual seclusion after circumcision, for example, would swing a bull-roarer at the hour of dusk, giving warning of the presence of a spirit being, as they approached a watering place. Thus they would not be seen by those who were not permitted to know about their presence.

Following its use as a bull-roarer, the tjurunga has developed over wide areas to become an even more important object, the very home or residence of the spirit or essence of the totemic being of a given clan place. As a result of this extension of its significance, it has been enlarged and in the process often has lost its primary function of spirit voice, and with it the hole bored in it at one end. It also has been elaborately or otherwise marked with symbols, often capable of interpretation in terms of the totemic being that it represents. Such a totemic emblem may be made of a variety of hardwoods and bone or be carved in stone. Over wide areas of Australia, the tjurunga still evidences its former use by retaining some of the symmetries and tapered ends that characterize the prototype.

In the Western Desert, as also in central Australia, tjurunga are stored in secret hiding places in areas close to the clan totem place. Or in the case of people such as the Njangamarda, Nangatara, and the Ngalea, who have carried their large wooden sacred boards away from their original homes, they are stored on racks or frames on that side of their present residential area as is nearest to the original homeland, storage close at hand being regarded as an expedient to enable the boards to be greased, ochred, covered with blood, and otherwise cared for, without the necessity of making the whole journey back to the clan totem site itself.

The sacred boards or stones that a clansman secretes in this manner, and produces for attention and display when increase ceremonies are being performed and on other ritual occasions, are part of the proof of rightful ownership of a given territory.

It is not intended to give here an extended account of the tjurunga in all its manifestations, but certain aspects of their manufacture, decorations, and use will be discussed because of their intimate association with the basic landholding unit, the clan.

The stone tjurunga of the central Australian aborigines—Aranda, Kukatja, Anmatjera, and adjoining tribes—are well known from the basic accounts by Francis J. Gillen (in Spencer and Gillen, 1899, 1904) and by Carl Strehlow (1910). There are many later accounts, some of which, while purporting to register information about the symbols marked on these objects, have sometimes been in error through misinterpretation. One of the difficulties may have been caused by an unwillingness to admit the existence of abstract ideas among these people. Thus a recent student, more artist than anthropologist, observed that the concentric circle design on a tjurunga could mean a great variety of things—a tree, a plain, a waterhole, a hole in the ground, or even a rain cloud—without realizing that the symbol stood for the idea of "home" and that to a tnurunggatja ['tnuruŋgatja] or wood-boring Cossid grub a tree was its habitat; to a kangaroo, a plain; to an emu, a waterhole; and to a lizard, a hole in the ground, and so on. Other marks are equally generic (Tindale, 1932). Lines connecting concentric circles or spirals, for these usually are equated, represent tracks or lines of movement between homes (i.e., watering places) and a variety of marks, sometimes clearly individualized to represent emu, kangaroo, dog, and other tracks, symbolize the movements of the totemic being around its *oekomene*. An interesting feature in many Western Desert tjurunga that have similar patterns on both faces of the board or stone is that while on one side it represents the totemic being, whether dog, kangaroo, opossum, or other creature, the reverse side represents the human beings of the clan, occupying the territory that has come down to them from the past. In a sense these tjurunga, whether stones or boards, are certificates of title, proofs that the territory is rightfully held.

The distribution of these boards and stones over such a wide area of Australia has unquestionably led to local variations and elaborations of the original ideas. In general, the stone tjurunga seems to have an archaeological past, so far as at present known, principally in the area immediately east, north, and west of Lake Eyre, where we find curious semilunate stone ones, either simply or not at all decorated (fig. 7). One incised stone (fig. 8) has been found at Coolamon, New South Wales, and another plain one at the Boulia River in Queensland, far away from the Aranda country. Some of these are reminiscent of the semilunate baler shell and pearl shell ornaments that to this day are traded from tribe to tribe and still reach the area where tjurunga seem to be ancient. The *Melo* or baler shell discs and pendants seemingly all have come by way of trade from the direction of Cape York and the pearl shell varieties seem all to have come from the direction of northwestern Australia. It is probable that in the central Australian area also there are many archaeological tjurunga, secreted near totemic sites, but the continuance of their use up to the present time has ensured that the older ones, when found, are immediately recirculated with the same or similar identities, since their presence at the clan

center is in accord with Aranda and Kukatja concepts that spirit children are there and awaiting rebirth. They enter the bodies of women who feel a child moving in them when they are near one of these clan totem centers, and the men, searching, find the tjurunga from which, they infer, or pretend, it has been reborn.

In recent years stone tjurunga formed from a greenish-colored schist have been revealed as existing among the Ngalea of the country north of the Nullarbor Plains. The stone of which they are made probably originated in Western Australia. I have seen one. It was called a lara ['lara] and was one of a set of four belonging to the ['Wetululu 'tjitji], an ancestral "bird child." According to tradition, they were made at Coolgardie Hill long before the coming of white men, and were taken to Kalgoorlie and thence to Lewurinj (place not identified) and there secreted in a cave or kulpi ['kulpi] from which they were stolen by ancestral beings called the ['Wati 'Kutjara 'tjukurupa] (men two totem). The two men were ['Jungku] and ['Milpali] (two species of lizard). They took the stones to ['Malajar], a place east-northeast from Loongana on the border of Pindiini and Ngalea country. The Wetululu boy followed them on their journey. In the Malajar country near ['Maljuri] and ['Mantji] they remained and were clan emblems of the men of the Wati Kutjara Milpali tjukurupa of that area.

When the forced migration of the Ngalea people south out of the desert took place, owing to drought in the early 1930s, the stones were taken first toward Cunderlee. Sometime before 1964 they were carried to Ooldea and thence to near Yalata in South Australia where men of the Wati Kutjara tjukurupa had settled on the Government Station. The existence of these most secret of their clan emblems was revealed when one of the four was broken in a fall from its hiding place in a tree, much to the alarm of its custodians. Barry Lindner of Yalata was asked to repair it; it happened to be during the time of my visit to the Ngalea in October 1964. The existence of such lara is kept secret even from mature men who have passed through all their initiation rites and have attained ages of over thirty years. Large wooden lara, slightly less secret, are seen by fully initiated men. They are kept on

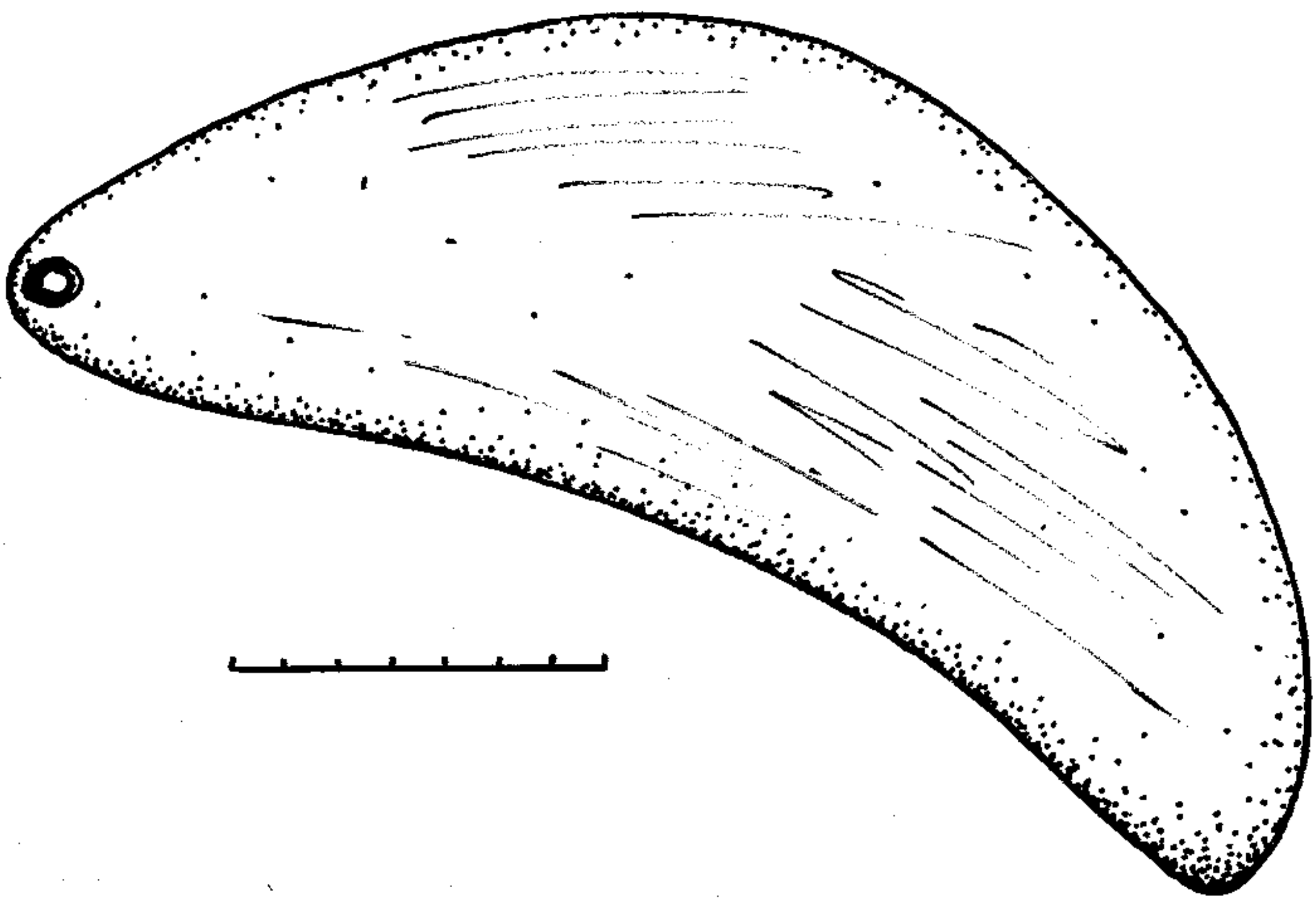
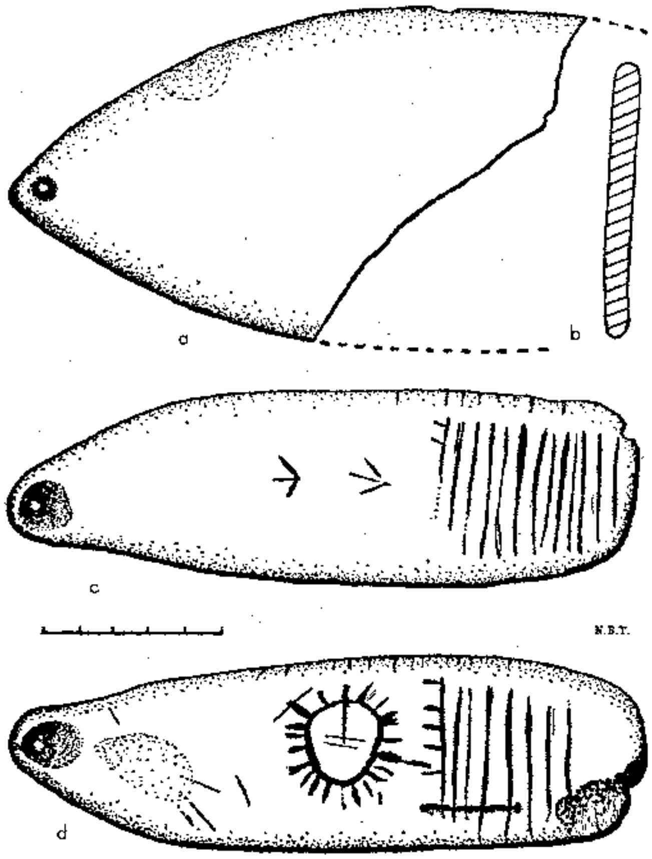


Fig. 7. Semilunate tjurunga from Lake Eyre archaeological find. Scale indicates centimeters (South Australian Museum).



a. Portion of an example from Boulia River, Queensland (specimen in Nielson Collection).
b. Transverse section through it.
cd. Two faces of specimen from Coolamon, New South Wales (specimen A.54131 in S.A. Museum).
Scale is in centimeters.

Fig. 8. Stone tjurunga from Queensland and New South Wales. *Top:* Broken piece from Boulia River, Queensland. *Middle and bottom:* Two sides of one from Coolamon, N.S.W. (A.54131 in South Australian Museum).

racks in bough huts in areas forbidden to women and children. Their preservation by greasing and coating with red ochre mixed with human blood is the responsibility of men of the clan. Many of them are of hardwoods such as "dead finish" and mulga and some are of great length, up to seventeen feet. Some of the boards were made at a place called Lewurinja, not yet identified, but north of Ooldea.

Since the Ngalea and Pindiini have shifted into the relative civilization of Yalata, the men of the ['Wati 'Kutjara] totem clan have laboriously transported their boards in stages from Malajar and from their other clan waters, first to Ooldea before 1934, and when that area was closed to occupation by government about twenty years later, to Yalata. With increasing anxiety for their safety the oldest of the ['Wati 'Kutjara] boards first were passed to the South Australian Museum in 1949 at Ooldea and in later years the rest of them were given, with one or two minor exceptions, chiefly those in the care of missionaries. In October 1964 the whole set of about fifty wooden boards of the ['Wati 'Kutjara 'Milpali 'tjukur] were secretly displayed again at Yalata so that the Ngalea could be assured that they were in safekeeping, and a check made so that there should be adequate documentation for all those preserved in Adelaide.

The use of these clan emblems is very widespread, and it has been possible to visit a storehouse of them among the Ngadadjara at a place a short distance from Warupuju water, near Giles in the Rawlinson Ranges, as well as to see hidden emblems near the similarly named Warupuju in the Warburton Ranges. Plate 69 shows the oldest man of the local clan, Katabulka, displaying his clan emblems there in 1935.

A store of Njamal, Njangamarda, and Nangatara boards near Hall Creek, was inspected in 1953 and a photographic record made of the boards. A further storage area north of La Grange, containing Mangala, Nangatara, and Walmadjari boards, was also examined. These have been brought together because of the post-contact situation which discourages the aborigines from going back to their original homes. At La Grange some boards were associated with the ['Baka Tjimberi], or "Two men" totem. These were reminiscent of boards in use as clan emblems of a "Two men" totem, the ['Wati 'Kutjara 'tjukurupa] among the Ngalea, over 700 miles (1,100 km.) to the southeast. There was also a large and very ancient storage place, near Mandora, Western Australia, where racks representing the boards of at least three successive generations of northern Njangamarda were studied. They are said to have been present ever since these people moved out of the Great Sandy Desert west toward the coast of the Indian Ocean. The last two generations of boards are still being greased and preserved intact; those of their grandparental generation are beginning to fall into ruin and become termite ridden. Traces of still older racks also are evident, now so completely incorporated into termite mounds that only "ghosts" of them remain. The twenty-three boards that were being eaten were in general smaller than the newer ones and had perhaps accompanied the younger members of the original group who had migrated west at a time said to be before the time of white occupation. There were 140 boards of the past two generations. These had been brought together from the territories of five clans of the northern Njangamarda—namely those of ['Djiŋano], ['Kombidjiri], ['Jalajala], ['Marajardu], and

['Keida]—and were kept on the largest rack. Each man had at least two, one older than the other.

The second well-preserved rack held approximately fifty boards. They were all brought west in the past few years by Nangatara men who had been driven out of their country near the Canning Stock Route at Njimara, Naruka, Julba, Kardaia, Mulikutjara, Winba, Tjalin, and Mirdu, all these being waters in a territory lying south of that of the Walmadjari (Tjiwaling). The listed places are chiefly those lying between Percival and Tobin lakes.

Another tangible mark of possession was the stone often placed at the boundary between two separate hordal areas. Such markers, sometimes consisting of heaps of stone, were used among the Jarildekald, the Tanganekald, and the Potaruwutj of the southeastern part of South Australia. In these tribes the name of the principal geographical feature of the hordal territory, or of some other special characteristic of it, was employed, often with a suffix such as [-'injeri] or [-'orn] attached to denote the area possessed. The suffix -injeri had the meaning of "belonging to" while -orn is a contraction of ['korn] meaning man or person, thus ['Kondoliorn] "whale men," the Tanganekald clan possessing the southern shoreline at the mouth of the Murray River, and ['Kangalindjeri] when they were spoken of as the group who owned the area of ['Kangali], the southern shore at the mouth of the Murray River (see fig. 6).

Ownership of a given clan territory often is registered by the giving of a name to the individual which links him either with his birthplace or with his clan totem area.

The Kaiadilt of Bentinck Island have two names, one a totem name ['tjata 'neda], the other a ngati [-'ŋati] name that links him with his birthplace. Thus ['Minakuri-ngati 'Kulkitj] was the person born at Minakuri and of the shark ['kulkitj] totem. Possession of the locality name gives continuous and unassailable evidence of right of residence at the place named and ensured the enjoyment of the products of the dolnoro or clan area in which it lay, subject to the overriding will of the senior male of the clan who claimed the whole clan territory as his own.

At the other end of the continent among the Kaurna of the area near Adelaide, the suffix -burka, which has a basic meaning of "old" or "old man," placed after a place name identified a person as the rightful inhabitant of a given clan territory of which the place was a prominent marker. Examples are ['Mul:a'wir:aburka] "Dry forest old man," Ngangkipariburka ['Ŋaŋkipar:i-'burka] "Woman's" river "old man," that is, the inhabitant of an area on the Ongkaparinga River, near Noarlunga, South Australia, the river itself being called the Ngangkiparinga ['Ŋaŋki'pari'ŋa].

The number of people present in the Australian horde has been the subject of debate and a conclusion as to the mean number is of considerable interest to those studying aspects of population. It has proved difficult to gather sufficient detailed information, unclouded by the disruptive effects of European contacts, to come to a very positive answer. In my studies I have come to regard thirty as the optimum size for the horde, but this is not necessarily the same as the mean, which may be set at a somewhat lower round figure of twenty-five.

Eight hordes of the Kaiadilt people inhabiting Bentinck Island totaled 123 persons at their moment of greatest population expansion in this century, and before contact with the Western world. This suggests a much lower mean figure. The year-by-year fluctuations over some fifty years imply a mean near fifteen persons per dolnoro in this rather isolated tribal group living in one of the most densely occupied areas reported for any Australian tribe (Tindale, 1962, two papers).

There are examples of hordal groups that muster as many as fifty and even sixty persons. Usually when the larger number of individuals is reached, there is evidence of a tendency to schism, since there are relatively few areas where the presence of more than about thirty persons at a time does not begin to place too great a pressure on nature, leading gradually to a depletion in availability of the best foods in areas sufficiently close to water to enable living conditions to be tolerable, if not ideal. As mentioned previously, the coming together of several hordes at one camping place for ceremonies tended to put sufficient pressure on staple food supplies within a relatively limited period, so that women would rebel at having to tramp too far afield for their supplies. Figure 9 shows population pyramids for several hordes. These have been compiled for areas where data are available from people still living outside influences of Western culture. They may be useful in visualizing the general size and structure of the Australian horde.

Falkenberg (1962) found that the average number of individuals in a clan in his area of the Murinbata near Port Keats in the Northern Territory lay between twenty-six and twenty-seven with the sexes about equal. The women of marriageable age of course would tend to be living in their husband's clan territory, but they would as a rule be replaced by corresponding numbers of women of other clans who were married into the clan.

Birdsell (1953, 1957, 1958) has developed theoretical models for the tribe and also the horde, for which recent terminology favors the supposedly noncommittal term "band." Our joint fieldwork amply supports his theoreti-

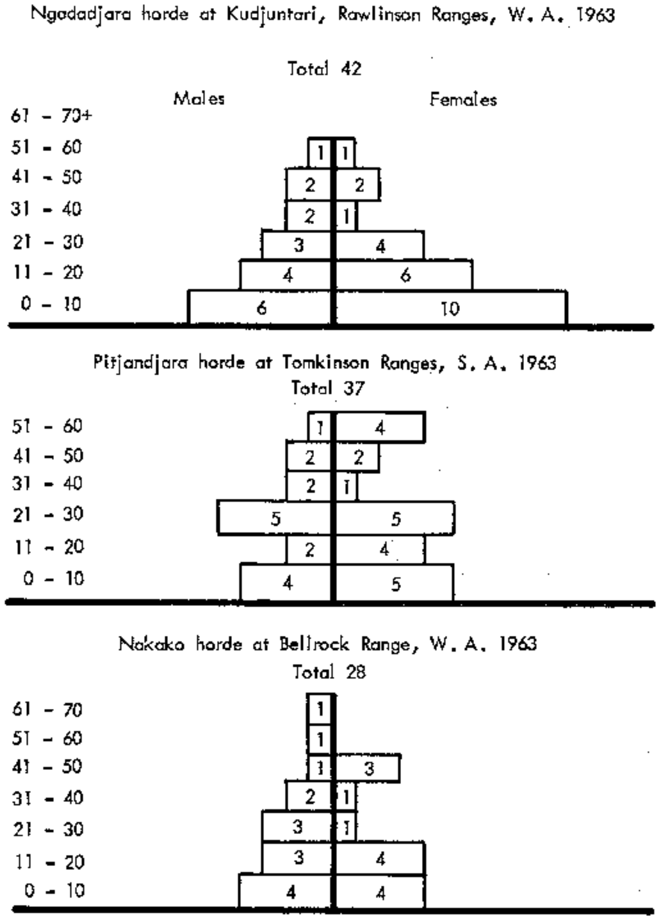


Fig. 9. Samples of age structure of Western Desert hordes.

cal conclusions that generalized collecting and hunting populations are relatively stable, and they are in equilibrium with the carrying capacity of their country to the limit of their skills as extractors of energy. Using data on intertribal marriages provided by my analysis of our field data, he demonstrates that given a general figure of ten hordes in a tribe boundaries have a powerful restrictive effect on outside contacts. If they did not exist extratribal marriages would have tended to be several times as many as my data show them to be. In his analyses Birdsell used a horde level of twenty-five persons and assumed that the mean population size of his theoretical tribes was five hundred. Such figures yield useful generalizations that can be compared with our information on the living people.

THE TRIBE

When people live together, it is a universal observation that they arrange their lives in a system. The degree and complexity of the type of organization depend on a multiplicity of factors. Although a highly organized social life may be present in a complex society based on agriculture or industry, there often are less elaborate political arrangements among simpler communities.

In previous paragraphs we have seen that among the food gathering and hunting peoples of Australia limits of travel on foot, the absence of organized storage and transport of food, and the limits of communication imposed by a diffused occupation of their land ensure that the extended family group or horde is one of the basic units of society. Under normal circumstances members of Australian aboriginal society prefer to live together in such limited groups, sharing the intimacies of daily life and happenings. This type of life is encouraged, since the communities are dispersed over their land at a density of population seldom as high as one person per two square miles, except in a few circumstances which are discussed in chapter 8 in some detail.

Nevertheless there is communication with other hordes, and at the limit of political organization in Australia there is the tribe, the largest in which a man can readily share in the full life of the community, imparting his thoughts to others whom he meets with a feeling that he is among his own kind. These are not strangers, ngatari [ˈŋatari]. They share a common bond of kinship and claim a common territory, even though the sharing in it may be the subject of restrictions on the taking of certain foods and the exploitation of some other resources may be limited without prior arrangement or permissible only by reason of the possession of specific kinship ties, for within the tribe there are sometimes distinctions between what a man may do in his own clan country, in that of his mother, and in those of his wife's people.

In Australia this larger unit has a widely recognized name, a bond of common speech, and perhaps a reputation, and even an aura of names—polite, rude, or insulting—given to it by other tribespeople who live in adjoining territories. The subject of tribal names appears in chapter 2.

Australia has one of the largest areas of territory occupied by peoples in an approximately uniform state of hunting culture, differing from region to region chiefly because of the different animals and plants upon which the people depend for a living and because of the acquisition of ideas by some which have not yet spread to all. With relatively few exceptions the coherence of the tribe within its territory is based on a few relatively simple rules. These can be demonstrated to be active because of the large number, nearly six-hundred examples, which can be studied. Other things being equal, it seems clear that at the general level of the Australian hunter, tribal coherence is based on community of

thought and communication by reason of the possession of a common language. They have the ability at least periodically to meet together for the exchange of women between hordes. They develop ideas in common and there is sharing of initiation rites and increase ceremonies.

The size and nature of Australian tribes are strongly controlled by geography and by man's ability to travel out from a sure base or center where he feels secure. Except where special conditions exist, strongly linear tribal territories therefore are rare, and compact subrectangular or subcircular tribal territories are common. Consideration of the many tribal areas shown on the first edition of the Australian map of tribes (Tindale, 1940), initially drew attention to the probability that the ideal tribal area for a centrally located tribe was either a five- or a six-sided figure with a mean of 5.5 contacts with neighboring tribes, thus approaching very nearly to the ideal shape of the cell of the honeybee. This shape suggests the powerful influence that distance has on interrelationships between peoples.

When a tribal territory departs widely from this shape, it is usually under strong control of some special physiographic or ecological feature. Thus the boundaries of the Wadikali territory as shown on the main map has a long southwesterly extension. This is determined by terrain and by the long course of Yandama creek which flows southwestward through country that otherwise provides little attraction to tribes living north or south of the Wadikali.

Further inspection of the map suggests that a hunting tribe at its greatest extent seems to have a territory of a diameter no greater than about 200 or 250 miles (320–400 km.), and these dimensions generally are found only when the area is so arid that more than 50 square miles (130 sq. km.) of territory are necessary for the yearlong support of each person in the tribe. At such a nominal density of population, isolation and the difficulties of traveling to meet together tend to prevent the coherence of more than from 250 to 750 persons in a single tribal group. A figure of 500 was at first assumed as likely to be the mean population size of an Australian tribe, but from experience in the field, and after discussions with Birdsell and others, it seems likely on very valid grounds that this figure may be too high and that 450 persons per tribe may be the ideal figure.

It is of considerable theoretical interest that in territories more fertile, occupied by Australians, it is not general that the tribal population numbers increase but that the tribal area tends to be less. Even in areas so rich in terms of occupancy by hunters that a density of one person to 3 or 5 miles is possible, the population maximum rarely exceeds the figure of 450. A few notable exceptions, including the Kamilaroi, Wiradjuri and Wadjari, are discussed in chapter 8. The general fact was first brought out by Tindale (1940), and Birdsell (1953) confirmed this by measuring the tribal areas of the 1940 map and publishing a graph showing the reality of this relationship (fig. 10).

The factors of size, shape, and density of occupation noticed among Australians may be of considerable value in enabling us to appreciate the milieu in which early Homo sapiens lived in subtropical Asia and Africa during the second half of the Pleistocene period.

The degree of isolation that may determine a tribal unit both in the cultural and physical planes is a matter of some interest.

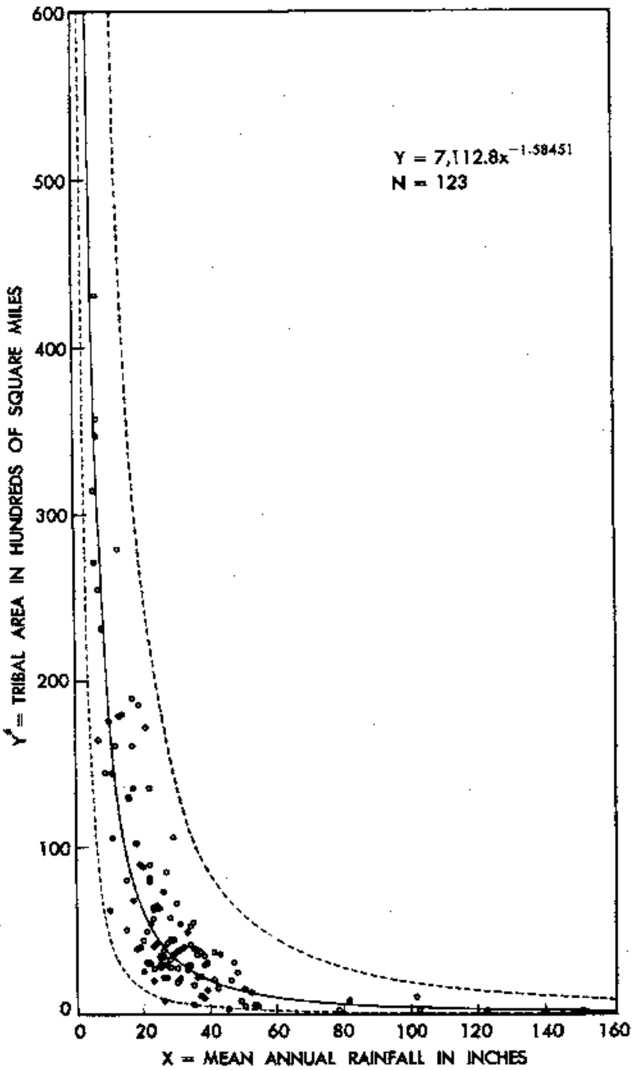


Fig. 10. Correlation between size of tribal area and rainfall in a series of noncoastal tribes (after Birdsell, 1953).

Gathering of data on intertribal marriages in Australia has shown (Tindale, 1953) that a mean of 86 percent of marriages are within the tribe and 14 percent tend to be intertribal. Thus the likely role of gene exchange has been determined and models constructed (Birdsell, 1953, 1958), which have led to a considerable advance in understanding of the way in which Pleistocene populations of hunting man may have been modified and influenced.

The tribal divisions listed in this work are those accepted and named by aborigines themselves, using so far as possible their own criteria. Generally speaking, they have a name, recognize a territorial boundary, linguistic bonds, and a common system of kinship. They share in a familiar round of ceremonies and habitually exchange wives between their clans, which they regard as lesser groupings than the tribe as a whole. They may live together in hordal associations or on occasion separate into larger or smaller family units.

The tribe is the largest consistently named and recognized unit known to aborigines. In practice it is composed of a few or many exogamous clans whose members, usually, but not consistently, live apart, for the better utilization of the rather sparse amount of food that is present in their country. A common bond of language is present although minor differences in dialect may characterize the more distantly separated hordes of a large tribe. There does not have to be a language barrier to mark a tribal boundary. Members of a tribe are aware of the limits of their own territory and a sense of trespass or guilt appears when the bounds are reached.

Historically there is evidence for tribal splitting, as also for both the absorption and the extinction of some unsuccessful tribes.

Much of the confusion in popular and even anthropological literature regarding tribes is due to the existence of more than one name, most of them given by outsiders. Westerners who made earlier contacts with the aborigines often picked up these lesser terms, as they worked through more settled peoples, creating confusion from the very beginning, often compounded by the barbarous inconsistencies in the spellings they perpetrated.

A major purpose of this work is to discover the real tribal units, to determine their proper names and their real bounds, and to relegate alternative names, corruptions, and misapplied terms to their rightful places.

The term *tribe* must be defined in its sense of usage in Australia before any further consideration is given to ascertaining the way in which Australian aboriginal peoples are divided into major groups.

One of the standard definitions of a tribe is "a group of a simple kind, nomadic or settled in a definite locality, speaking a common dialect, with a rude form of government, and capable of uniting for common action, as in warfare."

Murray (1926) under the dictionary heading "tribe" lists meanings for the word under seven main headings, none of which is directly applicable to the Australian situation. Only two, numbers 1 and 3, contain elements of resemblance to the aboriginal tribe. His first is "a group of persons forming a community and claiming descent from a common ancestor" and his third, "a race of people; now applied especially to a primary aggregate of people in a primitive or barbarous condition under a headman or chief." The Australian tribe is a community but does not claim descent from one ancestor; it is a primary aggregate, its members genetically closely related, living in a barbarous condition, but the tribe does not have any well-recognized chief or headman.

The word *tribe* appeared about A.D. 1250 in the form *tribu* in Middle English, its plural *tribuz* may have been from the Latin *tribūs* which is explained by Murray as compounded from *tri*-three and the verbal root *bhu, bu, fu,* thought by some to be cognate with the Welsh tref, meaning an inhabited place or town.

The 1961 edition of *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* lists the term tribe in four main categories and in several lesser ones. It traces the word from Middle English *tribu.* Tribe is derived from the Old French *tribu,* itself from *tribus,* meaning one-third of the Roman people.

It also lists four main groups and subgroups of meanings of which the following have some elements that may seem applicable to aboriginal Australians, namely: "(1) : a social group comprising numerous families, clans, or generations together with slaves, dependents or adopted strangers . . . (2) : an endogamous social group held to be descended from a common ancestor and composed of numerous families, exogamous clans, bands, or villages, that occupies a specific geographic territory, possesses cultural, religious, and linguistic homogeneity and is commonly united politically under one head or chief . . . (3) : a primitive group acting under a chief (nomadic tribes)."

The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* quotes W. H. R. Rivers's definition of a tribe as "a social group of simple kind, the members of which speak a common dialect, have a single government, and act together for such common purposes as warfare." Murdock who is the authority for the statement in the edition consulted quotes Kroeber (1953), Rivers (1924), Lowie (1920, 1947), and his own contribution, Murdock et al. (1950). He suggests that tribes usually are composed of local communities (bands, villages, or neighborhoods), and the term is confined to

groups whose unity is based primarily upon a sense of extended kinship ties. The quoted exceptions include one where two mutually unintelligible languages are spoken and another where the tribe is composed of a single community. In Africa members of a tribe in fragmentation may be scattered among two or more others for whom they may perform some special service.

It is noted that any criterion of political integration is inapplicable to some peoples called "primitive," including some who are Australian. In such cases anthropologists are accustomed to "divide such peoples into 'tribes' on the basis of linguistic and cultural resemblances." Sometimes a cluster of independent local groups forms an intermarrying unit or maintains peaceful trade relations, unified by a common cult or age-grade organization, despite a lack of political integration. Often the element distinguishing it from other clusters of people is a peculiarity of dialect or of culture.

The emphasis in the definitions is on what authorities do to divide people on the basis of specific criteria such as language, genetic relationship, or cultural resemblances. The results may not be happy where the criteria laid down do not fit the natural situation as it exists. The alternatives seem to be either to use the term *tribe* in Australia in a special sense, defining the local application of the term as clearly as is possible or to feature an entirely new term by taking one used by an Australian people considered to be typically organized, and to utilize it in a general sense.

There is unfortunately no widespread or universal term in Australia which might be seized upon, since the very fact of the close restriction of each "tribal" group to its own territory has given them a myopic view of people in general, an *us* and *them* approach—*good speakers* and *bad ones, we* and *aliens.* The best territorial term I have encountered is the one used by the Kaiadilt of Bentinck Island who regard their tribal area as a *dulk* meaning "land" and define the whole area as Dulkawalnged ['Dulkawal'ŋe:d]—the "land of all." Their definition was rendered easy because there were few signs of any world external to this "land of all." Only a half mystical external world existed compounded of the smoke of lines of fires occasionally visible on the horizon. Tradition thus supported the barely visible evidence to be seen only from the tops of sand hills at two places, that there were small pieces of land beyond their sea horizon.

In this work we consider the "tribe" as the normally endogamous unit most commonly recognized in Australia, generally known as occupying a given territory, speaking mutually intelligible dialects, having a common kinship system, and sharing the performance of ceremonial rites of interest to them all.

Association of the word tribe with the major unit of Australian society came early and extended to more than one country. Thus Lesson and Garnot (1826 (1):106–113) used the term in the following way "Le langage des Australiens diffère de tribu a tribu."

Again, to repeat, the largest consistent unit recognized in this work is the tribe. This is sometimes asserted to be merely a linguistic group, but it is more than that, for in the general pattern of native life, all or the majority of the members of a tribe come together to perform the more important religious and initiatory rites. At such gatherings they settle disputes, and there are opportunities for the more vocal and aggressive among them to ventilate grievances, fears, and accumulated venom. Whole tribal units, when they come together, may be composed of from 100 to occasionally over 1,000 individuals, but it is only on the most favorable occasions that they can do so for more than brief periods, since seldom does food supply permit all to linger long in a common assembly. In almost every part of Australia the tribe has a name or responds to one of a series of names that are regarded as synonyms. Most of these names are of their own devising, others have been coined for them by neighbors and occasionally have been given to them by anthropologists who have studied them. The form these names take are various; supposed peculiarities of speech, or territory, or even of physical form, yield names to which they respond as a unit. Details of types of names are given in chapter 2.

Political organization of the tribe is generally loose, allegiance is often divided, but most often is focused on elders or holders of traditions of the tribe and on owners and leaders of the various totemic ceremonies that dominate the social life of the tribe. Particular instances exist where a good hunter, a man given either to sorcery or to magical practices, or even a particularly skilled fighter, could and sometimes has exerted some authority. There is in general no formal institution of "chief" or true leader, although ever since white settlement began efforts have been made to establish some sort of leadership role, and some pretense of chiefly authority has been made by natives who have adopted white ways.

Warfare was little organized. Bases of most strife were the quarrels originating in the frustrations of everyday life. Larger disputes often involved the defense of territories or their usurpation, and the taking of women. Occasional instances of all-out attack on a tribe of people and the usurpation of a tribal area by members of another tribe are matters of history. In some instances drought has been the impelling force and lack of immediate associations or contact the spur. They attacked strangers (the ngatari of the Pitjandjara) not

people with whom they had prior contacts. Their victims were people they regarded as aliens. Where intertribal marriages were common, the cross-tribal kinship links established thereby often prevented large-scale quarrels. Instances have been observed where tribespeople who have had no direct contact for periods of upward of fifteen or twenty years have been compelled to encounter one another again by being forced to seek refuge in a common watering place, yet their encounters have ended in temporarily harmonious associations. Sometimes this accommodation has come only after overt actions that, in other circumstances, might have led to serious conflict (pls. 56–67 are relevant). In all such encounters with strangers or near strangers, a man's loyalty is to his own family group; he will fight for their protection; his cause is immediately before him and success or failure, whether in diplomacy or actual combat, often means survival or death. This is not to say that in quarrels within the horde fighting could not take place, often without much prior thought being given to it (pl. 83 is relevant). Here again loyalty was toward the closer kin.

A suite of songs of the Bunganditj and Tanganekald may be quoted here for their intimate glimpses into this aspect of aboriginal life, and, incidentally, they serve to indicate the looseness of the social structure. Two songs register types of friction at the horde level among the Bunganditj people at Millicent in South Australia. The first tells of a hunter rising early in the morning, full of hope, smoking himself and his weapons over a fire to remove scent and evil influences. Unable to come near game even by crawling, he returns to his camp in a quarrelsome mood, brandishing weapons, and ready for a fight. In the second song the hunter, to vent his spleen, names and challenges a man. People watch as the two step out. "What's the trouble," they cry. All rush to fight. Some rush into the scrimmage before they have learned its cause. The words and music are available and the words were published in my papers on aboriginal songs (1937:107; 1941:237). In their staccato and impressionistic recording of the changing moods of a hunter's day, they reveal a mature, if simple style. The second song shows how kinfolk rally to defense even though there is no time to learn if there was merit in the action.

The force of community control is undoubtedly fortified by the use of song and the powers of ridicule and rebuke in them, although in some songs the added power of the man practicing "death magic" is also seen as a controlling force. In this regard old dances and songs, describing the fate of ancients who misbehaved and suffered for their actions were made topical, "pieces" being put in to make them fit the new circumstances. Thus another Bunganditj song was used when trouble developed between hordes over matrimonial exchanges. It told of an old-time woman, ['Matujeire], who abandoned her husband in favor of another man. Her friends said, "Carry on we will keep your husband's anger away."

A quarrel developed. Other friends said, "Listen to your husband, you have a good man, don't heed those bad men friends of yours." A gloss of the content of the song is

> Matujeire returns at sunset full of hate
> They've been together; her husband sees
> She's departed from his camp
> Though beaten by all she's refusing
> To return to her home. Die!

Milerum, the singer of the above song said of it, "Old songs properly used mean a great deal and make the new troubles come right." He told how the Ramindjeri of Encounter Bay had tungari ['tuŋari] songs named ['mantu'maŋgari] or songs of caution which were of obvious social value. One was a song to make a widow behave. It would be sung when a widow appeared to be too anxious to remarry. Perhaps she had been only one season free. He is probably a young man and she desires him "too soon." Old Ramindjeri women are indignant. They sing this song in derision. "The talk is there," that is, "it shows that people are talking about her behavior."

> She stands: she looks about
> She stands: she looks about
> Expecting
> Go! follow him about
> Go! hope to find him.

Milerum told also of very powerful mantumanggari songs in his own tribe, the Tanganekald. One was sung by the Kangalindjeri clansmen of the south side of the mouth of the Murray River. It had the power to force a reluctant widow to remarry and accept the man to whom she rightfully should fall.

> Dallying to get a young man
> A young man with whiskers
> Your widowhood time is over
> Leave the young lad
> You "several years widow." Be careful
> We're not unmindful of your wiles.

She begins to receive hints. Finally, she is told bluntly to go to the proper man. Further refusal would mean her death by "boning," a drastic climax in which she would be stunned by a blow with a club and have a pointed bone steeped in dead body juices forced into her stomach through her rectum leading inevitably to her death.

Another type of song arose from friction between tribes over intertribal exchange of women in the southeast part of South Australia. Members of the Potaruwutj tribe of the Tatiara country, who were the Wepulprap or "Southern" people (to Milerum) were aggrieved over supposed ill treatment and killings by bone-pointing of women exchanged in marriage. The real trouble was the supposed dishonoring of the one-for-one exchange by the Tanganekald. They were being accused in the song of allowing marriages between "wrong" clans instead of sending women to the "right" ones. Their song was a ['pelekawi], one of accusation and challenge.

> We call the Tenggi people women chasers
> They are mating throughout the tribe
> We call the Tenggi people women chasers
> They are all chasing and mating.

The term ['Teŋgi] is the southerners term for the Tanganekald, the people of the Coorong lagoon. The insinuation was that formerly exchange of women was proper; now there was refusal. Milerum said, "This is a very dirty song—there is a lot of meaning in it; one word and the actions might make great trouble."

The song had been composed by Dongaganinj of the Potaruwutj tribe. The Meintangki (people of the Meintangk tribe), having heard the song, backed up the Tanganekald and made a hit of their own by singing a slanderous reply along with a challenge to fight it out at a place called Nunukapul, a recognized place of combat on the Telauri Flat near Marcollat (native name ['Matkalat]). Several men were killed. The Meintangki accusation said,

> Big man Dongaganinj makes his own rules
> About the woman Manggeartkur
> Dongaganinj helps himself
> Frightens Manggeartkur to come to him
> M! m! wi! wo!

This pelekawi was considered a song of slander and named as a ['weritjin]. The implication against the dominating personalities of the Potaruwutj, the men Dongaganinj and Weritjamini was that they had "altered" the marriage rules to retain women for themselves instead of passing them over in exchange for Meintangki girls. This song specifically imputes wrong conduct to Dongaganinj. It was directed at the people of the clan at Kangarabalak who were the parents of Manggeartkur. The expectations were that the marriages "would come right." Dongaganinj was a man who practiced magic. He had a wooden bull-roarer or ['mimikur] that he kept suspended in a ['katal] or "talking tree," that is, one in which the branches chafed together and supplied him with information of events in other places. When Dongaganinj spoke a man's name to the mimikur in the talking tree, that person would become ill and might die. In the song there is the imputation that he was using this power to frighten the woman and so entice her to himself. Milerum said that the actions accompanying the song when it was sung in public "made the trouble." Men imitated the mating habits of dogs. Their lewdly enunciated "m! m!" were expressions of derision. When they shouted "wi!" they shook their bodies fiercely and then shouted "wo!" In effect this meant "Send her back where she came from; let the dogs have her!" Weritjamini took the girl after Dongaganinj; they possessed her "turn and turn about."

Notwithstanding the hopes of the Meintangki that the challenge would lead to the restoration of woman exchanges, they were not continued, not for any fear that Meintangki women would be ill treated in revenge but because the offer of exchange of Manggeartkur was not considered a fair one.

The Tanganekald also reacted to the original song and their song added fuel to the fire. It was directed at Weritjamini and the people of Tatiara. It accused them of ill treatment of Tanganekald women given in marriage.

> The Tatiara people we hear
> Have erect penises and swollen testicles
> Our women are tired of carrying them
> Hei! ja!
> Weritjamini has an erect penis and big testes
> His women carry them for him
> Bad woman Manggeartkur lies for any man
> We men will not sleep with her
> Weritjamini and all the stupid spirits are bad marriage makers.

In the original translation a word ['powoŋko'lein] was loosely given as "whole tribe." I have since learned that the term ['powoŋko] has a deeper meaning of "spirit," "soul," or "life," being that part of a person which, after death, goes northwest to the otherwise unattainable place, Karta or Kangaroo Island. The word ['lein] means "stunned" also "stupid." There is thus little wonder that this song caused lasting bitterness between the two peoples and checked marriages between them for two generations.

It will have been noticed that the term "people" is often of value in translating words meaning tribe into English. In the song condemning the Tanganekald, for example the word ['tenua] was used twice, and in another phrase it was replaced by ['go:] which as ['ko:] in ordinary speech meant man or men.

Reverting to the general discussion of the tribe, it is seen, therefore, that the tribe consists of several local groups or hordes, each normally wandering over but a portion of the whole tribal territory. In many areas such hordal units and occasionally even the larger ones, here called tribes, are under the dominance, temporary or long recognized, of some individual or individuals who though they have little or no real authority yet by exercise of personal prestige or through exercise of magic tend to hold together a loose combination of individual family units, so that during the portion of the year when feeding is possible without special knowledge of particular localities, they are able to live together or in close proximity. Sometimes the "powered man" (term used by a Nganguruku informant) was a "native doctor" with a reputation for ability to cure sicknesses or was a sorcerer like Dongaganinj who maintained his status through fears he engendered in others.

In periods of the year when food-gathering required particular knowledge or skills, the smaller individual family units often became important. Family-claimed hunting territories then often were traversed, it being recognized that in many parts of Australia the specific special foods present in such areas are the particular property of the individuals who claim that territory. The general existence of such hunting territories has been a matter of dispute, but their presence can be recognized over large areas of Australia. They are important, particularly, in such matters as giving rights to take eggs from nesting areas of birds, rights to search for dingo pups in their lairs, rights to take schools of fish from particular streams or from specific shorelines. Such property rights may extend to economic minerals such as ochre, flint, and igneous rock from particular mines and outcrops of rock, and to honey, woods for weapons and for ceremonial objects, also reeds of the rarer kinds for making baskets.

The tribes over the whole of the continent of Australia are very similar and exist at somewhat the same level of political organization. This may seem to be a surprising fact. In some peripheral areas, as in the Daly River, the eastern side of the Gulf of Carpentaria and in northeastern Arnhem Land, they may appear to depart somewhat from the norm, as suggested by the work of W. Lloyd Warner (1934) now greatly clarified by Bernhard Schebeck (1970 MS). R. M. Berndt (1959) has made claims for the special interpretation of the Western Desert tribes; his evidence will be subjected to close scrutiny in chapter 10. Whether in widely dispersed units, as among the Pitjandjara of the Western Desert, or the closely compressed Tanganekald of the Coorong in South Australia, the resemblances are much greater than the differences. This contrasts sharply with the state of society in some other continental areas. Take for example South America, where simple hunting folk, like those of Australia and Tasmania, have existed in parts of the Amazon basin and in Patagonia, while elsewhere at similar times the units of organization were of the most varied character, culminating in the vast empirelike political units controlled by Inca rulers.

The isolation of Australia has never been complete but for a long time has been greater than for most other parts of the world. During the Palaeolithic and Epipalaeolithic periods the rates of change in culture were far slower than they were in Asia and America where change was accelerated with the onset of the Neolithic period. The portals to Australia through northwestern Australia and northern Australia were not particularly attractive to Neolithic peoples at the end of the Wisconsin Ice Age and scarcely improved later, as indicated by the very slow penetration of Malayan peoples even in Recent times. Although Indonesians have been gathering marine products from along the shore reefs of northern Australia for many centuries, and have even left evidences of offshore settlements—for example, the pottery-sherd-strewn Port Bradshaw (R. and C. Berndt, 1951)—occupied by peoples remembered by aborigines as the ['Baijini] (Mountford 1956), as well as by the later coming ['Makasa] or people of the Makassar district in the Celebes whose seasonal settlements, grave posts, and planted trees were present in such places as Groote Eylandt (Tindale, 1926). On the authority of Poobasoo, they had been established there since at least the early eighteenth century (Matthew Flinders, 1814).

By studying the Australian tribe, a partial view can perhaps be obtained of the type of life once led over vast expanses of Europe, Asia and Africa by hunting peoples during long periods of the upper Palaeolithic. During the late Pleistocene, over wide areas of this great conjoined landmass, man passed through changes in material culture at such relatively slow rates that lateral spread and diffusion took many of the principal material culture traits to places very remote from one another. We know they took at least those ideas associated with stone implement industries (the most tangible ones we can study). Many of those who mistrust the realities of cultural diffusion have not paused to think of the great lengths of time available for diffusion during the period when man was a hunter. His rates of acquisition of new ideas may have been slow but even if a new idea only spread 100 miles (160 km.) per generation on the average, it could shift several times backward and forward across the whole of subtropical Europe and Asia in the course of the passing of even one minor phase of a

Pleistocene glaciation. That 100 miles per generation is not an unreasonable estimate for this kind of idea spread is evident when we know that the new skill of making a wooden dugout canoe, which was first introduced to Australia by Malays, moved westward at this rate along the whole northwestern Australian coast as far as the Worora tribe, until it was prevented from moving further southwestward because the raw materials—large trees—were not available. In similar fashion it was this lack of raw material—fertile land for agriculture—which delayed the spread of the Neolithic gardening cultures to Australia.

2

The Naming of the Tribes

When the observer is confronted with the practical problem of recognizing an Australian tribal group and defining the area of its distribution, he finds that he can receive much help from the aborigines themselves. When they are brought into the discussion, the supposed difficulties tend to disappear. Much of the confusion that undoubtedly exists is that inherent in the casual observations of many people, the poorly digested notes, misinterpreted statements, and only spasmodically pursued asides noted by observers not fundamentally interested in this aspect of aboriginal life and organization.

One of the classic cases of nomenclatorial confusion is the effort of the learned student of kinship systems who possibly misread his own field notes, so that the geographical term Durack Range, named after the Durack family of white pioneer settlers in northwestern Australia, became Durack Ra., Durackra, Durakra and, finally, the Djerag tribe, as an arbitrary phonetic system, using only voiced consonants, took the "tribal name" into its grip. The people themselves know they are the Kitja but approached incautiously they willingly admit they are the [ˈTjarak], for is this not a proper name favored by the newcomer Westerns now in the country?

There was occasion (Tindale, 1965:144) to show a similar sequence of blunderings when the name of the Ngaluma tribe of Roebourne, Western Australia, was misheard by Clement in 1926 as Gnalluma. His handwriting was misread as Qualluana and so entered on specimen D2690, a stone knife in the Peabody Museum, Harvard.

In aboriginal concept people of one's own tribe talk smoothly, intermarry "without trouble," live near one another so that one can talk to them from time to time, share a kinship system in common and meet together regularly or irregularly for initiations and for other ceremonies. They share knowledge of and may, with some restrictions, roam over a common territory. They almost invariably have a proper name for themselves. Their country is "good country," unlike that of other peoples; their own food is better; their *Pandorea* spearwood sticks are more plentiful and stouter; their water is sweeter than the poorer waters of others. Thus all its attributes place their home area above all other territories. People of other tribes either are "rough" in speech or "hard to understand," even unintelligible; they live so far off that only occasionally do they meet for initiation ceremonies; they often have incompatible features in their social organization; they are utter strangers; they use different terms for familiar objects; they express themselves in different idioms; and they possess many different kinds of plants and animals. Their countries may be rocky instead of open plain country, sand hill instead of earthy, or the reverse. In any case their territories have many features deemed less desirable than the "good country" that people of a given tribe claim as their own.

Australians have numerous and very different concepts regarding their living space; a short list would include a linear concept, several varieties of ring concept, as well as an area arrangement similar to our own.

Often it is difficult for a Western European to enter their world. We are trained on cartographic plans with a compass as aid and relatively accurate determinations as to angle and distance, and by writing in place names and using symbols we share and use a relatively uniform series of conventions. An aboriginal of the southern part of the Western Desert employs different aids. He has the ground to draw on and may use two basic symbols, the hole and the line. A circular mark or a hole marked on the smoothed sand indicates the place or the water under consideration, and, depending on the circumstances, it may be also the place of origin of a totemic being, a man's own birthplace, or merely the place where the discussion commences. In any case it incorporates the general idea of home or place of residence. The name of the place is announced and thus becomes a point from which narration or delineation starts. A line is drawn from this point by finger or with a stick. In general it is made along a line of movement in the correct compass direction toward an adjoining place. The line usually is kept short; it is a unit distance. It denotes a variable distance measured in our system: one day's travel, the necessary travel distance to the next watering place. A second circular mark or hole is made and its name announced. In native terms this often is a walk; its distance can be defined in terms of one or more "sleeps" or "sit downs"; adjectival descriptions of the journey may define it as close by [ˈe:la], not far, a long way [ˈparari],

or a tiresomely long way away, and so on. Mileages for these categories are from 3 to 5 miles (5 to 8 km.) for close by or e:la; 10 miles (16 km.) a normal day's walk, usually this would require no comment; parari might indicate about 20 miles (over 30 km.); anything above that is apt to be a "tiresome distance" ['parari'pakoreŋo]. Sore feet, thirst, and heavy burdens are expressed as markers of "tiresome" distance, since children have to be manhandled and the availability of water becomes a significant factor. The delineation of a man's tribal or hordal territory by a ground drawing such as this may commence at his birthplace. He marks each place between this and his place of initiation, proceeding along a line touching at each significant water in turn until the all-important site is reached about which there is to be major discussion or to where the talk is taking place. It generally will be found that the main waters appear serially on such a map, little ones may be ignored. In such a map the attentions of the commentator and the audience are focused on the ground, with heads down, slight changes of compass direction may be ignored, and the route often is delineated in one general direction.

During the relation of the story of movements of ['Njiru], an ancestral being, at Ooldea in 1934, the principal narrator shuffled forward on his knees as he extended his line while his audience of many men shuffled along with him, smoothing out the sand with their hands as they went, until they ended up at a distance of some 25 feet (nearly 8 m.) from the place of origin of the story cycle and in their thoughts had arrived at the place where the ancestral being finally entered the ground and became a ['tum:a] or totemic being. Such a linear type of depiction of their geography often ends with the place from which the discussion began, and, in their manner of thinking, there is no difficulty that the one place is shown twice, once at each end of the line. We should not be surprised, therefore, that aborigines of several Western Desert tribes and one eastern tribe have independently selected the English word "line," as, in translation, describing their territory. Not all "lines" are depicted as if straight, and it may happen that the narrator will work around in a circle so that the last-mentioned place will be close to or reach the starting point thus actually describing a circle. Seldom is any special attempt made to link up with the exact spot from which the discussion began. One may concede that the place could be difficult to locate, since there is no specific label to identify it and often it has become obscured or obliterated during the activities associated with the marking of successive places on the ground. The overall plan on the ground is not as important, therefore, as the one built up in the minds of the auditors, and the ground markings have only temporary visual significance as aids in building up that mental picture. When we copy such sketches into a notebook and identify each place by written names, we are making an artifact foreign to them, but these are often most useful in studying the tribal situation. Figure 11 is a drawing showing a large part of Kokatja territory south of Balgo in Western Australia as depicted by a man. The names have been added by the observer.

An interesting example of such a map is that drawn by ['Djoraŋara'ŋati burantant] of the Kaiadilt tribe on Bentinck Island in 1960. This island is utilized principally along its shores, the actic zone, the area accessible between tide marks, this being the part of their country which dominates their thoughts and attention. The Kaiadilt territory therefore was conceived in his drawing as a ring of coastal place names running along a shoreline. The difference from our way of thinking was that the line embraced the ['mala] or sea with the less important inland areas vaguely indicated as peripheral on the plan.

Linear representations of tribal space are encouraged when there are rivers along which journeys are made. The windings of the river often are ignored and the river then becomes a line along which people live. In such an area cross-country journeys may be necessary to shorten

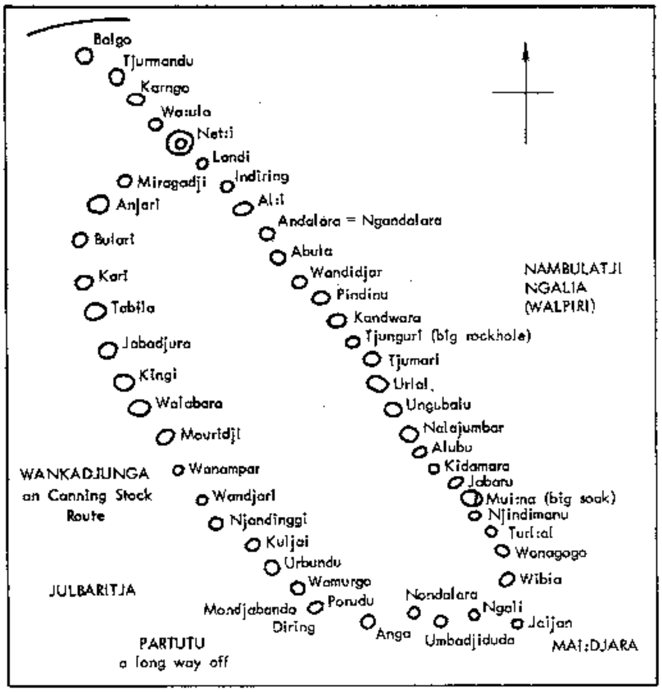


Fig. 11. Kokatja man's drawing of the country south of Balgo in Western Australia. The place names, his names for distant tribespeople, and a compass direction marker were added by the observer.

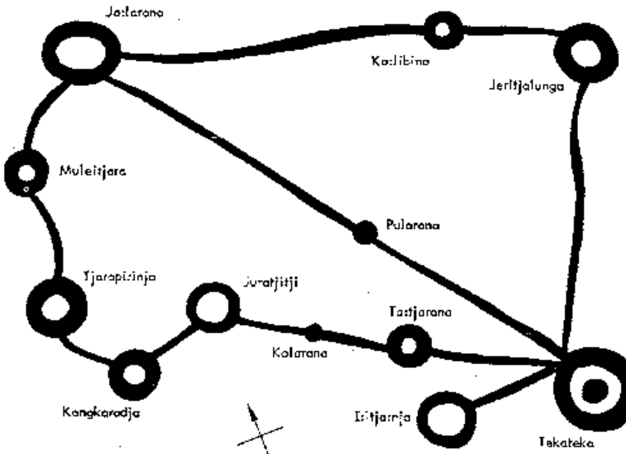


Fig. 12. Native map of part of Tekateka hordal area, Ngadadjara tribe; no scale indicated but distance between Ja:lara and Tekateka is about 16 miles (26 km.).

travel distances. An overland journey of this kind may be conceived as going inside the country. The same general concept may appear in stories of the journeying of ancestral beings who may go inside the head of a river or a cave in a mountain area and emerge again on another watershed to continue the journey. In depicting such events on the ground, a space is left without a connecting line. Men also may enter "into the ground" in this fashion where a mountain range or some other favorable circumstance creates such a multiplicity of local waters that their individualization becomes of so little significance that their nomenclature fails. Figure 12 shows a copy of a ground drawing made by men of the Tekateka horde of the Ngadadjara when I met them in 1966. Here every water was important.

A different type of concept is evident where people live on the waters they obtain from the roots of such trees as the water mallee (*Eucalyptus oleosa*) and *Hakea*. Here there are no named places, people go "inside" and come out again at a few important places. In general open mallee plains have few distinguishing marks, a whole area many miles across may be useful only insofar as it provides a vast series of temporary homes. The trees yield water from their roots but it is a wasting supply, since once used the locality cannot be used again. There are no distinguishing marks, hence permanent names do not exist, except at intervals where there are hills, mountains, or special ecological formations that enable a nomenclature to be established. Thus they live in or go "inside" the sand hills, or "inside" the plains, and "come out" again at places that possess names.

The Ngarkat tribe, which inhabits the mallee scrub country south and east of the Murray River, is an example of a nomadic people without a fixed nomenclature for its homes. The Pindiini tribe may be cited as another group where a different grove of mallee trees has to be chosen for each day's shifting camp. They also live in a land without many names, except for a few places providing more stable conditions for habitation, and these become key clan places where their ancestral beings reside.

Most tribes have a term that they apply to themselves; usually it is a proper name derived from their own language, or, more rarely, it is a name adopted from members of some neighboring tribe, who have applied it to differentiate their neighbors from themselves. When genuine variations, synonyms and alternatives, terms of reprobation, and so on, given by others, and erroneous or mistakenly applied terms are taken into account, it may be readily understood there is present in the literature many more names than there are valid tribes. Where possible, such terms have been equated and indicated in the synonymy.

As is to be expected, tribal names take many forms. They are discussed below.

TRIBAL TERMS WITHOUT KNOWN MEANING

Many tribal names are seemingly so old that any direct meaning they may have once possessed seems to be lost. That some of these tribal terms may be old is implied by their recurrence as names among peoples now far sundered from one another, indicating survival of names long after separated parts of what was once a tribe have sought new territories in which to live. This aspect of tribal nomenclature will be discussed in further detail. At present we are concerned more with old names whose proper meanings have been lost. In the case of some areas where we have suspected tribal drift, we have been able to learn something by attempting to read the terms in the words of other tribes. While this has not yet led to a solution of the meanings of many tribal names, it should be noted that it has proved indirectly of value in finding the meanings of many place names in the Mount Lofty Ranges in South Australia, which at first seemed to fall into the category of place names without known meaning. When read in the languages of the west coast of South Australia a rational meaning has appeared.

From indications such as this we can suspect a westward pressure and drift of peoples sufficiently slow or controlled that place names retained their old identities even though they had lost direct significance as descriptive terms for their new users. In the next generation of research on tribal movements in Australia, such indications may well be of paramount importance and if linked

with known culture gradients of which we already have hints, radiocarbon dates may tell us much about the rates at which such displacements have taken place.

WORDS MEANING "MAN," "MEN," OR "PEOPLE"

Sometimes terms containing the word man are of a nebulous or very general character, indicating an aggregate of tribes, or those who share a particular cultural activity.

The most spectacular of these, of course, are terms such as ['Mardo] and ['Wati] where they indicate to their users tribespeople who practice circumcision and subincision in contrast with the ['Minma] or "women," that is, those who do not practice these rites and so are not admitted to be true men. In parts of Australia where these rites are known only as dreaded practices of people elsewhere, there is a trend to think from a different point of view. Thus the folk of the lower Murray River in South Australia think of the noncircumcising people as Narinjeri, "we people," in contrast with the "hardly to be thought of as human beings," the creatures of Adelaide and north to the Flinders Ranges. George Taplin (1873) took this word as Narrinyeri and gave it an incorrect interpretation, as though it defined a supertribal grouping similar to the "nations" concept that it was then fashionable for Europeans to discover in their dealings with foreign peoples. Further reference will be made to this concept under a later heading.

In the southwest of Western Australia at least one tribe calls itself Njunga, a term that in its forms nonga, nunga, and nanga ['noŋa], ['nuŋga], and ['naŋa] means man. They use this name seemingly as a reaction to the suggestion by other tribes who practice circumcision that they are less than men. Their territory lies just south of the line to which circumcisional rites have traveled. They dislike intensely the suggestion of the Ngadjunmaia, their northern neighbors, that they are "women." The eastern hordes of this tribe whose territory extends to Israelite Bay prefer the term Njunga ['Njuŋa:], whereas the ones living west of Esperance prefer the term ['Wudjari] as their proper name. Incidentally, the European name of Israelite Bay is a geographic label witness to this being the boundary between those who did and did not practice circumcision at the time of the naming of the country by Westerners.

The Njangamarda tribe of the northern part of Western Australia seem to preserve in their name a record of a period when they too became "men," since their name incorporates both the older term ['naŋa] and the term ['marda] → ['mardo] from the desert, affording a possible indication in their language that their present name derives from the time of the taking-over of the new custom of "making men."

NAMES BASED ON PECULIARITIES IN THE SPOKEN LANGUAGE

Differences in vocabulary may be seized upon to provide some key term to separate one's own tribe from neighboring ones. For example, in the Western (or Great Victoria) Desert the interrogative pronouns who? or what? ['naŋata], ['ŋana], and ['ŋa:da] combined with the suffix -djara are used to make names as in Nangatadjara, Ngadadjara, and others. The suffix is a word implying ideas—possessing, having, carrying, or bearing—for example, pikatjara, possessing a sore, wound, or pain; ipitjara, having breasts; kalutjara, a man (phallus bearer).

The tribal names, Pitjandjara sometimes extended to Pitjantjatjara, and Jangkundjara or Jangkundjadjara, record differences in the use of the verb "to come."

Where such words have been the basis of tribal naming, the appropriate clue has been recorded as an adjunct to the alternatives and variant spellings given in the list of tribes in Part III.

The words *yes* and *no* are used as basis for some tribal names and their use furnishes us with interesting linguistic clues, possibly linking the Murrayian aborigines of the west coast of Australia with those of the Murray valley in eastern Australia despite their present separation by more than half a continent. At present there is only a fringe of Murrayian aborigines living along the south coast to link them. The tribes around Perth and north along the coast use the terms for *no* as tribal markers, as in Juat, Whadjuk, Wardandi. The practice reappears in the Murray basin where the term for *no*, duplicated, is used to designate tribal names, examples being Joti-jota, Narinari, Wembawemba, Latjalatji, Mutimuti. In the latter area the practice may have come from the north, for the Pangerang are known to their northern neighbors as the Jurta ['jurta] = no, a term they did not use themselves. A relationship of the Pangerang with one of the tribes on the Lachlan River is supported by some similarities in language and social organization. The indication is also supported by the name Jitajita used by this western tribe. Its territory is now separated from its namesake by tribes who between them share half a dozen ways of saying *no* and use them as tribal markers.

As noted by A. Meston there is a third area around Brisbane in southern Queensland where the word for *no* has influenced tribal nomenclature:

'jukum = no	Nerang Creek	hence	Jukambe (Jukumjukum)
'jagara = no	South Brisbane	"	Jagara
'kabi = no	Toorbul Point	"	Kabikabi
'waka = no	Toowoomba	"	Wakawaka
'djandai = no	Lytton	"	Djandai (language name for Koenpal)
'goa = no	Moreton Island	"	Koenpal

Further study may show that there have been tribal shifts since some of the names were first applied and in particular the last-named term ['goa] may have influenced the naming of tribes as far away as the Koa and the Koamu.

There is a fourth area of Australia where *no* is employed as a tribal term. This is in the northwestern peninsular extension of Arnhem Land. On the Cobourg Peninsula, as in Western Australia, the term is not doubled in fashioning the name. Thus we find:

'oitbi = no	hence	tribal	name	Oitbi
'ii = no	"	"	"	I:waidja, Iwaidja
'ja:ko = no	"	"	"	Ja:ko, Jaako
'ja:lo = no	"	"	"	Ja:lo or Wurango

In the case of the Iwaidja, the name combines with the word ['i:tja]; "to talk." Several early authors, including G. W. Earl (1846), W. Ridley (1866), and R. H. Mathews (1906) have drawn attention to this widespread and therefore probably old Australian practice of naming tribes by their word for *no*, or by a word compounded of a duplication of that term. Several inferences can be drawn from the distribution of the idea. One is that it predates the separation of these now far-sundered groups of people. It also may emphasise the general stability of tribal patterns inasmuch as the same style of name could be retained and applied to units of similar character and size over vast areas, despite the many changes due to historical accident and tribal rearrangement that must have accompanied the movements of peoples over distances of about 2,000 to 3,000 miles (3,200 to 4,800 km.).

TERMS BASED ON ECOLOGICAL AND/OR GEOGRAPHICAL DIFFERENCES

The terrain in Australia is extremely varied even though it is one of the oldest land surfaces in the world and hence so relatively stable that much of it has been worn down to an almost endless level plain with only stumps of mountain ranges projecting here and there on its surface. It is sea girt and extends through latitudes from well north of Capricorn down to the stormy fringes of the Antarctic, with climates ranging from wet tropical through arid desert to the cold wet rain forests of the south. Some areas have rivers; in other areas the country is so flat water will not flow. Cracks and crannies in rocks preserve water for people in some areas where no streams exist.

It is thus not surprising to find such terms as hill people (Anjimatana), forest people (Barindji), gum tree forest people (Wirameju), and river people (Barkindji). In a few instances these are definitive names of tribes but more often they are applied by neighbors rather than by people to themselves, since it is often not as easy to recognise the unity of one's own ecological or geographical niche as to summarize that of others. It is among these we find general terms that are regional, although they have been mistakenly accepted as tribal. I formerly accepted a term Bedengo as a tribal designation in the area east of the Nullagine in Western Australia admittedly on evidence that had come to me only indirectly. When it was possible to check the term in the field, it was at once obvious that it was a general term descriptive of the members of several tribes, all of whom shared a common fate, namely that they had to rely for their water on precarious supplies stored in natural crevices in rocky country. These crevices often were large and many were so long-lasting that they were considered permanent until periods of drought proved them unreliable. Such holes were known as piti ['piti] → ['bidi] hence Bedengo, Bidungu, Pidingo, Pidong, "the people of the rock holes," a somewhat derisive term applied to all "easterners" known to such tribes as the Njamal, the Bailgu, and the Niabali who had more reliable waters, sand soaks in stream beds, river pools, and even springs, upon which they could base their living. Bedengo were the strangers whose advent out of the eastern deserts was a sign of continuing drought.

In the section on the particular characteristics of coastal tribes, we will see that terms describing coast peoples, rain forest peoples, peoples of the canyons (called gorges in Australia), and others are common while some of the rain forest negritoid people are known as "treetop people" because of their constant necessity of seeking foods in the canopy high over their rain forest floors. Here again we find the terms are general and usually not definitive.

WORDS INCORPORATING A TERM FOR LANGUAGE OR SPEECH

A widespread root word, for example, ['woŋa], ['waŋga], ['woŋka], meaning "talk" or "speech" may be combined with qualifying adjectives similar to "good," "clean," "smooth," and so forth, to denote the members of a tribe. In such tribes cognate terms are apt to be used to describe the "heavy," "hard," "rough," "incomprehensible," "stupid," speech of neighbors. The latter terms must be rejected when seeking the valid name for a tribe. An example of the former type is ['Woŋkumara] an invalid name for the Kalali and kindred tribes. It means "good speakers."

The importance of language as a tribal differentiator is registered by the many areas where such terms as Koko-, Wik-, Wongka- are added as prefixes to tribal names. Sometimes the tribal name will stand without its prefix whether it means "speech" or "people," in others it has become an integral part of the name. This has extended the lists of variant forms for some tribal names. In the central Australian area we find the Aranda occasionally spoken of as the ['Woŋgaranda], while in two tribes to the east, Wongkamala and Wongkanguru, the prefixes are an integral part of the name. In general the addition of a term meaning "speech" or "talk" as a prefix to a tribal name is characteristic of tribes on Cape York Peninsula and among those tribes that have moved south and southwestward from that area into central Australia. The distribution pattern may reflect happenings that took place before the spread of the circumcision rite had carried it eastward to the Aranda people. In the rain forest area of northern Queensland, only the northern contact fringe groups of the rain forest areas have acquired the prefix koko- as part of their name and it seems to be a relative innovation.

NAMES DERIVED FROM COMPASS DIRECTIONS

In southwestern Australia terms such as ['Ko:reŋ], literally east or easterners, ['Kaneaŋ] westerners, and ['Min:aŋ] southerners seem to represent valid tribal names and no more valid names have been suggested for these three particular tribes. In general names incorporating compass directional terms are not true names but are applied by neighbors whose orientation often determines the name they apply. One who is an easterner to one people may be a westerner to another.

Terms for cardinal directions in Australia often come to be associated with tribal names applied to others in this way because the terms are used in an adjectival form, often with the noun for "people" or "folk" being understood. As examples, ['Koreila] means south, southside, and by extension the southern people; ['Wilurara], west, western, or western people; and ['Kaieli], north, northwest, or people in those directions.

The Wadjari tribe, for example, uses the term Maliara as a general label for several groups of the Bidungu or "rock hole" people. It means east and by extension Easterners, and they apply it in particular to several groups that sought water during droughts in the 1920s at Boolardy and Beringarra Stations. Here unquestionably it is a general term. Edward M. Curr (1886), however gave Muliarra as a tribe in the Roderick River area, quoting also the information that "malleyearra" meant east. In this case it has been possible by fieldwork to confirm that Curr's term applies directly to the Wadjari. To a tribesman who lives west of them, they are the Maliara (not Muliarra as on the 1940 map). The tribe to the north uses the term malia as meaning south. In this case the tribal name is clearly Wadjari.

In areas near Perth there is a term ['Wailo] that means northerner. Wailo people are believed to be evil and to possess supernatural powers. They were much dreaded and each tribal group in that area tended to attribute death in sleep to the secret attack by such an evil Wailo being, who was considered to appear out of the north. Terms such as this are of interest. Not only do they register the ideas about sorcery in other tribes as being a control on tribal separation but seem to register directions of former arrivals of strangers, and thus the sources from which aggressive pressure may have been coming during the relatively immediate past history of the tribe.

Hordes of at least three tribes in the northern part of Western Australia have acquired the term Julbaritja, "Southerners," as they have shifted north out of the Western Desert under pressure of drought. They are: (1) Nangatara; (2) Wangkatjunga or southwestern hordes of Kokatja; (3) Kokatja of eastern hordes. Figure 13 shows the general setting and the reasons for their name. A similar map (fig. 14) shows the distribution of the associated word for east or ['Kakara].

The Nangatara until some time in the 1920s all lived in the area north of and between Percival and Tobin lakes. Some of them shifted northeast and north and eventually found their way to La Grânge on the coast, where in 1953 they were living and learning to handle cattle. H. Petri (1960) accepted the term Julbaritja (southerners) for them and published under that name.

A second group, from the Wangkatjunga hordes of the southwestern Kokatja area, appeared in the vicinity of Billiluna also before 1940 where they were known in part to Father Worms (1951, MS) as the Julbre, and they

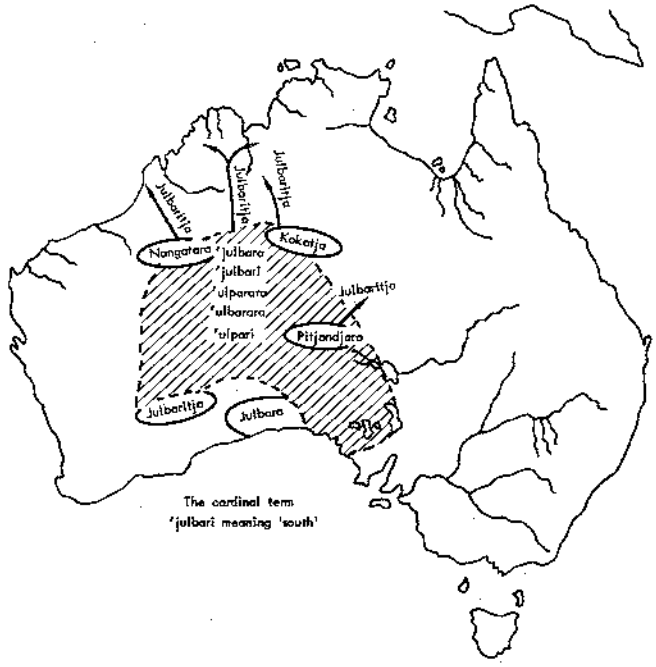


Fig. 13. Occurrences of the false name Julbaritja and of the cardinal term ['julbari] meaning "south."

were called Julbaritja by the Ngardi tribespeople nearby.

A third group appeared from the country east of the Canning Stock Route in 1953 and also were dubbed as Julbaritja. They were members of the Kokatja tribe of the area around French Hill and are not to be associated with the Kukatja of the western MacDonnell Ranges who live over 400 miles (650 km.) to the east-southeast. Some of these Julbaritja (Kokatja) were taken by government vehicles to Hall Creek in September 1953. Their tribal name was first mentioned to me by Father Worms as the Gogoda and they were so mapped in my 1940 work. Each of these three groups has distinctive elements in its social organization and in its vocabularies. Some incautious present-day workers have equated all these and have even had the temerity to link the Kokatja (Gogoda) and Kukatja (Loritja) as one tribe, with understandably curious results.

These are not the only "southerners" in Australia. In the form Julbara the term has been applied to the Mirning on the south coast of Australia near Eucla by the people who live to the north of them.

The southernmost occurrence of the term in the form Julbaritja was encountered during this tribal survey among the Ngurlu (Ngulutjara) at Ida Valley, Western Australia. The men there apply the name to a people south of Menzies, whom they knew only as "strangers" speaking a language different from their own.) The use of the term thus spans a north-south distance of over 700 miles (1,150 km.) and embraces at least five distinct tribal groups.

In addition the term Julbaritja has lately been applied by Kukatja people at Haast Bluff in central Australia to Pitjandjara tribesmen who have come to Areyonga Mission in the western MacDonnell Ranges, and having come up from the south they are, of course, "southerners."

Explorer Edward J. Eyre (1844:354) fell into a geographical trap of the kind afforded by the word julbari when he thought he was being told by aborigines that Laidley's Chain of Ponds stream emptied into the Darling River at a place called "Wēēl yŭ rārăh." His informants were merely indicating its westward course. This perhaps is the earliest record of the term ['wilurara] in such a context. Numerous later observers have fallen into the same or similar trap. For these and other reasons it seems important that the principal terms for compass directions should be set out in considerable detail.

Figure 15 depicts a representative series of cardinal points of the compass used by tribes in various parts of Australia. It serves as one means of recording differences between tribes. It shows the regularities of change and can be used to demonstrate both wide-ranging relationships and to stimulate ideas on directions of past tribal movement.

Because the words shown are of such vital impact and

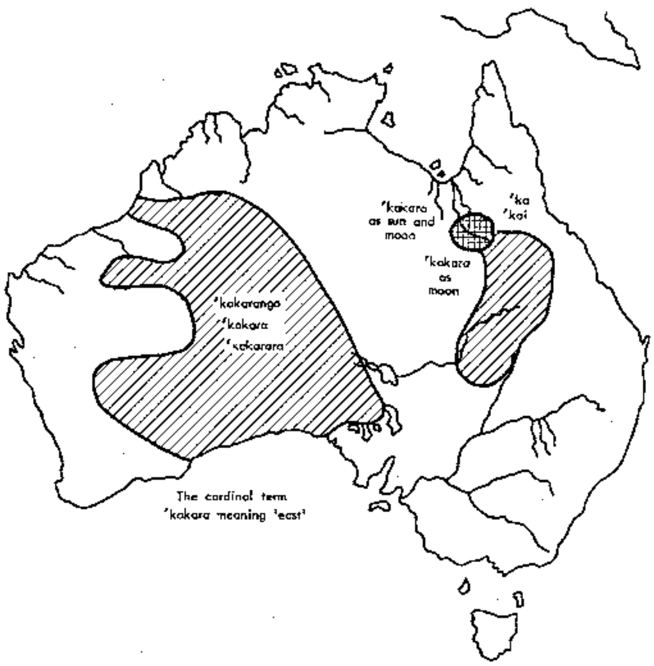


Fig. 14. Distribution of the cardinal term ['kakara] for "east" and some variants.

are not likely to be incorporated in personal names or otherwise be subject to alteration when individuals die and words have to be temporarily changed, they can be used as few other words to show long range links between tribal groups. The example of Julbaritja should have indicated the value of such a comprehensive list. This is the first time such a catalog has been gathered. It should be understood, however, that they only represent 4 words out of the 150 and more gathered with each tribal vocabulary used as aids in the validation of tribes listed in this work.

The origins of these many terms for the cardinal points of the compass are varied. In some tribes, for example, the words for east and west are determined by the sun as shown below:

Tribe	*Sun*	*West*	*East*
Koamu	'todo, 'tor(d)o	'toro 'banbuŋari	'toro 'wakaŋari
Kunggari	'turtu	'turtu 'ban buinj	'turtu 'wakana
Nguri	'doldo	'turu 'warana	'turu 'wakana
Widī	'kari	'kari 'waranumu	'kari 'jaka 'namu
Karingbal	'kari		
Kangulu	'ka:ri		
Wanji		'ka:ra 'wuri	
Jirandali	'kar:i	'karigari	'kariwoga
Warungu	'kari		
Jangga	'kari		
Baŋjala			'kari (as north)
Wakaman			'kai
Ngaun			'kali
Ngardi			'kaira
Djaru		'karara	'ka:rin
Kabikabi	'ŋurun		'ŋoron wadanj

The widely spread and old root word ['wari] meaning cold and by extension cold wind is recognizable in some compass terms, for example, ['tjiwari]; south in Tjapukai.

In the case of the Ngatjan and Idindji terms for east, ['tjiluŋku] and ['djilaŋga] are reminiscent of the very old root word tulu → tili → tjili meaning daylight, dawn, or sunlight.

In one tribe, the Lardiil of Mornington Island, the compass rose is oriented not quite to the normal N, E, S, W, but nearer to the NE, SE, SW, NW, positions ['lilumben, 'larumben, 'palumben, and 'tjirkukan] and the last-named term shows relationship to both Janggal ['tjirukuruŋk] and Kaiadilt ['tjirkar]; their other terms are different and rotated 45 degrees counterclockwise. The island of the Lardiil has a main axis running NE, SW, and this combined with the influence of the SE and NW trade winds that blow fairly true when they come over the sea, are a possible explanation for the departure from the practice of other tribes. It will be noticed that the Janggal have names for all four of the intermediate directions, only one of which, [larumbant], southeast, resembles the ['larumben] of the Lardiil.

In most instances, where root terms reappear in separate areas, the compass points are seen to be consistently named from tribe to tribe. One coastal Western Australia tribal vocabulary, that of the Jawuru of Roebuck Bay, is an apparent exception to the general rule. Compass orientation, in the case of three terms out of the four, has been shifted around clockwise one-quarter of the circle so that east is now south, south is west, and west is north. The fourth term ['konean], meaning east, is a word with no direct local relationships but it appears about 200 miles (320 km.) to the east as a true tribal name, Konejandi (Konean). The data were checked and confirmed in the field. There is no immediate explanation.

A second tribe with this apparent warp to their system is the Njamal in which the term for north ['wadalpa] is the same as the Niabali word but of the three other terms each has been shifted counterclockwise by one-quarter with respect to usage in several other tribes.

In eastern Australia at least nine tribes spread over 500 miles (800 km.) use the term ['koa] for west. They include the Wikmunkan, Kokokulunggur, Kokobujundji, Buluwai, Idindji, Tjapukai, Djankun, Warakamai, and Warungu. Two other tribes however, the Wanjuru and the Tagalag, use ['koa] to indicate south. When compared with the Kokobujundji system it is seen that in the Wanjuru not only the word ['koa] but the term ['naka] also has been rotated counterclockwise through 90 degrees to become north instead of east. Thus two cardinal terms whose directions are well established elsewhere have been altered together. The Tagalag have

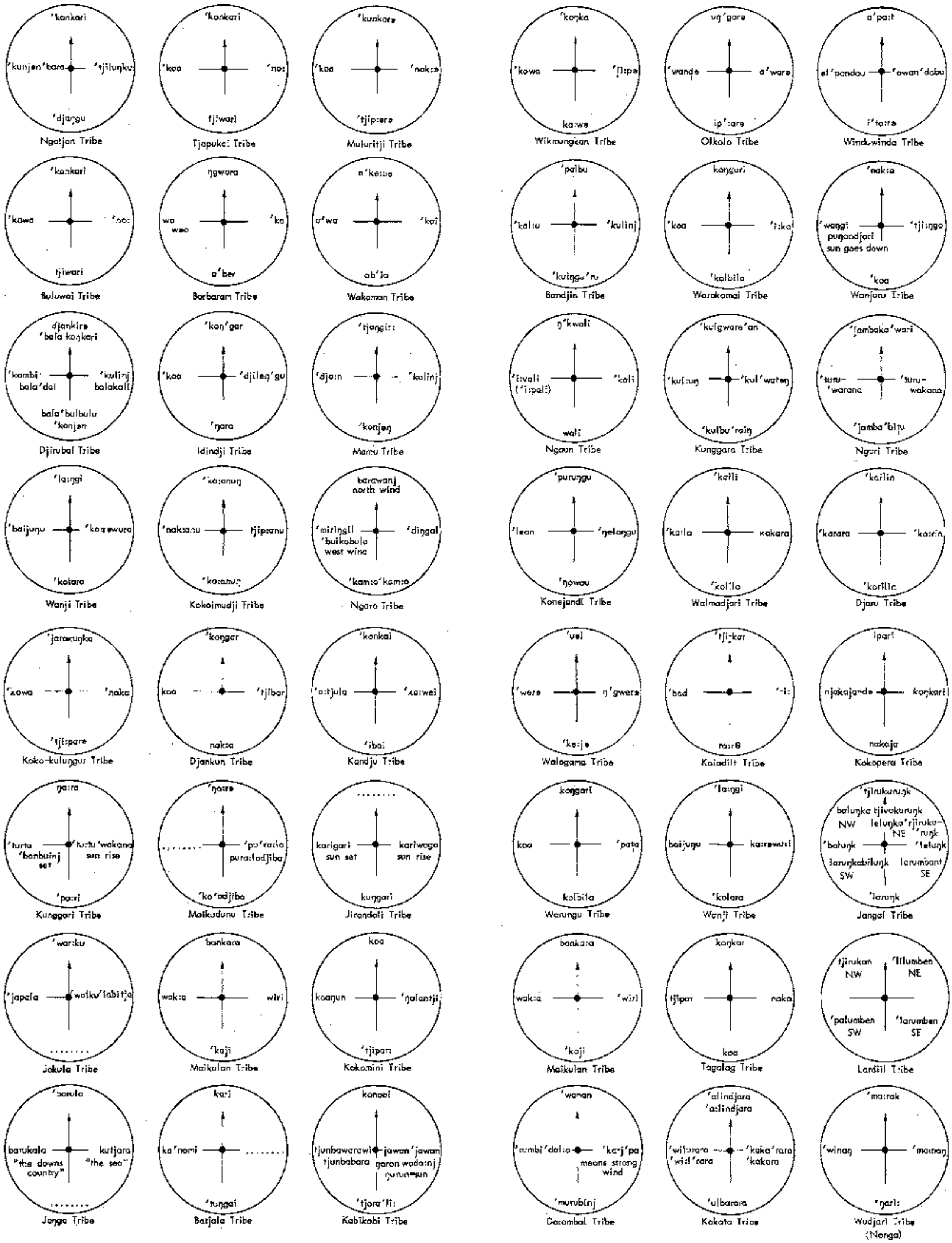
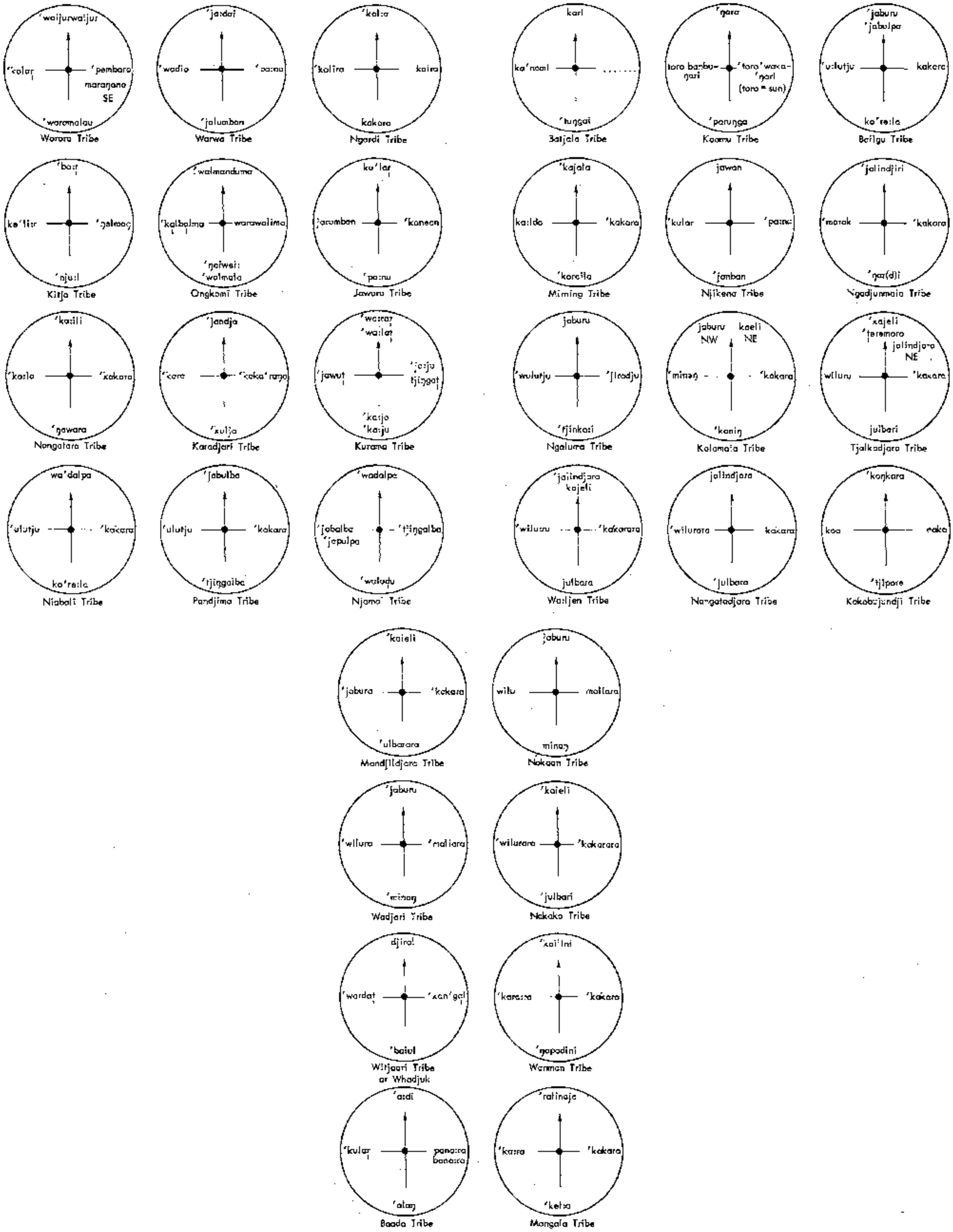


Fig. 15. Compass direction data from Australian aborigines.



Worora Tribe · Warwa Tribe · Ngardi Tribe · Baijala Tribe · Koamu Tribe · Bailgu Tribe

Kitja Tribe · Ongkomi Tribe · Jawuru Tribe · Miming Tribe · Njikena Tribe · Ngadjunmaia Tribe

Nangatara Tribe · Karadjari Tribe · Kurama Tribe · Ngaluma Tribe · Kalamaia Tribe · Tjalkadjara Tribe

Niabali Tribe · Pandjima Tribe · Njamal Tribe · Wailjen Tribe · Nangatadjara Tribe · Kokobujundji Tribe

Mandjildjara Tribe · Nokaan Tribe

Wadjari Tribe · Nakako Tribe

Witjaari Tribe or Whadjuk · Wanman Tribe

Baada Tribe · Mangala Tribe

shifted the term ['koa], retaining ['naka] for the easterly directional term. Using the last-named term ['naka] as the standard term for east in the area of northeastern Queensland, we can learn something of changes that have occurred. Thus in the Kokobujundji tribe we note that three of their four terms have been rotated 90 degrees so that their ['nakaja] is north, ['koŋkari] is east, and ['ipari] (recognizably related to the Tagalag word ['tjipar] for west) is now north.

These systematic displacements are of interest, and when terms have been gathered for other tribes, they may lead to striking results in interpretation. It seems evident that terms can become independent of sun orientation and the positive clue that some cardinal terms are linked as pairs to winds—cold and hot, wet and dry—may be important. One possible explanation for clockwise and counterclockwise shifts could be migration. In the new area a prominent axis or a dominant wind blowing from a new direction could lead to an adjustment of more than one term. I do not pretend to have explored all the possibilities and feel that there is much more information hidden in cardinal terms than has yet been extracted, but the following are presented as samples.

In south Queensland the term ['ŋa:ra] appears as meaning north among the Kunggari, and also as ['ŋara] among the Koamu. Both these tribes have recognizably similar words for south namely ['pa:ro] and ['paruŋga] and use words meaning sunrise and sunset for east and west. Among the Idindji, 700 miles (1100 km.) to the north near Cairns, the term ['ŋara] means south, the very reverse, with the three other terms [koŋ'gar] north, ['djilaŋgu] east, and ['koa] west, conforming to the norms for many other tribes in north Queensland. It thus is possible that the southern tribes have reversed polarity on the term ['ŋara]. Another tribe that shows the word ['ŋa:ra] as meaning north is the Maikudunu who live 500 miles (800 km.) west of the Idindji. It is possible therefore that the change took place in the western plains and was carried 900 miles (1,450 km.) south to the Koamu-Kunggari area owing to the relatively great freedom of movement possible because of the north-south trend of the chief river channels, west of the Dividing Range, once they escape from the mountains.

Now we come to a possibly specious but interesting observation. A very similar term ['ŋari:], meaning south, also occurs among the Wudjari (Njunga) of Esperance in Western Australia over 1,400 miles (2250 m.) to the west along the south coast. Further study may permit us to link these terms and possibly to deduce that Wudjari speakers parted from easterners of an older stock of languages before this change in polarity had taken place.

It is possible that examples of north to south movements along the inland riverine plains could be multiplied as compared with the relative isolation-induced stability of each of the peoples east of the Great Dividing Range. In the instance of the polarity change in the word [ŋara], a straw in the wind may be the appearance of a similar term meaning north as ['ŋarel] in northern Victoria.

While inferences of this kind from data on compass points may seem speculative, they are likely to be fruitful for the further study of the prehistory of Australian tribes. For those who doubt the possibility of cognate terms being present over 1,400 miles (2,250 km.) apart, we may cite the pair of terms wilurara →wiluru→uluuru and kakarara→kakara, meaning respectively west and east which often appear together over very wide distances of 1,000 miles (1,600 km.) apart, often in association with the term ['julbari] which we discussed as having the one meaning also over wide stretches of Western Australia (see figs. 12 and 13).

It will pay to examine the term kakara—kakarara again in some detail. With the meaning of east, it is present in a fan-shaped area from Lake Torrens in South Australia (among the Kokata) to the west coast of Australia at Roebuck Bay among the Karadjari. At least sixteen tribal groups use the term as indicating east. Since east is also the direction of sunrise, one could expect to find kakara to have some relationship with a word for sun or sunrise. Perhaps, therefore, it is not surprising that among the Maikulan of the middle Norman River in Queensland we find ['kakara] means both sun and moon and that among the Jangga on the eastern headwaters of the Suttor River, still farther to the east, it means moon and is there associated with another word ['kari] meaning sun, a word we have already discussed. Several other tribes, the Wadjabangai, the Maranganji, and the Wadjalang of south central Queensland, also use the word ['kakara] for moon and there is a belt of over 500 miles (800 km.) running parallel to the Dividing Range as far south as the Karingbal tribe of the Carnarvon Ranges west of Consuelo, in which ['kari] means sun. This is an interesting situation for as one goes west into the riverine plains, ['kakara] a term for moon is used for sun and then from a point in the south among the Kokata it spreads out with the meaning of east. Perhaps with further refinement, data such as this can give support to the idea that the eastern riverine corridor of Australia west of the Dividing Range has been a dominant factor in the movements of Australian peoples, as it has also been of the cultural novelties that seem to have penetrated far into Australia by diffusion from the direction of Asia.

A further tantalizing lead may be relevant. We note that ['ka] is the term for east among the Barbaram and ['kai] is the term used by their neighbors, the Wakaman. Barbaram, in the interior of north Queensland has been thought by some (Tindale and Birdsell, 1940; Dixon, 1965, 1966, 1970) to be one of the older surviving languages of the Australian continent. Perhaps [ka] is the root from which both ['kari] (as sun and east) and ['kakara] (as moon, sun, and east) have arisen.

The Ongkomi live in the Leopold Ranges of the Kimberleys of northwestern Australia. Their nomenclature for cardinal points may yield evidence of a different kind for the study of tribal history. They use two different terms meaning south. One is ngeiwei ['ŋeiwei] and the other walmala ['walmala]. The latter term is widely used with a variety of meanings linked with the idea of strangers and aggressive visitors. Further information on the word is given in chapter 10 under Western Australia tribes. Because the tribe lives in inaccessible plateau country, the term has lost its older meaning and has become merely a directional label, perhaps preserving an indication that at one time in the tribe's history they were subject to pressure from the south by people of whom they had fear but little direct knowledge. Their other cardinal terms include ['kalbalma] for west. They call their western neighbors Kolaruma and give the meaning of "Coast people" to the term. In the Worora language ['kolar] means west and the term is met again as ['kular] among the Baada of Dampier Peninsula with the same meaning. Perhaps we can draw the inference that the sheltered Ongkomi today are an old and isolated tribe whose forebears lived along the coast and were forced up into their present territory by pressure, coming mainly from the desert region to the south. It seems that in Ongkomi thought there is a confusion between the ideas of west and coast. In English they sometimes also give the meaning of "Bottom people" for Kolaruma. In contrast they term themselves ['buru] or "Top people," presumably from their living on the relatively high plateau tops. Incidentally, in some other tribes in the Port Hedland area, the sense of English terms when used is reversed, the "Top people" being those on the coast and the "Bottom people" inland, a fact that has been an occasional source of confusion when using pidgin English in initiating inquiries.

3

The Land—Its Geography and Climate

Australia has a land area of approximately three million square miles situated in the southern hemisphere, roughly between 11 degrees and 40 degrees south latitudes with a chain of islands in Torres Strait leading north to the great tropical island of New Guinea, and another series of small islands leading south to the island of Tasmania which straddles 42 degrees south latitude and therefore just enters the domain of antarctic cold. To the west a sea gap of 300 miles (480 km.) separates Australia from the multitude of islands of the Indonesian archipelago which constitutes the southeastern border of the great Europe-Asia-Africa landmass.

Australia, the smallest of the continents, is also one of the oldest, since, so far as we can tell, large portions of its western half may never have been submerged beneath the sea from the very beginnings of earth's geological history. Erosion has proceeded for such long periods of time and so peneplaned the western portion of the surface of the continent that, although still a plateau lying more than 1,000 feet (300 m.) above the sea, it is so flat water will not now flow over its surface. Thus normal river systems no longer exist and the low lakelike depressions on its surface, although they fill with water after heavy rains, resemble end-basin lakes. It is known however, that after at least one catastrophic rain, many years ago, some of these depressions joined together like a river system. This water slowly moved of its own height, which gave it a head sufficient to enable flow. These lakes are therefore actually the remains of former wide river channels so eroded below base level that they can no longer function (Browne, 1934).

Although the general impression on the visitor is of the flatness of the country and its seemingly never-ending plains, there are throughout Australia residual stumps of mountains and on the northwestern margin high dissected plateaus that are even difficult of access. In the east from Cape York down to the extreme south lies a system of mountains, the so-called Great Dividing Range, which affords striking relief to the otherwise endless flatlands of Australia. In general the land rises steadily toward the east as one approaches the Dividing Range. As it does so, its surface is increasingly broken and cut into by river channels that flow west and have worn channels into the plain. These channels often have developed into broad river valleys and wide floodplains.

Taking the Dividing Range in New South Wales as an example, we see that the land rises from the low and remarkably level western plains, less than 500 feet (200 m.) above sea level to plateau altitudes of 3,000 to 4,000 feet (1,200 to 1,600 m.) only to drop in almost sheer cliffs to a lowland coastal plain fronting the Pacific Ocean, with east-flowing rivers of short rapid fall escaping to the sea. Inland the longer, slower west-flowing rivers meander across and occasionally get lost in the great western plains.

According to some geological theories, the Great Dividing Range was elevated to its present height and form during the Pleistocene period, but there has been an increasing amount of evidence throwing all but its latest minor phases of tectonic evolution further back into a past that in any case long preceded anything affecting the life activities of the aboriginal peoples who entered Australia. The minor tectonic changes of late seem to have been confined largely to the eruption of explosive type volcanoes. Most of the great sheets of plateau basalts are of earlier dates than any of concern to us here. The lately active volcanoes have entered into the prehistory of the Australians, and even though we do not yet know much about them, they have furnished some evidence of value in the form of traditions of their activity, linked to radiocarbon dates suggesting transmission of racial memories over times from a thousand to nearly five thousand years long.

The western plains of New South Wales and Queensland in the middle ages of the earth were relatively shallow sea basins that gradually were filled with the detritus from nearby lands, and although there is still dispute as to the full story, there is some evidence, first brought to focus by Frederick E. Zeuner (1944) and accepted by Rhodes W. Fairbridge (1960) that a secular drop of sea level from the Mesozoic onward gradually withdrew the water from these basins so that today a great plain extends north to south from the Gulf of Carpentaria to the Southern Ocean with rivers flowing north and south from an approximate midpoint, and picking up from their eastern Dividing Range slopes the water from the mountains nearer to the eastern coast. The full story is not as simple as this picture of the

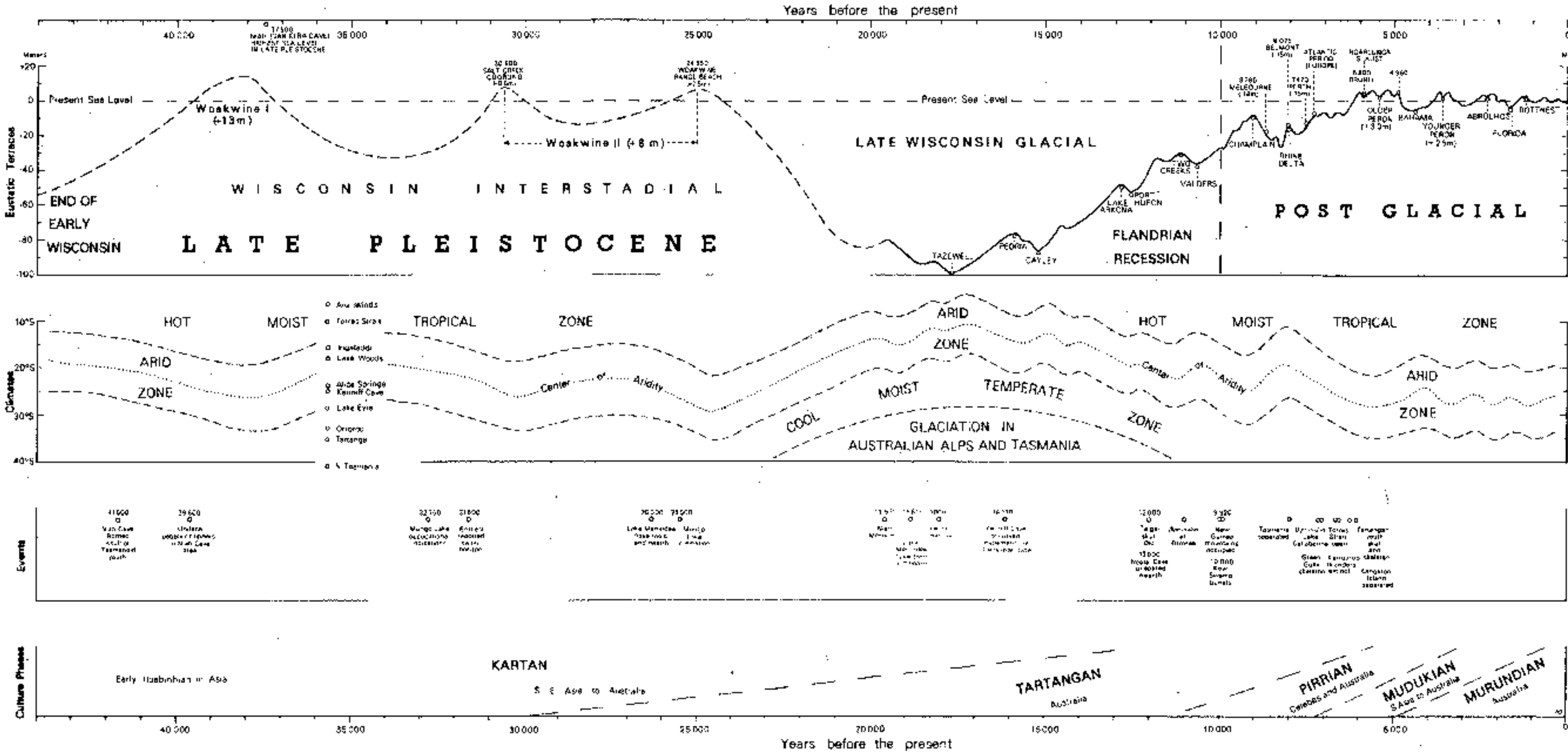


Fig. 16. Speculative outline of Australian climate and prehistory. Diagram shows relationships between climates, eustatic terraces, supposed centers of aridity, and culture phases.

western plains would suggest, but the relative stability of the whole area since early Pleistocene times has enabled a picture of land changes to be developed, based on the rise and fall of the level of the sea as a result of the changing climates of the earth during the many Ice Ages of the Pleistocene. The traces of these changing sea levels are registered in the eustatic terraces marking former interglacial and interstadial sea level stands of the past. Since man has been in the area at least 39,000 years and, perhaps, many thousands more, several of these eustatic terraces are of interest, and there are other shorelines now hidden under the sea on whose shores we might, if they had been preserved, read some of the details of an Australian coastal prehistory. Unfortunately, rising levels of the sea during the Flandrian recession of late Glacial and Recent time have all but denied them to us.

The eustatic terraces along the stable shores of the Murray River basin were the first in Australia to be noticed in detail in the 1930s, at a time when it was fashionable among geologists to imply that shoreline terraces were the results of tectonic movement of the land with respect to the sea (Tindale, 1933). Since then it has become clear that the eustatic terrace levels of Australia, in common with those on stable shores elsewhere, register the levels of the sea at given moments of time in the past. Until the coming of radiocarbon dating, these matched sea levels were almost the only way in which dates in different parts of the earth's surface of the Recent and Pleistocene past could be correlated.

Figure 16 shows a summary of Late Pleistocene events of particular concern and the several terraces. The figure is a composite that has been brought together from many sources, partly from the work of Fairbridge (1958, 1960) and my own observations since 1933, a summary of which is given elsewhere (Tindale, 1968). The earlier portion of the diagram should be considered speculative because of paucity of radiocarbon dates.

The key observation for this diagram is that the arid belt, interpolated between tropical and cold air circulations, has always been present in midlatitudes and has had important effects on the development of the characters inherent in the fauna and flora of the middle latitudes of the world. T. Griffith Taylor (1918) was one of those who first observed this important feature of earth history and applied it to the Australian environment. My own observations on two groups of highly moisture sensitive Lepidoptera that are intolerant of aridity have been helpful, and no excuse is necessary to bring the archaic family of homoneurous moths, the Hepialidae into the discussion.

This group of Lepidoptera lives in areas of high and relatively constant rainfall where there is high humidity at all critical stages of their life history. They are creatures with atrophied mouth parts, traces of jaws, but no haustellate sucking apparatus as in the so-called higher heteroneurous Lepidoptera. They fly in humid weather, mate, and the female lays from 500 to nearly 50,000 eggs and dies, all in one or two days. As no adult feeding is possible, they fly on only one or at most a few days of each year. The eggs are tiny and the larva hatches quickly, in four to five days in some species where this stage of their life has been observed. They need to find their home either in the cambium layer of timber, externally on the roots of the food plant, or in a hole in damp ground from which they can forage for food and yet control the environment by sealing off their shelter from dry air and so maintain the humidity of their home. They therefore do not enjoy desert environments. The species are archaic and in one genus *Oxycanus*, a fossil remnant of the life history from the early Cainozoic shows little or no difference from that of the present-day species. Two genera have adapted themselves to the desert regions of Australia by flying on the one day of any year when there is a major tropical storm that will bring humid conditions for several days or more. They are capable of waiting through several dry years until the proper climate prevails. They emerge from deep holes in the sandy beds of creeks that flow only briefly after rain and shuck off their pupal skin. They fly and scatter eggs on the damp ground near these creeks and even over water. Young larvae burrow down in the sand of the creek beds, while still damp from the passage of the temporary flood, and there they feed as larvae for from one to several years going as much as 6 feet (2 m. down on the external layers of the roots of *Eucalyptus camaldulensis,* a tree that lives in the desert only along the beds and banks of creeks. The larvae maintain their burrow to the surface and keep it sealed off so that they are always in a humid atmosphere. Aborigines use these larvae as an important source of food. They test for the presence of the grubs by smelling the holes they uncover, a high humidity reveals the presence of their food. Further details appear in chapter 7.

The important point of this discussion is that when the genera of these archaic Hepialids are studied on each of the continents of the world, it is apparent that there is a virtually complete separation between the genera of the tropical rain forest belts and those of the temperate humid zones. The genus *Hepialus,* for example, is completely circumpolar in the Northern Hemisphere, but does not bridge the gap leading either to the tropical belts of the Himalayas, to the African tropics, to the Indonesion tropics, or to the tropical belt of Central America. Each of these tropical regions has its own

special genera. The pattern is repeated in the Southern Hemisphere where one genus *Oxycanus* occurs in both Patagonia and Australia but in South America does not bridge the arid belt of Peru and go north. In Australia this genus has extended along the humid strip of the east coast of Australia to New Guinea where species are found at higher elevations in the mountains, but the New Guinea species are all very far apart from the Australian ones and they have not extended to Asia. In papers (Tindale, 1955, 1968) it has been shown that there were ancient ties between the New Guinea mountain forms and the species of southern Australia, but that the separation was of very great duration and certainly far earlier than the Pleistocene period, in which we are interested.

The permanence of this arid belt can be demonstrated also by study of the genera and species of the butterfly family Satyridae, and many biologists have their own pet evidence that demonstrates the same truth.

Evidence from fossils shows that the areas we now know as deserts, whether the arid belts of North and South America, the Sahara, or Central Australia, were at one time and another possessed of rain, and of sufficient fertility to encourage extensive floras and faunas of types that now flourish only on the cool and the hot humid margins respectively of the present deserts. From this it has been inferred that there were periods of pluviality in the history of each of these deserts.

One commonly made mistake is to assume that pluviality was universal and that from time to time the deserts disappeared over the whole area of the continents. This view does not take into account the faunas and floras that have adjusted to arid living and are intolerant of wet conditions. These animals and plants have not evolved within any short period of time but were coeval in their development with the creatures and plants born of humidity and abundance of rain. The key is that the belts of tropical and temperate zone humidity always have had a divider of aridity interpolated between them, but this belt has shifted poleward during periods of greater warmth and toward the tropics during periods of cold. When the data we have are brought together it is seen that in Australia the change from the Pleistocene cold to the greater warmth of Recent times has been reflected in a southward shift of the belt of aridity through about 20 degrees of latitude. Today the line of maximum dryness runs through the northern part of Lake Eyre, at 28 degrees latitude whereas in much of the cold of Pleistocene times, as was first pointed out by Taylor (1918), it probably lay around Lake-of-the-Woods close to 18 degrees south. In figure 16 an attempt has been made to show the oscillations of the belt of maximum aridity as it may have affected the period of aboriginal occupation.

The vast Pleistocene pluvial lake systems of southern Australia disappeared after the end of the Ice Age and the evidence of the fossil remains of the giant marsupial *Diprotodon* in Lake Callabonna (lat. 29°45′S) are mute witness to the deterioration of the pluvial phase in that latitude by the southward shift of the arid belt. This was a direct consequence of the warming of the earth after the Pleistocene. It parallels that of the shrinking and drying up of the lakes of the Mohave Desert in the southwest of the United States. The general causes were evidently the same and due to the northward shift from Mexico of the center of the arid belt which there lay equally as a barrier across the path of species and genera of plants and animals intolerant of desiccation.

Our understanding of one of the important mechanisms of the change, especially in the poleward shift of the arid belt have been much illuminated by the studies of R. W. Galloway (1965, 1970), who has demonstrated that one of the most significant factors at work, both in the Southern and Northern Hemispheres, is the decreased evaporation that accompanies a lowering of temperature and that this was a dominant factor during cold phases of the Pleistocene, leading to great accumulations of water in end-basin lakes and other places now dry. During active phases of warming during the Flandrian recession there must in the Northern Hemisphere have been short term augmentation of many streams from the increased melting of fossil ice. In Australia, except for some areas near the Kosciusko plateau and in Tasmania, the evaporation factor was the principal one. It very soon led to the drying up of lakes such as Callabonna and Eyre.

It is not intended here to enter into details of these climatic changes. Studies are being actively pursued by geographers and climatologists whose writings should be consulted.

Appreciation of the long and short term changes in the Australian arid belt seems to be a key to the interpretation of the prehistory of the aborigines and helps in the understanding of the northward and southward shifts of people out of the Great Western Desert, which is not only written in their tribal distributions and in the nuances of their cultures but also is reflected in the still current trends of migration out of the deserts in short term response to the intervals of added dryness which periodically have and still are affecting the drier parts of Australia.

Thus, the onshore winds which hit the east coast of Australia and are lifted to flow over the coastal mountains have provided a belt of more humid land, in part

clothed in Indo-Malayan rain forests. Elsewhere, in parts having less favorable configurations, there is wet and dry sclerophyll vegetation, separated in places by even drier belts of semiaridity sufficiently ameliorated, however, to maintain at least good grasslands. Today this relatively uniform rainfall belt extends north and south from New Guinea in the southern tropics to the southern tip of Tasmania and also runs westward broadly at first and then narrowly along the south coast to Eyre Peninsula. It even continues in a narrow belt in places less than 10 miles (15 km.) wide, under the influence of moisture from the Southern Ocean as a barely discernible humid corridor, to Western Australia. Running west across the northern tips of Australia between the grasslands north of the Western Desert and the coast is a hot humid tropical belt with at best impoverished rain forests, running from eastern Arnhem Land to York Sound in Western Australia. This tropical woodland belt appears to have moved southward during warmer phases in the Recent and Pleistocene, deriving its flora and fauna in part from western New Guinea and from the Aru Islands. Today this belt has a fauna enriched by species coming to it from the wet tropics of New Guinea, following the warming after the Tazewell phase brought wetness to the Sahul Shelf but before the rising level of the sea separated Australia from the mainland of New Guinea. A survey of the lepidopterous fauna of the Darwin area shows clearly its Recent derivation from the northern part of the Sahul Shelf. A particular clue is shown in the little noticed evidence afforded by geographical races of several species of the swallowtail butterflies, for example the *Protographium leosthenes geimbia* of Arnhem Land and *Papilio aegeus,* of which a still undescribed race is found in the Wessel Islands not directly related to the form found on Cape York and along the eastern coast of Australia. Data such as this implies a shift of the fauna along the then west coastlands of the Sahul Shelf from the western end of New Guinea. It hints that the interior of the Sahul Shelf was then dry. Consideration of such evidence is particularly important for the study of the character of the vast Sahul land that was encountered by any peoples who entered the Australian area from the north during any cool phase of the Pleistocene. During the Tazewell cold phase of 17,600 B.P. and earlier similar periods, when sea levels were reduced by as much as 330 feet (about 100 m), the Sahul Shelf, now covered in shallow waters of the Gulf of Carpentaria and the Gulf of Papua, was likely to have been an area of dry grassland such as now lies across the northern inland of Queensland and is characteristic of many such areas between 14 degrees and 20 degrees south latitude. At its widest this belt would perhaps have extended from about 5 degrees to around 10 degrees south latitude, being ameliorated as to climate by the onshore winds, both east and west, of the kind that now affect the eastern coast of Australia north to beyond Cape York. The indications thus afforded of the separate origins of the rain forest floras of the Northern Territory and of the eastern coastland of Queensland are highly significant and may throw fresh light on the interpretation of archaeological data being discovered in Australia.

4

Tribal Boundaries

It is not practicable to discuss the individual ecological settings of Australian tribes. Examples are given to illustrate some of the evident controls. It must be remembered, however, that man is an unconventional animal. He is capable of flying in the face of all precedent, and, further, if a process of change is in progress when observations are being made, the interpretations may be warped. Nevertheless, there are many examples where much can be learned, and when we consider the long period during which some controls have been operating on relatively uniformly endowed populations spread over a whole continent, some general principles can be established.

After making some introductory statements on the several ways in which climate, soils, and biotic associations may affect these people, I will then survey the Australian scene, following the arrangement of tribes in the Catalog. It has been theorized that this could have been the way in which man first entered Australia, proceeding by lines of least resistance south and then west across the desert areas, ultimately to reach the most inaccessible corners of the west.

From this introduction, it should be evident that climate and ecology of both the Late Pleistocene past and the changes leading to the present time may have had important effects in molding the lives of Australians. In fact, the principles of human geography apply with particular force in the distribution of simple aboriginal hunting tribes. Without technical aids other than spear, boomerang, fire, and raft or canoe, the Australian has had relatively little power to transgress barriers set by ecological and geographical position. Living as he does near the borderline between adequate nutrition and starvation, his personal skill and his very detailed knowledge of nutritional resources in his own territory are often the only assets separating him from starvation and thirst. With feeble resources for transport and restricted means for preservation of food, he is limited in his wants by the immediate availability of the primary stuffs of life—water, firewood, vegetable foods, and game. If he camps too close to water, game will be disturbed and there will be no firewood, for this will already have been used by his ancestors; if he remains too far away there will be transport difficulties. He must observe a nice balance between these factors, bearing in mind also the importance of visibility in ensuring safety from enemies, the aspect of avoiding exposure to unfavorable winds, the need for soft, warm, sandy ground for comfort, and the inability of his chief burden bearers—his wives—to travel more than 3 to 5 miles (5 to 8 km.) away from camp, to care for children, to gather root and seed foods, and to return in the day.

Figure 17 shows the plan of a Peramangk campsite on a creek running east toward the broad plains of the Murray valley over which they had a wide lookout. They were here on their northernmost camp, the hilly country to the north being Ngadjuri territory. The site satisfied their defensive requirement that they would not be approached under cover and would therefore have time to pick up their weapons if strangers drew near. There was no open water but by digging in the sand of the creek there was a good supply. Figure 18 indicates a similar site of the Kaurna people at Morphett Vale some miles south of Adelaide and the last place inhabited by them before final disruption, following the death of the father of Ivaritji, the last woman survivor of the tribe. It was here that her father's body was trussed, rubbed with red ochre, and smoked over a fire. Today his remains are in the Berlin Museum as a treasured relic.

Australia has one of the largest areas of territory that, up to the historical present, was occupied by peoples in an approximately uniform state of hunting culture, changing from region to region chiefly because of the different animals and plants upon which they depended for a living and by reason of slightly superior implements and weapons in some areas. With few exceptions the coherence of the tribe within its territory is based on a few simple rules. These can be demonstrated to be active because of the large number, nearly six hundred examples which can be studied. Other things being equal, it seems clear that at the general level of the Australian hunter tribal cohesion depends on community of thought and communication by reason of the possession of a common language. They have the ability at least to meet together as a common body, for exchanging of women and ideas, and for the mutual sharing of initiation rites and increase ceremonies.

When accurately plotted on large-scale maps, it is thus

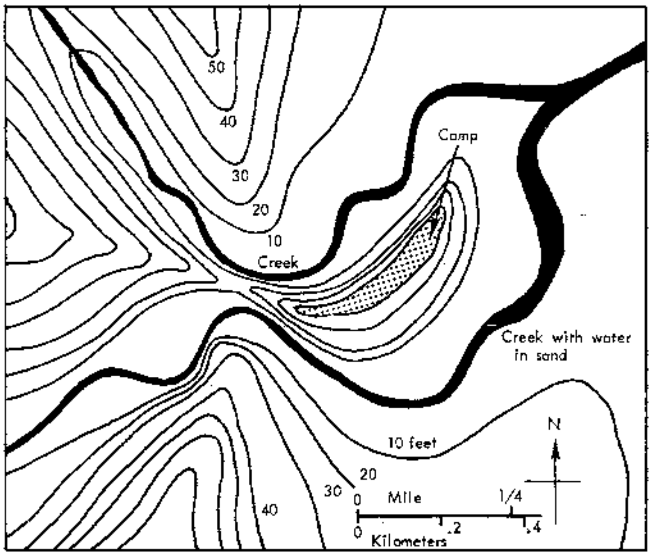


Fig. 17. Plan of campsite of Peramangk tribe on their border with the Ngadjuri east of Truro, South Australia.

not very surprising to find there is often a high degree of correlation between tribal limits and ecological and geographical boundaries. Divides, mountain ranges, rivers, general ecological and plant associational boundaries, microclimate zone limits, straits and peninsulas often furnish clear-cut and stable boundaries. Some of these are evident even on the small-scale map. In the deserts, cluster distribution of hordes around the few permanent waters are clear, and waterless tracts effectively establish many tribal boundaries. Other seemingly waterless areas possess tree root water resources sufficient to maintain communities that have become adapted to the utilization of such specialized sources.

In considering these ecological facts, it must be remembered that while an advanced agricultural economy demands heavily watered country, and timbered areas may be desirable and attractive, the reverse is likely to be the case for the aborigines—the most attractive areas are often open and preferably grassy plains wherever there is some water and much game. Dense wet forests become refuge areas, only to be sought by those less fortunate tribespeople whose physical and material inferiorities condemn them to the least desirable parts of primitive man's environment. Previously Tindale (1937, 1940, 1959, 1960) has commented on some geographical factors involved in tribal distributions and boundaries; many examples can be noted on the accompanying map.

The factors of size, shape, and density of occupation among Australians have been mentioned in passing, and the general reverse relationship between size of tribal area and rainfall is marked. The dry belt west of Townsville contrasts with the wetter country north and south. Note also the wide-ranging desert tribes whose areas increase to a maximum size in the sterile Great Western or Victoria Desert. Notable exceptions seem to be: (1) the fisherfolk of the Murray River who enjoy special food advantages; (2) areas of postulated culture clash, such as in northeast Arnhem Land, Daly River, and Boulia District, Queensland, where fragmentation seems to have taken place; and (3) possibly among the Kamilaroi, Wadjari, Walpiri, Wiradjuri, and others, where especially widespread large communities seem to have developed in relatively fertile country. In the last-named areas, the beginnings of a more advanced type of political organization are discerned, but there is some evidence that it is due rather to innovations in food exploitation, depending on the use of grass seed bread from grain wet-ground between stones (manos and metates). Use of these grasses, for there are several important grains, has had particular importance in changing Australian tribes in the area where ['konakandi] (literally "dung" food) has been accepted as a staff of life. These tribes are discussed in more detail in chapter 8.

A few instances follow of the dramatic effect of major ecological shift on the people who live along the areas of change. In Western Australia an ecological boundary of some moment in the separation of tribal groups is the often sudden northern transition at about 23 degrees south latitude from the dense mulga (*Acacia aneura*) scrubs of the south to the open porcupine grass (*Triodia*) covered sand hills of the Pilbara area. Thus the Wanman

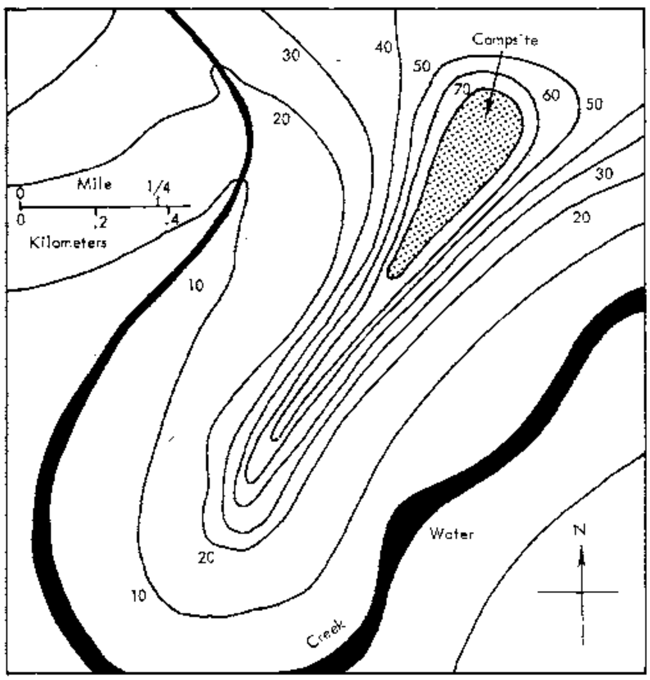


Fig. 18. Old Kaurna tribe campsite at Morphett Vale, South Australia.

tribespeople went little farther south in the area near the McKay Range than the beginning of this mulga country. So accustomed were the Wanman to open porcupine-grassed plains and sand hills, that they regarded the McKay Range area as a place of terror to be shunned; "mulga mountain country" was dangerous, whereas their own open territory with its claypan lakes called ['tjapi-podari] which seems to have the general meaning of "open claypan country" was "good". Farther west the same changeover to scrub separated the mulga-scrub dwelling Pandjima from the Indjibandi of the porcupine grass plateaus to the north. The Bailgu in the area between the Pandjima and the Kartudjara have the beginnings of the mulga belt passing through and dividing their country on an east to west line running through Roy Hill. Here it seems probable that the weakening of the hold of the Niabali on their country in early historic times and the contraction of their western boundaries toward the northeast permitted the Bailgu to extend their territory toward the Chichester Range in a northerly direction beyond areas dominated by mulga scrubs. This has changed the clear-cut ecological boundary to one dominated by the presence of Western man and his cattle ranches.

The aborigines themselves often realize the effects of the ecological boundaries on their own distribution. A Mandjildjara man defines the break or boundary (he called it ['wandari]), between the ['mili] or living places of the Ngardi tribespeople and of the Kokatja as coming at the "beginning of the bush country" or ['tarukul]. This was a break from lines of sand hills to bush country, and would appear to be the southern margin of the dense scrubby bushland that appears northward of the winter frost line. In effect the tarukul, under present Australian climatic conditions, marks the change from true desert through grassland to the subtropical zone. The man able to make observations of this kind was born of Mandjildjara and Kokatja parents about the year 1920, at Maindu a few miles west of Well 37 native name (nn.) ['Liburu] on the Canning Stock Route. He was initiated in Mandjildjara country and married while living there in his own mili ['naiju 'mili] = my mili, or horde territory. The territory was that of his father and extended from Canning Stock Route Well 41 (which he called Di:ru), south to Pangkapini (near Well 35), west to Padukutjara, and eastward to Wanjar. It was this man, ['Makaja] by name, who pointed out to me that when aborigines guided white men they always tried to take them along ['wandari] or boundaries between tribes so as to avoid being "punished" for disclosing the key waters of their people.

A study of the tracks of explorers and pioneers who have opened up the country are of particular interest. Often it can be noted how they were led along tracks that happen to be boundaries between tribal groups. Where such men were accompanied by aborigines with local knowledge, it is probable that to avoid transgression of the territories of others, for which the aborigines could be held responsible, pioneer whites were always steered along tribal boundaries and through other neutral areas. Once these lines of European movement became established, they persisted. Anyone studying maps can find instances. For example, the boundary between Kitja and Malngin in northwestern Australia is followed almost exactly by the track from Hall Creek to Wyndham and even when approaching Wyndham the track divides two tribal territories.

An interesting instance of a boundary being both ecological and tribal was furnished by a Jawuru informant, when he was denying a claim made by a Karadjari that their boundary with the Jawuru lay, not at ['Jardugara] (at Cape Villaret, 30 miles (48 km.) south of Broome) but 10 miles (16 km.) further south, at Gourdon Bay. He pointed out that at Gourdon Bay there was a change from stunted wattle trees to larger ones and that this was significant, for Jawaru people always make their boomerangs from the root stock of the "short" wattle tree, whereas the Karadjari make theirs from bends in the larger trees, such as those at ['Newede'ngapa]. He felt that this detail was proof of the reality of his own boundary claim. The presence or absence of suitable timbers may be one factor influencing the habits of a tribe and often determines patterns of living.

Historical accidents also are important. The Nimanburu of the eastern side of Dampier Peninsula, although they live near the coast, were essentially an inland people exploiting only inland products. They knew little about the sea and its products. Thus, as was pointed out by a Baada man, it was only in white man times that the Baada people, who are a truly coastal people, had discovered that the Nimanburu people possessed mangrove timbers in their country which were suitable for making pegged wooden rafts. Through ignorance of other people's country, the Baada had never used them in any way, and the Nimanburu were unfamiliar with the sea.

The Baada themselves use rafts made from poles of a particularly light form of mangrove wood ['tjulbu] termed ['mandjilal]. Their supplies were received by trade from the north, as the wood grows particularly well in muddy situations along the eastern side of King Sound, and was traded to them by the Djaui people of Sunday Island; thus they never had occasion to learn of the unutilized supplies possessed by the Nimanburu.

These facts are elaborated in the discussion on Western Australia tribes in chapter 10.

The Djaui themselves, who had a trading knowledge of these timbers, always went east across the passage to get the "very light" mandjilal. The mangroves that grew in the exposed coastal waters farther west were "too heavy" to be useful.

The absence of buoyant (light) timber for several hundred miles along the coast south of the country of the Baada precluded tribespeople there from possessing any form of raft. This is an interesting barrier that has operated to prevent the visiting of off-shore islands by aborigines between Roebourne and Broome and has limited coastal navigation farther south. It may account for the survival of Murrayian types of aborigines along the whole coastal strip south of Broome as far as eastern Victoria. Inspection of the coastal country between Roebourne and Broome confirms that the porcupine grass-covered desert lands along the coast do not provide any form of timber suitable for watercraft. Only the Mardudunera, 500 miles (800 km.) farther southwest in the country west of Nickol Bay, were in possession of rafts and thus were able to visit the offshore islands of the Dampier archipelago. Unfortunately, we have no good description of their craft.

To illustrate the details upon which the placing of tribal boundaries has been based, the following example may be helpful. ['Ngokanitjardu], one of the places listed as a key watering place in the Canning basin, is close to the common boundaries of the Mangala, Nangatara, and Walmadjari tribes. This place is mentioned again in chapter 5. It is on a line of native waters connecting the known places ['Ka:lun] and ['Pikurangu] (Joanna Springs and Biggarong) with ['Di:ru] or [Teiro] (Well No. 41) on the Canning Stock Route. Between these two known places there are twenty-five watering places represented on native maps by a rather straight line with the place names at intervals traversable in a day or at least "between drinks." The Mangala boundary with Nangatara falls between places called ['Lungwa] and ['Ngokanitjardu], the eleventh- and twelfth-named waters respectively southeast of Joanna Springs. The assessment is made that these unlocalized places are in the general area of 124°50′E x 20°30′S. Five waters to the southwest of this spot is ['Karbardi], whose position is estimated to be near 123°35′E x 21°0′S. Boundaries of the Wanman (Nanidjara), the Mangala, and the Nangatara meet here, the westernmost Nangatara water being ['Manjela], "one day's walk" east of Karbardi. The area separating the two tribes is said to be a level gravel plain with poor water supplies. The Nangatara can move away from their main lines of waters only by using claypan waters which appear after rain and last for brief intervals of time. Their ability to travel and exploit the lesser parts of their territory, therefore, is a constant matter of the balancing of detailed geographical and ecological knowledge against the logistics of water supply as affected by wind and weather.

Physiographic control of boundaries can often be demonstrated and is clearly evident when tribal distributions are plotted on accurate maps with well-informed natives directing one's pen. The attached sketch section (fig. 19) of the country from the west coast of Australia near Roebourne southeastward to the tablelands of the Hamersley Ranges may be used to illustrate a common type of physiographic control.

The coastal plain from the sea inland to beyond Pyramid Hill, grassed and virtually treeless, the home of innumerable agile wallabies and kangaroos, is the territory of the Ngaluma. Rising up the face of a steep scarp to the first tableland 1,000 to 1,200 feet (300 to 365 m.) high, one passes suddenly beyond a sterile and stony dissected wilderness to the flat valley of the Fortescue River and the beginning of the great belt of mulga-dominated landscape. This is Indjibandi territory. Ahead one sees another steep scarp rising another 1,000 to 3,000 feet (300 to 900 m.) in sheer walls to series of isolated plateaus, each tending to be cut off from the next by deep gorges. The upland territory is that of the Pandjima, again relatively treeless except in the vicinity of the springs that issue from the rocks in the shelter of the gorges and mulga covered where flatland is temporarily flooded after rain. Their northern boundary also is the margin of the scarp that forms the main Hamersley Range. They did not go down into gorges except near their upper limits, unless they were driven down by shortages of water such as occasionally occurred in times of drought. There were water pools that were recognized as ultimate Pandjima refuges on the south branch of the Fortescue River at Dale Gorge and at ['Mandjima] (Mangina Creek). The boundaries of these tribes were noted in considerable detail in the records of the UCLA Anthropological Expedition in 1953 and are also utilized elsewhere in this text. The above is an example of physiographic control exerted in tribal distribution.

Another example can be drawn from the tribes immediately to the north. The Kariara territory on the seashore southwest of Port Hedland came up Kabalana Creek, and the tribe had a big camping place much lower down the creek than Kulikuli. The last-named place was very near their boundary because Njamal people lived on the creeks that "ran the other way," that is, toward the Shaw River, and the Tjinkai hordes of the Njamal also came into the western headwater country

near Kulikuli to hunt. A Kariara man considered Kulikuli "too near the boundary" and therefore it was not much used by the Kariara. These views expressed by men well illustrate the general principles determining the existence of a boundary. The watershed was a logical boundary. Both tribes worked up the creeks to the headwaters but were alert and disturbed even when hunting and preferred to camp farther away from their neighbors. In this case the noncircumcising Kariara, strongly on the defensive against the aggressive circumcising-oriented Njamal people, tended to keep away from the watershed, while Njamal people tended to live at any place right up to the territorial limits of their country. The present claimant to the hunting area at Kulikuli, a Tjinkai or "top end" Njamal, was born there, but his parents had shifted from a place called ['Tjibara] on the Table Top Hills of the upper Turner River during the time of early white occupation.

The native English meaning of "top end" is not always upland, as might be expected, but "near the sea." Rivers go "up to the sea" in Njamal ideology. The Widagari Njamal of the headwaters of the Oakover River are the "bottom end" people. At Kulikuli rockhole northwest of and near McPhee Hill (118°55'E x 21°0'S) which is on this boundary of the Njamal and Kariara territories, there are recent archaeological relics of the aborigines lying about but they are relatively few in number. They included an Arca shell used as a paint dish and quartz flakes with traces of resin still on them. Considering the size of the pools, it seems surprising that there were so few remains. Aborigines of the Njamal and Njangamarda tribes with whom we were working said that Indjibandi (or inland Kariara) men are believed to have used Kulikuli in former days when out hunting but it was too near the tribal boundary for safe living. This is an important point in understanding the factors that determine boundaries and even may help with appreciation by archeologists of fixed or natural boundary lines between tribes, especially when they have been stable for any great interval of time.

The physical structure of the desert east of the Nullagine with its parallel east- and west-trending sand dunes has not escaped notice. The Njangamarda call the regions of parallel sand dunes ['wanda:ri], a term they use also for a line or boundary. The flat country in between the sand ridges is called ['pira], and it is customary to think of watering places that are in the longitudinal grain of the country as in one pira. Thus in the country of the man Banguri ['Ralbatj], ['Ngaljirdi] ("a hill standing up by itself with a hole right through it") and ['Kombodjiri] are all in one pira. These localities are not yet identified but are probably in the area centering around 122°0'E x 20°30'S. Sand country generally is called ['pindan] by the Njangamarda and this term has been accepted in Austral-English as representing a peculiar type of heavily vegetated inland red sand dune, particularly the belt of its occurrence along the coast of the Eighty Mile Beach in northwestern Australia. The edge of the pindan in that area really marks the edge of the 25-foot (8 m.) marine terrace of an early interstadial in the Wisconsin of late Pleistocene date. In Njangamarda parlance pindan represents a sand

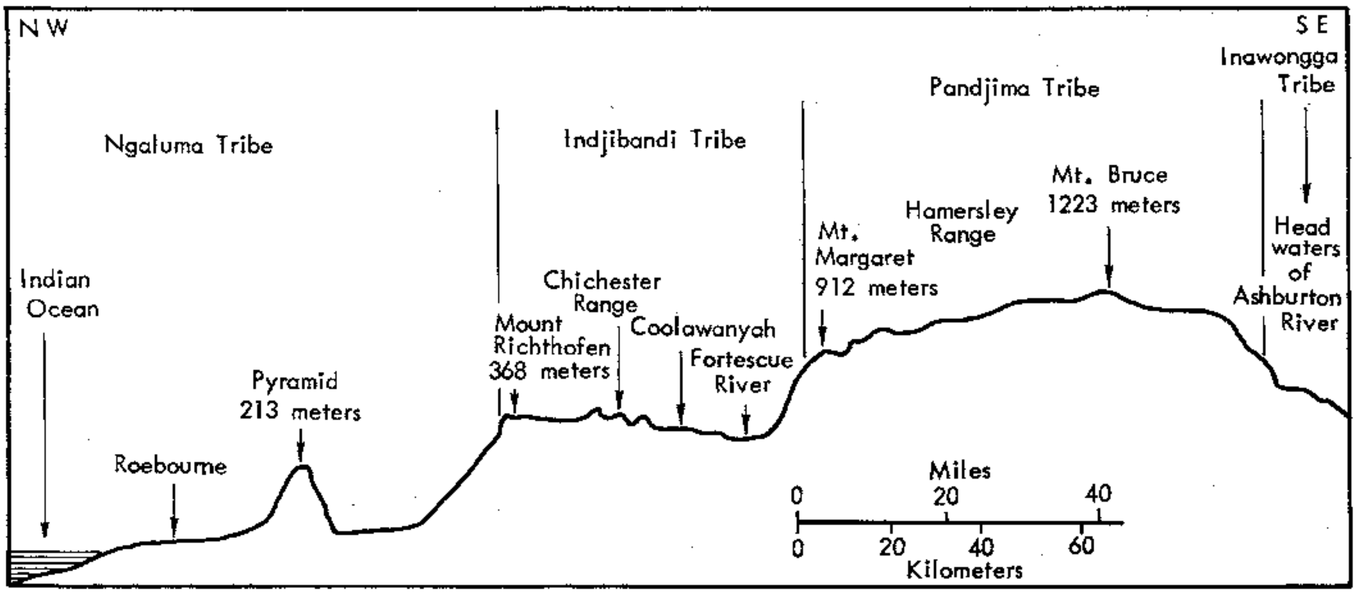


Fig. 19. Cross section from the Indian Ocean to the Hamersley Ranges to show the control exerted by the physiography on some tribal boundaries.

sheet and wanda:ri represents a linear-crested dune. It will be noticed that this term is also used to denote a boundary among the same people.

At the eastern border of Njangamarda territory, there are vast flat plains of hard ground covered with gravel. These gravels are termed ['laribuka]. Of the area around ['Rama], an unidentified place in Nangatara tribe country, a Njangamarda man, presumably looking at it from the west said, "Rama is laribuka, gravel country. Cannot see tracks; sand hills are far away." Some of these areas are old end-basin lake floors that have been deflated by wind erosion, exposing laterite gravel.

The Konejandi had terminology for the parts of their territory. They lived principally along the rivers, pools, and springs, which they called ['walibiri] or river country. They had ['pindiri] or plains, covered with scrub on which they hunted kangaroos, and ['ka:waro], hilly or mountainous country where they hunted euro. Scrub-covered country was called ['ti:winji] and open forested country was [ke're:le] (literally "trees").

The ecological controls determining the relative stability of the separation of tribes at the boundary between the circumcising and noncircumcising peoples in the eastern vicinity of Adelaide, South Australia, is of interest. To the east were a series of tribes of people occupying small territories, dependent on the waters of the Murray River and Lake Alexandrina for their livelihood. They were relatively sedentary except for free movements up and down the river within the limits of their hordal territories and somewhat less free movements to the hordal territories of their kinfolk in whose areas they had some rights, derived either from mother or from wife. To the west on the Adelaide plains were the Kaurna, practicing only the rite of circumcision without many of the ritual elaborations that came with the more drastic subincisional practices. They were nomadic to a greater degree but living in areas so relatively well watered that the main seasonal movements were the only forced ones they faced. Each horde tended to travel in summer along the coastal part of their hordal territory and they wintered in the timbered foothill country, sheltering in the cover of gigantic and often hollow red gum trees along the riverbanks. Often as basis for a shelter, they used a fallen tree, and hollowed out beneath it, a practice hazardous when floods and heavy rain destroyed their fires and flooded their sleeping places. In summer, of course, they did not live near these gigantic trees (*Eucalyptus camaldulensis*) for under stress of summer heat red gum trees have a habit of suddenly throwing off great limbs apparently through buildup of osmotic pressure within their tissues. This was a happening sufficiently frequent to cause fear in them of the trees.

Figure 20 gives a diagrammatic cross section from Adelaide to Wellington through the Mount Lofty Ranges. It shows the inhabited Adelaide plains and foothills, and the upper slopes clothed in wet sclerophyll forests used only for hunting of opossums, bandicoots, and other small animals, and particularly for supplies of the Cossid larvae of the large moth *Xyleutes affinis* found boring in the stems of golden wattles (*Acacia pycnantha*). They also gathered the sweet gum resin that exuded from the shrub. This was not only an important food but when treated with water, mixed with lime sand, and melted by heat, it could be used in the hafting of their stone tools. There was little or no residence in the mountains by the Kaurna. Although they were aware that the Peramangk were a circumcising people like themselves, yet they feared them for their reputed powers of evil magic.

The Peramangk lived much of the year in the vicinity of Mount Barker and on the strip of red gum country running north to Angaston district. In winter they kept to elevations below about 1,200 feet (365 m.) since the wet sclerophyll forests at higher elevations were very cold and wet with a winter rainfall of 45 inches (115 cm.) and more. This rain came to them from the west over the Mount Lofty heights, and as the westerly winds flowed down the eastern slopes toward the Murray plains, it decreased quickly to less than 15 inches (40 cm.). Their own territory was so well watered that they had little occasion to use the mallee-covered limestone flatlands to their east. These areas like the vast lands east of the Murray River had no surface water and could only be exploited in truly nomadic fashion, as the Ngarkat people did, by seeking water in one grove after another of water mallee trees and then shifting camp to another one. The Peramangk, anchored in their relatively fertile hills with supplies of small mammals, acacia gum, Cossid grubs in season, and the ever-present resting corms of *Cyperus* had little need to venture down onto the plains.

The Lake Alexandrina tribes—Warki, Portaulun, and Jarildekald—did try to maintain contact with the Peramangk, because from time to time they were in need of large red gum bark sheets for their shallow dishlike river canoes. These bark sheets were in short supply along the lower reaches of the Murray River. They had to come to terms sufficiently to trade with the dreaded "Hill People." The Peramangk would accept the very supple whip-stick mallee spears made by the Jarildekald in return for which they allowed the lake peoples to come into the nearer parts of the hills and strip off sheets of bark for canoe-making. Plotting of the distribution of surviving trees bearing scars suggests that the vicinity of Strathalbyn, with its possibilities of half-dragging and floating newly made canoes downstream to Lake Alexan-

drina, was a favored area for this contact. No fewer than sixty "canoe trees" have been noted, as well as the find of one of the large saddle-shaped stone implements, with two edge-ground cutting margins, which are believed to have been the tools used in chipping out the outline of the canoe on the tree and as a maul served to drive in the numerous stringybark tree wedges used to separate the canoe bark from the tree. There was fear and mistrust of the Permangk. Accustomed as they were to open country the Murray River people had strong dislike of closed-in forests and hills where one could not see the horizon.

The Warki, Jarildekald, and Portaulun all had swamps, marshes, lake water, and stretches of river to supply needs of small animals, fish, and waterfowl. Duck nets were set in the flyways of ducks, and nets were drawn along the shores of Lake Alexandrina. They had thus far less need for mobility than the Ngarkat of the Murray mallee to the east.

In another section of this work there is mention of the fears the river people had for the proselytizing western peoples with their beliefs that all true men were circumcised. Here sufficient has been said to demonstrate the geographical controls affecting tribal boundaries across the Mount Lofty Ranges.

The Tanganekald of the Coorong in South Australia had their own physiographic classification of their tribal territory. This aids our understanding of their point of view of their country. The whole of their tribal territory is on a portion of a vast sheet of karst limestone resting here and there on rounded knolls of granite each worn down to near sea level. The area is dominated by a 50 mile (80 km.) long estuary called the Coorong, separating a line of coastal sand dunes from the inland shore. The grass- and scrub-covered sandy limestone forming the landward shore of the Coorong are in our classification the old shoreline of the Woakwine Terrace of early Wisconsin interstadial times, the 25 foot (8 m.) terrace. To Tangane men this is [ˈteŋgi] (fig. 21). It was their favored wintering area because of the availability of firewood and the shelter of the scrub. It was somewhat exposed to ambush by inland strangers, the less favored tribespeople called the Ngarkat, who normally wandered in the mallee tree lands beyond [ˈlerami], the belt of inland scrub and swampland country which the Tangane used mainly for hunting kangaroos, emus, and waterbirds. In wintertime they felt reasonably safe, for the inlanders were apt to trespass chiefly in summer when their precarious water supplies became low and their hot land intolerable.

Along the tenggi shores were placed their fish traps of

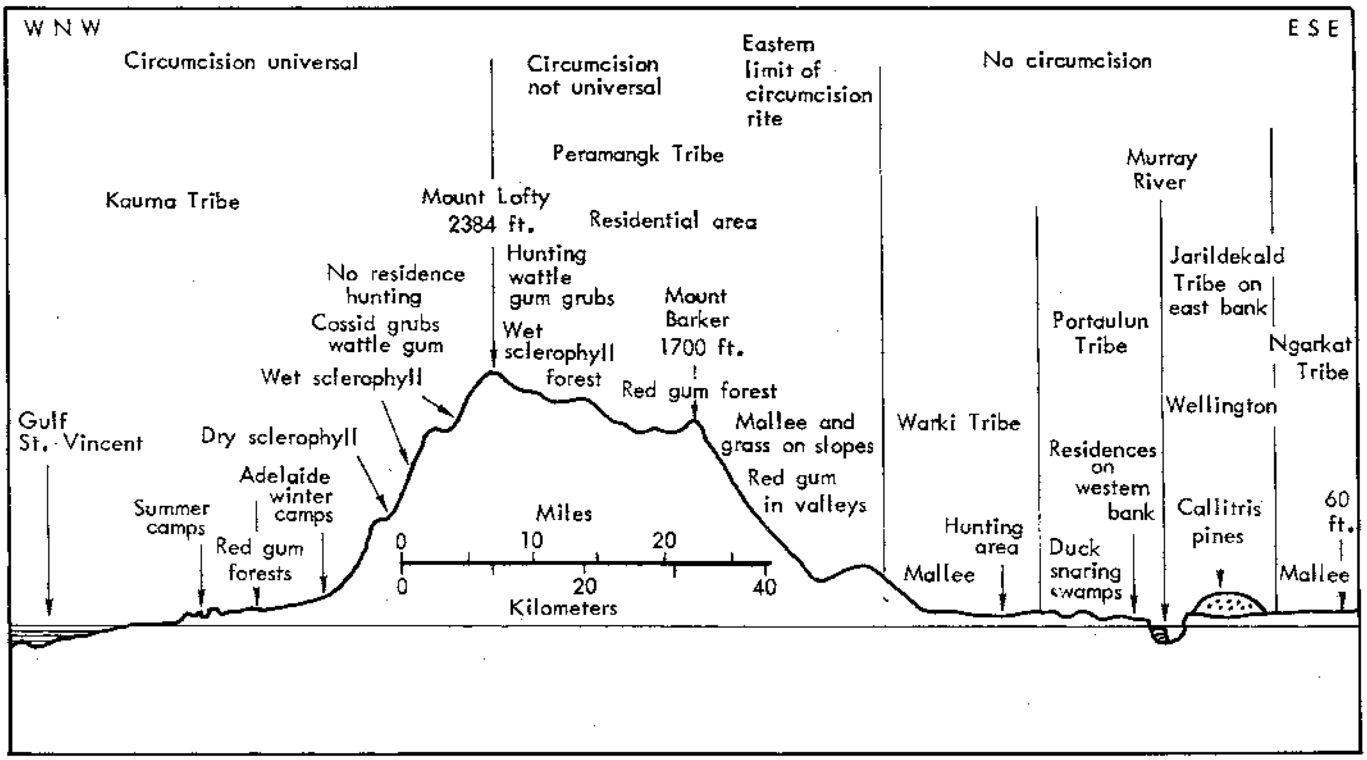


Fig. 20. Cross section from Gulf St. Vincent to the Murray River to show tribal boundaries.

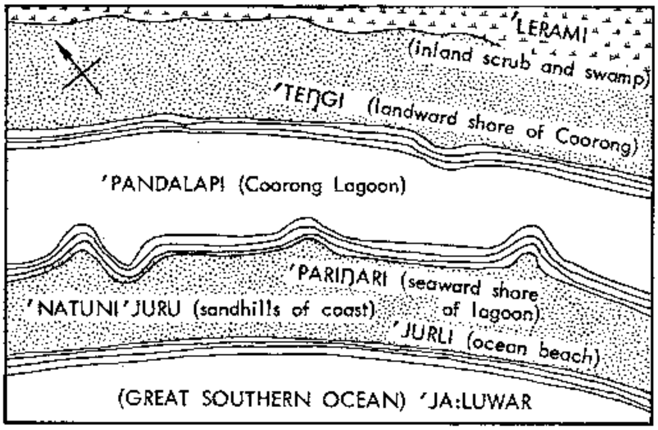


Fig. 21. Tanganekald nomenclature for the physiographic features of their country which fronts the Southern Ocean in the southeastern part of South Australia.

limestone blocks, and a few yards from the water's edge they built their winter homes—mud walls and supporting timbers. Nets for mullet were stretched across parts of the shallow waters of the mile wide ['pandalapi] or Coorong lagoon which extended parallel to the tenggi for 50 miles (80 km.) or more. These nets and the fishtraps yielded the staple diet of fish that was the basis of their economy. Paringari ['pariŋari], the seaward shoreline of pandalapi, provided the ideal summer homes. Then the limited firewood supply was needed only for cooking and sometimes for warding off hordes of mosquitoes. With their backs to the ocean across a 1- to 3-mile-belt (1.5 to 5 km.) of sand hills with a high fixed sand hill to serve as lookout in searching the eastward horizon for the smokes of the fires of strangers, they felt safe from their enemies, who had no rafts on which to cross pandalapi. Freshwater springs, welling up in the brackish Coorong waters from hidden streams under the limestone, attracted birdlife and supplied their water needs. The constantly growing belt of sand dunes were ['natuni 'juru] stretching away to the south for about 100 miles (160 km.). Beyond was the ocean beach or ['jurli] where their women went daily in the season to gather *Donax deltoides* cockles in the surf, carrying their firewood part way to lessen the labor of transporting their baskets of cockles too far from the shore. The fire-opened cockleshells and small water containers of *Cassis* shell remain as evidence of their innumerable noonday camps. Beyond jurli was the thundering surf of ['ja:luwar] the Great Southern Ocean and the unbreachable boundary of their world.

The aborigines of the mallee scrub belt, extending from the lower Murray River in South Australia east along the northern side of the Great Dividing Range to near Albury, were collectively known by the Wotjobaluk of the Wimmera as Malikuunditj ['Mali'ku:nditj]. It is derived from ['mali] a species of *Eucalyptus,* generally *E. oleosa,* the water mallee, and ['korni] man or men. There is some doubt, according to Milerum of the Tanganekald tribe, but the last part of the name is said to be ['titja] and to mean a species of snake. The term was generally derogatory but the Wotjobaluk accepted it as one of their proper names. It obviously is an ecological term. The easternmost tribe to which it appears to have been applied was the Baraparapa of the Cohuna area in northern Victoria; and the westernmost, the Ngarkat in the Murray mallee district in South Australia. As is also mentioned elsewhere in this work, from a different point of view, the people of the mallee scrubs lived differently, being on that score alone considered shiftless. They were less dependent on permanent supplies of water and wandered rather at random within their tribal territory owing to the facility with which they could tap the roots of the red or water mallee and of *Hakea leucoptera* to obtain water supplies despite the apparently waterless karst region in which most of them lived. They were only driven in onto the big rivers when very dry or drought conditions deprived them of their otherwise perennial supplies of root water. As mentioned in chapter 11, it was once thought by early observers that the term malikuunditj implied a status greater than tribal, and it was arbitrarily and unjustifiably ascribed to a "Malegoondeet Nation." It is merely an example of the aborigines' abilities as pragmatic ecologists.

Tribal behavior is determined on a year-round basis by supplies of water, food, and warmth. The water requirements may be illustrated by the Walmadjari classification of water sources and by their comments on the same:

1. ['tju:mu]. Soak waters. These are waters trapped in deep sand. Walmadjari examples cited were their tju:mu named ['Tjumbura:du], ['Tjumburukara], and [Pu'ra:da]. It will be noted that two of these soaks incorporate the term 'tju:mu as part of the name.

2. ['tjiwari]. Claypan waters. These are generally shallow supplies lying in clay basins. They form only after rain; owing to the predominantly northwest monsoonal rain regime of the northern part of Western Australia, they appear as a rule only in hot weather. At such times it is possible to camp at ['tjiwari] and exploit areas of food unattainable at other seasons. Such ['tjiwari] camps may be made on ['pindi] laterite plains, or even in areas that at other times are "salt water" country and hence uninhabitable. There is much country of this nature in the eastern half of Walmadjari territory, and it can only be visited in the summer season after torrential rains.

3. ['njana] and ['milkula]. Two forms of rock holes. On

the southern ['julbari] and eastern ['wanaeka] boundaries of Walmadjari country, there are many rock holes and larger cavities in rocky ground called ['milkula] where water remains for shorter and longer times after rain. ['Konin'na:ra], called Godfrey Tank on the map, is an example. Njana are more substantial supplies that may persist through all but drought years. In normal seasons they can be relied on if discretion is used in planning a journey.

4. ['tjila] and ['tjaramara]. These are both permanent waters and examples are ['Werewelke] and [Pikuraŋu] (Joanna Springs, in Mangala territory). In such places water never fails, and in times of drought people of more than one tribe may be forced to retreat to them and make common cause, often having to fight for the privilege of obtaining water. A ['tjaramara] has so much water nothing need be done to conserve it but a ['tjila] has often to be improved or have its yield increased by scooping or by digging down as the water level drops.

5. ['madiwara], ['maduwara]. River pools. The only ones known to Walmadjari people are those along the Fitzroy River. These could only be visited by infringing on Njikena tribal territory and by encountering the hostility of the river people.

6. ['tjirkali]. Creek pools. Sometimes these are permanent, but most of them eventually dry up, being replenished at the next big rain. "In stony places there are many, in sandy places there are none."

7. ['waramba]. Saltwater places. After the very big rains that come every few years, claypan lakes fill up with water that is fresh at first but they soon turn into ['waramba] or lakes of salty water, and many of them eventually dry up and develop a salty crust or a treacherous salt mud bottom. Gregory Salt Sea is in this category.

8. ['walaŋin]. The sea. Known to the Walmadjari only from tradition or hearsay, for none of them had ever seen it before the days of white man.

Times of drought were ['lalga]; times of flood and rain were ['talanj], which means "wet ground." During lalga men go to the big tjila and throw the sand or earth out of the hole, or as they describe it they add height to the walls to make the tjila bigger. Then they shout out very loudly with special cries to tell the [wanambi] or giant carpet snake they need water and to come and fill the tjila again for them. It is believed the seeping water comes because the hidden snake yields it to them. Talanj or "wet ground" time is also the time of green grass or ['worukal]. During ['worukal] a man could cross his country, paying little heed to the ordering of his journey, but at other times every step had to be planned ahead in terms of waters presumed to be present, considering each factor of availability in terms of past experience.

In indicating the distribution of the waters in his country, the informant illustrated how, on a journey from the Werewelke ['tjaramara] with its permanent supply of water, he would of necessity go to ['Tjumbu'ra:du], a soak or ['tju:mu], thence to ['Tjumburukara], another soak, and then would reach Pikurangu, a ['tjila]. Planning one's movements from water to water was a vital mental activity in which there were no rewards for failure. This was particularly the case in ['paraŋa], "hot weather" time. The sequence of the Walmadjari seasons were:

'Paraŋa	Time of hot weather
'I:dilal	Green grass time; rain falls every few days.
'Makura	Cold weather time.
'Wilpuru	Mild weather time, dry and cool "like today"—23 September 1953.

A link between carpet snakes (wanambi) and permanent supplies of water is of scientific interest. Such creatures are unable to make journeys over dry ground particularly in hot weather and their presence is a virtual assurance that the water is indeed of very long standing. In the Ngadadjara and Pitjandjara tribal areas, great care is taken in approaching a snake-inhabited water so that the snake spirit is not disturbed. Men approach a pool at the foot of the waterfall calling out as they approach. Women and children are only allowed to approach under guidance and are never allowed to go farther upstream than the lowest pool for fear of disturbing the carpet snake. This prohibition may have a pragmatic effect since the likelihood of contamination of the water supplies is lessened if the upper reaches of the stream are not visited. The association between carpet snakes and waters that are "permanent" is very real in the minds of all aborigines of the desert interior, so much so that when a waterhole becomes dry its snake is said to have died. Molestation of the snake of a given spring or water is an unforgivable offense.

The persistence of a tradition of association between water and snakes among people, such as the Dalla (Jinibara) of the mixed rain forest areas near Brisbane, is remarkable. Dr. L. P. Winterbotham (in MS) says that their great fear was that the Bujibara tribespeople who possessed a ['mimburi] or totemic sacred place of the carpet snake totem might prevent snakes from coming into the territory of the Dungidau horde of the Dalla. In the less well-watered areas of the interior this magical ability would have had drastic effects on people deprived of their snakes. We are led to infer that the Dalla may be a people who at some time in the past had migrated

toward the coast from the dry interior, an indication that seems inherent also in some other aspects of culture. In their mythology, for example, they are in conflict with a dwarf or smaller statured people who inhabit the rain-forested areas (a people they called the Dinderi).

The sources of water are important to other Western Desert men and a great variety of descriptive names denote the types. Among the more widely used terms are these:

'inda ('indi, 'indu), spring—hence names of the types 'Meindi, 'Tjinda, 'Wari:nda, 'Eramindi.

'piti (bidi, -bi), hole—hence the general descriptive name for those people who live in the rock hole country, the Pitingo (Bedengo, etc.), and such names as Wamapiti, sweet water rock hole, from wama, anything sweet like honey.

'pan:u, 'pan:o, lake—e.g., Pan:o ('Pando or Lake Hope on maps).

-api, -abi, -kabi, kapi, -gabi, -aba, -kapa, -baba; the form kapi is rare in the west, and most frequently is found in the east as a suffix, it means water— e.g., Ji:dabi, Ra:bi, 'Burabi, Mandakarakapo, Kurukapi; ji:da, finches, bu:, stinking, kura black.

-tjara, -djara, possessing or carrying—e.g., Warodjara, a hill having waro or rock wallabies; Koneiadjara, snake-possessing; Kapitjara, water-possessing; Wa:kawi, crow water (e.g., Warcowie on maps).

-kali, claypan lake—e.g., Wakalikali (Lake Waukarlycarly on maps), Kaliwanu, Kalituldul.

There is an interesting association between ['kali] as a term for lake and ['kali] boomerang. In ancestral times a Being threw a returning boomerang and so made oxbow-shaped lakes; hence, Kaliwanu, a curved lake in the western area of South Australia with the meanings of ['kali] a boomerang and ['wanu] to throw. Boomerang-throwing ancestors created many lakes in this fashion. Along the Murray River in South Australia, Ngurunderi fashioned the Murray River, but he did not have a boomerang. He made the long straight reaches of the lower Murray, between the 100 feet (30 m.) high cliffs, by throwing a heavy wooden spear. A further reason for the association of the term -kali with the boomerang is linked with the use of returning boomerangs in the driving of ducks into nets set at strategic places on the entrances to oxbow lakes. At such places, the boomerangs are thrown to simulate duck hawks, causing the birds suddenly to swoop down and into the nets while the boomerang is self-retrieving. The occurrence of names of this kind out in country where lakes are now dry and useless may be an indication that they are rather old names preserving a hint of a form of use now denied by change of climate.

All aboriginal tribespeople have a very exact nomenclature for the places in their country which are of service to them. Springs, water places, pools of water, and streams are of the first order of importance, as are prominent hills, especially those that provide a lookout or watching-place from which the movement of game, the activities of birds in the distance, and the smoke from fires in other parts of their own country and others, may be seen and activities deduced. Caves, rock shelters, the many crossing-places over shallow arms of the sea, tidal inlets, and river estuaries—all have names. Most prominent hills became associated in some way with totemic beliefs. In the Kaurna tribe, which we have been discussing, the whole spine of the Mount Lofty Ranges, viewed from the northwest, was regarded as the body of an ancestral man, a giant who attacked them from the east and was killed there. His body stretches from Mount Lofty to Nuriootpa, a distance of over 35 miles (60 km.), and the twin summits of Mounts Lofty and Bonython are ['jureidla], "the two ears" of the Being, a name now perpetuated as the township of Uraidla, having passed over, a little distorted as to pronunciation, into our culture.

This pattern of names may be very old and stable. Some of the names are meaningless to the present inhabitants, others are descriptive and make immediate sense, thus Idilarango is from [iði] or ithi, finch, and ['lara], expression of amazement, and it is a waterpool frequented by thousands of finches. When the ancestral being who gave the name, "made," that is, discovered the place, he exclaimed at the vast numbers of finches flocking to the water and so it remains today.

One of the guides to water on the Nullarbor plain is a line of ants going down through sinkholes in the limestone to find water. With the intimate knowledge he must have, the aboriginal follows such leads and many caves have been entered by man following such indications. The name ['ŋalbata'karu] literally "creek" or "descending place of the ants" was given to a cave near Koonalda on the Nullarbor plain. On the map it is corrupted as "Albadakarroo," and it is a memorial to such a find that yielded water to some one in the past.

Desert-living aborigines in particular have a very detailed, exact and widely known nomenclature within the tribe and also know key places in the country of other tribes surrounding theirs. It is essential that all important features as waters, mountain peaks, and food-gathering places—flood plains and grass-growing areas—be known. Only then can there be mutual understanding of movements, planning of safe lines of approach and retreat over unwatered tracts of country, and ability to pool experience by discussion. Hordes keep in touch with one

another principally by smoke signals. The smoke of a night's fire hanging on the horizon is usually sufficient to pinpoint the presence of others, and it is a customary practice when leaving any camp, with the intention of traveling elsewhere, to light a series of fires, showing by the direction of their progression the way of travel, thus keeping others informed of their plans, which of course then fit into the considered pattern that every man carries in his mind; he already knows or believes he knows where everyone else is, or is likely to be at a given season of the year.

Dry-forest-dwelling tribes who had only limited access to river waters, when confronted with the drying up of their lesser waters often find it necessary to press centrifugally from their territory rather than maintain their normal centripetal tendencies. This is well illustrated by the following data given by one of the oldest surviving Nganguruku men, near Devon Downs in South Australia, where Birdsell and I met him again in 1953, having subjected him to anthropometric examination in 1937. I have since worked extensively with him. He told us that the Ngarkat tribespeople lived to the east and several western hordes of his own tribe traveled in the mallee-covered plains country east and west of the river. In very hot weather when mallee root water sometimes failed as a sufficient supply, these "back country" people were forced to come into the river but were allowed to do so only along certain recognized tracks. They camped by the river during the hottest hours of the day and drank water, but carried water back at dusk into the scrub-covered plains to have during the night. The hordes owning the river fronts claimed the hunting territories ['θi:nda] or ['ti:nda] as extending from 5 to 10 miles (8 to 16 km.) out from the river, usually to about the rise of the barely discernible shallow outer valley of the Murray River. In this outer zone were the summer feeding grounds of emus and kangaroos that descended the natural sandy ramps leading to water and could be ambushed or turned aside into narrow, cliff-margined culs-de-sac along the river, where they could often be killed.

It was emphasized that the pressing need for water at critical times in their year caused the Ngarkat people to refrain from interfering with the hunting rights claimed by the Nganguruku. They tried to avoid the accusations of trespass which the river people were only too ready to make, and so they made their approach along paths remote from the special hunting and trapping areas. For example, at Ngautngaut ['ŋautŋaut], the rock shelter at Devon Downs where the post-Mid-Recent archaeological succession was established in Australia (Hale and Tindale, 1930) a steep path down the face of the cliff just south of the main rock shelter was used, and in the latest times it was the Ngarkat who summered at Devon Downs rock-shelter.

Among the Pitjandjara, there is a native term meaning "anywhere is a camp," denoting that rare and brief period after heavy general rain when temporary waters are abundant. At this time the uttermost confines of the desert may be visited, and the tribal territories might even seem to interdigitate or overlap. As soon as drier weather arrives, the people fall back on more permanent supplies of water, which are jealously husbanded against a dry period. The Pitjandjara turn to deep sand soaks and rock-sheltered pools in the Mann and Petermann Ranges; the Jangkundjara always returned toward the Everard Range waters (prior to the 1914 drought and the onset of pastoral settlement in 1919), for these never in living memory had failed them. Many Ngadadjara go to Warupuju Spring in the Warburton Ranges which, they also claim, has never failed, although Giles the explorer never located it. Thus in ordinary dry times the tribal limits are rather rigidly defined, and it is only when unusual droughts occur that the limits are transgressed by other than native travelers. In this category may be included men carrying trade parcels, bringing new songs or dances, or accompanying youths seeking potential fathers-in-law to initiate them by means of the rites of circumcision and subincision.

During several field trips I took into the Western Desert, my study of many watering-places of the aborigines has demonstrated that the importance of any given water can be determined by measuring the distance between the actual water source and the surrounding growth of trees. At a less important camping place, water and firewood may be available within 100 yards (90 m.) of each other but at highly important places the tree-and-firewood line may be from ½ to 3 miles (0.8 to 5 km.) away from the water so that the water supply is surrounded by a manmade waste of open land. This is not to say that there may not be a few tall shady trees near the water which have for long periods served as shelters from the noonday sun. At important watering places, particularly those common to several adjoining tribal groups during periods of water stress, the actual camps of the different tribes, oriented toward their own territories, may often be situated from 1 to 5 or more miles apart, for convenience of escape, and so on, and actual contact may be much less close than would seem likely at first estimate of the situation. It may be stretching the point to insist that it is the chill of night that keeps neighboring tribes apart, but warmth and firewood are among the many factors to be considered as seriously affecting the situation.

Waterless stretches of country constitute a very charac-

teristic type of boundary, since the aborigines have inferior methods of carrying water—in some areas being able to do so only in skin bags, and in others only in shallow wooden bowls balanced on the head.

In discussion with Ngaluma men they claimed as eastern boundary the Peeawah River. This contrasted with the claim of their eastern neighbors, the Kariara, who said they regarded Balla Balla River as the boundary. Ngaluma men, however, admitted that they never went more than kangaroo-hunting distance out from Balla Balla River, that is, a distance of 5 to 6 miles (8 to 10 km.) and the Kariara also seldom ventured much beyond Peeawah River. The intervening 12-mile (19-km.) strip, was found to be a waterless plain of heavy sand sloping gradually to the sea, covered with porcupine grass and low shrubs little more than a foot (30 cm.) in height. It appeared to be a considerable barrier to native occupation but constituted a kind of native road traversed by people moving from one place to another. The true Ngaluma-Kariara tribal boundary thus runs roughly midway between the Peeawah and Balla Balla rivers. It is marked inland by a dry granitic range with a change of vegetation from porcupine grass-covered laterite on the Ngaluma side and a sand plain with a low heath of stunted wattles (*Acacia*) to the east. This little-frequented strip between the rivers seems to serve as a refuge for game and over 100 euros and several kangaroos were seen on the plain while my companions and I were traversing the area by automobile in July 1953.

An interesting piece of evidence regarding the relative fixity of tribal boundaries was encountered in the northwest of Western Australia during 1953 in connection with the Konejandi. It happened that the detailed boundaries of all the tribes surrounding Konejandi territory came to be placed on the map owing to interrogation of many different informants. Then the first Konejandi man was encountered, and inquiries made about his tribal territory. His tribal area "dropped" so very exactly into the "hole" in the map the other informants had left, that one was given quite a graphic illustration of the possible value of "negative" evidence for tribal distribution, and the episode went far to give assurance of the probability of the general soundness of the work.

The boundary of the Nauo tribe placed on the South Australia part of the present map was obtained in this way, of necessity, since all members of the tribe were extinct at the time I began to gather data. The bounds are based only on the statements of Pangkala and Wirangu people, but there can be good reason for confidence in the results, especially in view of the experience with my northwestern Australian friends, even if there were not supporting observations by early visitors to Eyre Peninsula, made at the time when these people were in conflict with newly arrived Westerners. The Nauo were a people who had suffered from the depredations of white sealers and criminal escapees from Tasmania. These lawless men stole women from the Nauo in the days before the foundation of the state of South Australia in 1836. The continued hostility of the Nauo in later years had some grounds for justification.

When journeying around his tribal territory, the Tanganekald man Milerum pointed out the exact boundaries ['keinari] between the different ['ruwe] or clan territories of the Tanganekald. In one case the boundary was so exactly marked that a given large slab of limestone had been transported to a prominent position on a specific dune to be the indicator. In another it was a particular ledge of rock in a soft limestone cliff fronting the Coorong. Here burials of packages of bones were placed; one clan's dead were confined to one southward facing portion and the bones of the next clan to the crevices in the northern remainder of this clan boundary marker.

Figure 22 shows a portion of the territory of the Tanganekald covering seven of the twenty and more clans. It shows the multitude of place names that guide people around their territory. Each place name may have a meaning and may be linked with the traditions of the people, including such events as the fall of a meteorite and the wanderings of their ancestral heroes.

In other situations in Australia the boundary may run from the named watering place *a* to the one *b*, or, where the waters are shared by both clans, the habitual camping spots, one on each side of the water, are regarded as limiting such territory with the water as constituting a neutral ground.

In the Western Desert large areas of land are virtually uninhabitable except in those brief bursts of verdant exuberance after a phenomenal rain. As one of my informants described it, "green time is when anywhere is a camp." In such areas lines of more substantial or even permanent waters determine a local group's normal route of seasonal travel and shift in search of food. They are frequently depicted as running along lines or strips of good country ['pira] separated by ['wanda:ri] of dune crests, and have been so depicted on occasion in ground and other drawings similar to the very typical ones shown in figures 11 and 12.

Many such drawings are filed in the South Australian Museum collection. An aboriginal still living in his own territory, but who had had special opportunities to learn English, voluntarily used the term "line" in describing his clan territory. When depicted as a line, it returns to

the place regarded as either a main water, the depictor's birthplace, or the place from which the narrator started his account. The linear concept may be confirmed enough in some men's minds that they may record a territory as extending in a straight line from *a-b-c–x-y-z-a*, so that the starting place and termination, although the same place, are yet represented at opposite ends of the line.

Reverting to boundary markers, we find that in other areas we have encountered diverse indicators, both clan and tribal. Thus the Marditjali tribal area shows a combination of ecological and physiographic controls as determining their area, spreading across the South Australia and Victoria border. Their country was characterized by large *Eucalyptus camaldulensis* open forests enclosing areas of swamp. At Edenhope, their boundary with the Bungandit̯j (Buandik) tribe, there is a sudden change to scrub gum (*Eucalyptus cosmophylla*). In the west their country is limited by the sudden uprising of the wooded lime sand dunes of the Naracoorte Range. This

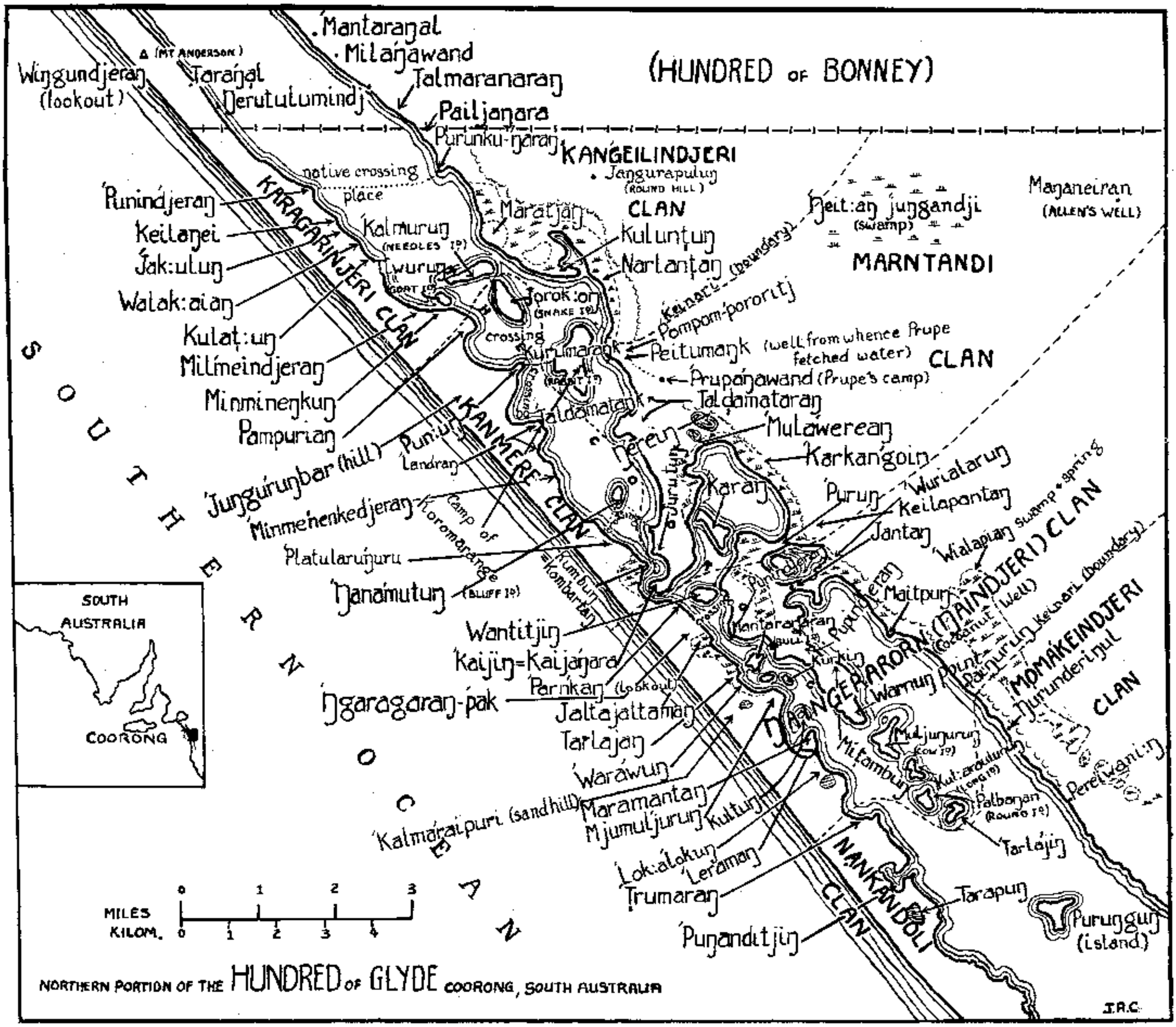


Fig. 22. Details of the place names of seven of the clans of the Tanganekald on the Coorong of South Australia, illustrating the detailed nomenclature. Each place name has a meaning tied to the physiography, history, botany, or mythology of the locality.

is the marine eustatic terrace of the Great Interglacial situated about 190 feet (60 m.) above present sea level. Here the Marditjali were in contact with the Meintangk whose country lay on the broad swampy plains west of Naracoorte, while the Potaruwutj lived in the scrubland areas of lower rainfall and lessened fertility, caused by mineral deficiencies, between Naracoorte and Keith and extending west to Taunta.

A notable factor in Western Desert life is the great vagaries in rainfall. There is local variability caused by the random scatterings of thunderstorms, which widely saturate one area with up to several inches of rain while leaving an adjoining one bone dry. Often one can see a hard line inscribed by nature; on one side, and extending for miles, knee high grasses, succulents, and germinating shrub seedlings, while on the other side is total desert with the dried and shriveled remains of what was life a year or even years ago. There are also regional cycles of good seasons. There are, however, equally long-lasting periods when lack of rainfall causes desiccation such as was witnessed in the MacDonnell Ranges during the 1960s, when cattle herding fell off to almost zero. During such periods large areas have diminished ability to support life, leading to catastrophic declines in numbers of all forms and placing great strains on human existence.

In certain places, however, the location of the hills encourages the constant coming of thunderstorms each summer, providing a territory in its neighborhood that, for example, has supported a Ngadadjara horde for as long as can be remembered. The accompanying native drawing (fig. 23) by an old man who dominated the groups camped at Warupuju Soak in August 1935 illustrates this. It is a geographical drawing partly symbolized. Across the top of it Tjurtirango ['Tjurtiraŋo] the rainbow lies, and between it are two concentric spirals representing Kalkakutjara, the "heavenly breasts" ['kalka] nipple and ['kutjara] two, which give rain that flows into ['kapi] or waters. These are the balance of the concentric spirals. Five darker ones possess mythical ['koneia] carpet snakes and therefore are considered never-failing; the others are temporary waters. Down the middle runs a stream bed, dry except during rain. On it are marked three waters, of which the top one is Warupuju. Zigzag lines from water to water are the tracks or native roads of men wandering in search of food. The original was done in red and black by Katabulka in May 1939. For reproduction here it has been reduced to about one fourth of its original size. Katabulka is shown in plate 69 displaying one of the ceremonial boards that represent his title to this clan territory.

Two basic kinds of drought refuge have become apparent from the study of tribal distribution. One is the peripheral refuge shared by more than one people; the other the central refuge shared with no others, to which retreat was possible, but from which there was no likelihood of escape. ['Ka:lun] and Ooldea Soak are perhaps typical of the one; the main waters of the Everard Ranges and the Warupuju Soak in the Warburton Ranges are examples of the other.

During the plotting of the distributions of tribes along the Canning Stock Route it became evident that there were refuge waters present from the earliest times of which aborigines have remembrance, and these memories go back prior to the period around 1910 when waters along the stock route were first visited by Europeans. At that time the water supplies were improved and augmented with the intention of developing a cattle track from north to south across the desert. Certain key waters

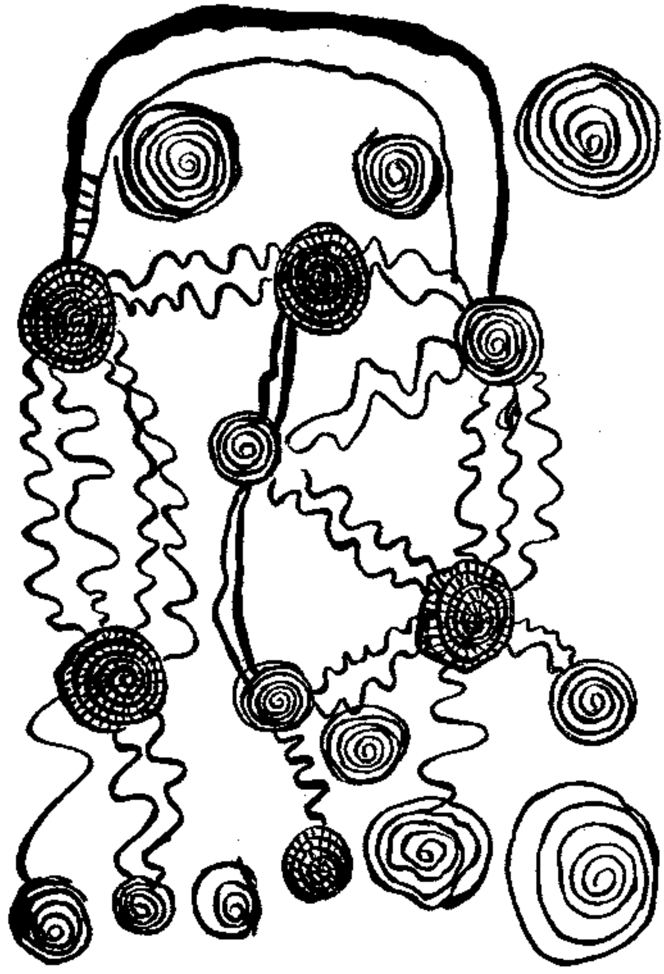


Fig. 23. Geographical drawing by Katabulka of the Ngadadjara tribe in the Warburton Ranges of Western Australia. Tjurtirango the rainbow yields water to storage wells, pools, and sand soaks symbolized by concentric spirals. Tracks made by men join the various waters.

there were already shared in common by several peoples, so that the boundaries of as many as three and four tribes would impinge on the one key watering place. Close inquiry has suggested that the vital watering place was visited relatively seldom and ordinarily never was camped on, for fear of contact with others. Water would be drawn from the source when necessary, but the claimants to the water indicated that their camps would be placed as far away from it in the directions of their own particular territory as was consistent with obtaining supplies. In such circumstances the water might even be fetched by men rather than by women, upon whose heads the duty normally rested.

Drought is the great and extraordinary hazard of desert life; one that comes with such frequency as to engrave its pattern on the lives of most generations, if not on every one in these tribes. It is possible to speak from personal experience of several examples of groups forced to flee their normal hunting territories because of drought.

In 1928–1929 drought was intense in the Lake Amadeus and Lake Bennett areas, in the vicinity of the western MacDonnell Ranges, occupied by western Kukatja and some Jumu people. At Alice Springs in 1928 rainfall recordings were lower than they had been in any of the previous 54 years of records. The total, 237 points (less than 2.4 inches or 6 cm.) was less than one-half that experienced in any recorded earlier year. It drove starving groups eastward until they appeared for the first time at the Hermannsburg Mission settlement. Their arrival in August 1929 coincided with the visit of the University of Adelaide Anthropological Expedition. Little summer rain had fallen in the previous Christmas period; no ['witjuti] grubs could be found on the roots of the *Acacia excelsior* shrubs; native banana greens (*Marsdenia*) were absent or all had been eaten by starving animals; kangaroos had migrated elsewhere and the *Triodia* grass had neither set seed heads nor had the summer grasses been able to grow and seed. The oily seed heads of the *Calandrinia* and other succulent plants were absent. Results were abject starvation with the appearance of a form of scurvy—soft puffed flesh and swollen belly and feet. There were deaths of children and the crippling of others. Older aborigines, reduced to skin and bone, staggered in carrying children on their backs. In this instance medical attention, with vitamin treatment and orange juice (Cleland, 1929; Cleland and Fry, 1930) alleviated their plight. It is possible that 50 percent of the children under fifteen years of age might have died had this help not been forthcoming. An estimated two hundred people were directly involved.

In 1914 a vast area of South Australia from western Victoria northwestward for over 2,000 miles (3,200 km.) was in a severe drought that lasted until mid-1915, but because of local summer thundershowers the situation in the eastern Musgrave Ranges was nearly normal. To the west it was so dry that most of the Pitjandjara tribespeople were forced to shift eastward and by 1916 had usurped the territory of the northern hordes of the Jangkundjara, permanently driving them away from the eastern Musgraves. There was a forced southward shift of the Jangkundjara people by from 140 to 160 miles (225 to 250 km.) (Tindale, 1953:171). Some of the displaced hordes of the Jangkundjara and a few Antakirinja tribespeople moved southward and attempted to live on the land of their former southern boundary and in the marginal strip between the Kokata and Ngalea territory. Some years later, when unable to move north again to the Everard Range in a time of drought, they descended on Ooldea for the first time in the lives of the present Jangkundjara. The Kokata who had long used Ooldea as a western standby refuge water, which they shared with other tribes, including the Wirangu, thereupon moved eastward and settled near Tarcoola where European settlements have since held them. The Kokata southeastward movement is not free of direct post-European disturbance, since the Pangkala, their former enemies (apparently rather bitter ones), have almost all died out, and the survivors made no effort to drive them away.

The Pitjandjara men now claim the Ernabella end of the Musgrave Ranges as within their territory. One old man informed me in 1933 that, in relating the stories of his tribe to children, he and other older men had arranged stones near Ernabella and had transferred place names and locations of some myths to the new area, so that children could see them. This seemed to be a stage in the actual legitimization of their claims to the country. In 1957 when discussing this matter with some western Pitjandjara men on Officer Creek, who had spent some time hunting in that area, I learned that there were no real totemic places in the eastern area that they were gradually acquiring because of the defection of Jangkundjara migrating to the railway town of Finke and nearby ranches (stations), and indeed they still had only a few names, mostly taken over by hearsay from the Jangkundjara. Their increase ceremonies were all held during times when they could go back west toward their own country. They no longer cared to go as far west as Kalaiapiti in the Mount Hoare Range area. There were three main reasons. The first was that the rock wallabies and some other animals including the ['mala] had died out and some waters had dried up. This was a climatic effect that seems to tie in with evidence of a progressive desiccation of the area south of the Musgrave Ranges. It

is probably an effect also of the introduction and spread of the introduced fox and a long-range effect of the predations of feral cats.

Second, now that the mission was well established at Ernabella, to go so far away meant too long an absence from their children, who were attending school; if landrovers were made available they would go there to get native tobacco plants and to hunt. In this case, therefore, the trend of the drought cycle begun in 1914–1915 has led to an irreversible reaction and an easterly and southeasterly shift of some 150 or more miles (250 km.) in three tribal territories, which yet seem to have maintained somewhat their relative positions with respect to one another. The evidence must, unfortunately, be viewed with reservations because the presence of European settlement toward the east and south has not only acted as a lodestone but also the decline of the tribal hordes on the east, through deaths in contact with European diseases and because of migrations to white settlements, has reduced considerably the effects of population pressure in the east.

A third example of the effects of drought on population movements was observed in the Warburton Ranges, Western Australia, in August 1935. In that month several hordes of the Nana tribe journeyed southeastward to Warupuju, being driven there by the drying-up of their normal waters. This had compelled them for the first time in an estimated fifteen years to make contact with the Ngadadjara, their eastern neighbors, who because of the same dry conditions of that year had concentrated on Warupuju, the unfailing soak water on a creek 5 miles (8 km.) west of Mount Talbot in the Warburton Ranges and mentioned earlier in this chapter. Members of the University of Adelaide Anthropological Expedition which I took to the area at that time were able to witness and film the arrival of the Nana unheralded, except for smoke fires in the west. We were able to see the partly ritual defense of the water against invasion. We saw the decline of anger, the exchange of kinship identities, the airing of the grievances occasioned by the alleged "theft" of a woman by a Nana man during contact a generation earlier, and the ritual handing over of a wooden container of water to the newcomers by Katabulka, a man who claimed Warupuju Soak as in his hordal territory.

In discussing the effects of desert conditions, it must be remembered that in areas of variable rainfall chance often produces a long run of good seasons. This was evident in the 1940s and 1950s and affected the cattle industry in central Australia where despite the generally arid conditions in any series of years large areas experienced a run of favorable seasons. Since then there has been a serious decline. At times of plenty, numbers of animals breed and stock can be maintained at relatively high levels of health and nutrition. Sometimes periods of from five to twenty years or more elapse before a catastrophic drought causes a population crash. Such droughts as a rule are not universal, so that only one or two areas at a time suffer the maximum effects and restocking is possible by the shifting of animals once the worst effects are over.

It is important therefore to realize that with a cycle of good seasons, lasting for a generation or more, a large population increase may occur in a tribe. It is difficult to obtain exact data on such increases, but the genealogies of desert families often show that during an active fertility period of around twenty years a woman may at full potential be able successfully to rear six or seven children, even allowing that some infants born too quickly on the heels of previous ones must be killed, since there is no effective way of rearing two children simultaneously, under the conditions of their life. Weaning usually takes place at the end of the third year after birth. Allowing for all the normal causes of infant mortality, a very large increase is possible in the population of even a single hordal territory when a succession of good seasons enables an area with a long term carrying capacity of one person per 50 square miles (130 sq. km.), is favored so as to be able to carry one person per 20 square miles (32 sq. km.). At the beginning of such a cycle of favorable years, life is easy. There is an easing of the burden of travel and food search, the pressure on food resources is slight, and the principal causes of intertribal friction, namely quarrels over infringements of territory, are less likely.

Such cycles of good seasons are apt to occur in some areas and may persist for relatively long periods. When they come to an end there is either a population crash or an enforced migration. This move may end either in discovery of a territory previously ravaged by drought but now in the beginning of a period of cyclic improvement, in which case it is likely to be underpopulated or deserted, or a conflict occurs with people whose territory is being invaded, since all parts of the desert normally tend to be claimed by someone. The outcome of such conflicts vary. The invading people may have the element of surprise on their side, but often they are starving or suffering from malnutrition and even from thirst. They are in an alien environment, afflicted with fears of the unknown and lacking in knowledge of the food and water resources of the terrain into which they have been forced to move. In general the dice would

seem to be loaded against them. In the case of the Wanman who were forced to trespass westward and to have contact with the Njangamarda, the Wanman men had to buy temporary respite for themselves by giving women in marriage. Not all managed to be so fortunate —some lost their lives as well as their wives to the more securely situated people nearer the coast.

In several accounts of enforced migrational movements which we have gathered in the general area of the Canning basin, there seems to have been some form of schism among the people on the verge of being forced to move. Some elected to remain in their territory and others left. Sometimes this involved the breaking-up of the initially migrating group into family or horde-sized groups. These then usually lost touch with the others and might in fact never meet with them again, referring to them in after years as if they were in fact still at the places where they were left behind. In the case of the horde of some twenty Nangatara who were found starving on the Canning Stock Route southwest of Sturt Creek in 1953, it was learned that they had left some of their older people in their home territory, others had remained at places visited on their northern trek, and those who finally found succor near Sturt Creek were reduced to death's door. These people were related to other folk who upward of a decade previously had ventured out of the desert during an earlier drought using an entirely separate route through Karbardi and Joanna Springs and had come in to cattle stations along the De Grey River. Not all these people came out at those times. In 1958 an exploration party, using a helicopter over the area in which the Nangatara must once have lived, found people, suggesting that the droughts that had caused the enforced migration of the several earlier Nangatara hordelike groups referred to above had not entirely depopulated the area. This seems likely then to be a continuing state of affairs in desert areas with the "surplus" population being forced to redistribute itself continually into any favorable niches not yet fully occupied. Those who fail take their chances by centrifugal movement into areas where the physical climate would be better but the social climate very unfavorable for survival, unless new bonds of friendship could be established before annihilation.

Periods of excessive rain were in some areas almost as disturbing to tribal life as periods of drought, and caused considerable changes in ordered ways of living. Tumultuous rainstorms had immediate effects, causing wet camps, shelters to leak, drowned fires, and cold and discomfort. When floods accompanied the rain, the hasty abandonment of riverside camps and retreat to high ground were added to general misery. In the southeastern part of the continent rain-sodden skin rugs began to smell, the sinews holding them together became flaccid and tended to break and they became overheavy to carry.

Among the Jarildekald, earth-covered lean-to shelters became wet and the added weight often led to collapse and to the trapping and crushing of persons beneath them. Wind accompanying the rain blew water even into normally well-sheltered places. The Kaurna people of the Adelaide plains, who tended to live along the coasts during summer months to take advantage of the mulloway fishing and then to camp near the coastal springs, retreated to more wooded areas in winter to obtain timber for fires and to make use of log and stringybark shelters. They brought the bark sheets down from the hill country to the east. A favorite nucleus for a hut was a partly hollow red gum tree whose shelter could be extended by addition of standing sheets of stringybark and brush against the trunk, earth being piled around to keep water from entering the shelter. Loss of fire caused by sudden drenchings sometimes had tragic aftermaths because none of the normal methods of kindling fire could be operated when wood was damp and temperature was low. The care of fires often was the responsibility of one or more of the old women who then were the first to suffer from the loss of fire, not only from the immediate wrath of fellow tribespeople but because the effects of chilling and cold necessitated at the very least long journeys to visit other people until they found someone who had retained fire. There was often great misery until members succeeded in rekindling a flame.

Among the Pitjandjara it was chiefly heavy rains, and the rare bouts of excessive cold in winter with snow njenga ['njeŋa], which induced them to take shelter in caves. Here again it was the drowning of fires which compelled them to seek such places. On a visit to Eraka Cave ['Erakanja'kulpi] in the Mount Harriet area southeast of the Mann Range, I was shown a shelter where my Pitjandjara companions had taken refuge during rain. They pointed out the remains of the brush and grass they had attempted to kindle and laughingly described their efforts. They showed me that they had had thought for the future in that grass and twigs were wedged into some crevices. These they could expect would remain dry however severe a rainstorm might assail them until, at some future time, they would be available for an emergency.

In July 1933 eleven Pitjandjara people traveled with me from a native soak water at Pundi (131°10'E x 26°40'S) on the plain south of the Musgrave Ranges,

when cold winter rains were encountered. The party consisted of two family groups including a man and his wife and girl child; an old man, his wife, and two adult daughters with a boy and two young men. I quote from my journal:

> The rain set in steadily. After putting a mile or so behind us I made a brief halt and they built a big fire and we warmed ourselves. We then moved on for another half an hour and built another fire. Each individual carried a large fire formed of mulga bark; with this they kept slightly warm in the extremities even in the rain. Every time they passed a suitable dead mulga they replenished their stock of bark and as a precaution against the chance of losing their fire each of the older men carried a long sheet of bark three inches wide and five- to six-feet long balanced upon his head, as spare fuel. These sticks of bark remained with them all day. They would not stop, even to warm themselves until they had assured themselves of a stock of bark with which to carry on the fire.
>
> To start a blaze they broke small wet mulga twigs (there was no dry tinder about anywhere) and stacked them over glowing mulga bark; then they piled on larger wood, also dripping wet, and covered the whole with green branches; in one case with tea tree, in another case with porcupine grass. The smothering of the smoldering fire and the protection from the rain and radiation of heat generated clouds of white smoke and soon the whole mass was in flames. When it became time to leave the fire the bark tinder which had been extinguished were relit and new bark added.

During the excavation of Kongarati Cave, on the coast south of Adelaide (Tindale and Mountford, 1936), a notable feature was the number of fire-making sticks remaining as evidence of efforts to kindle fires.

Among the Kaiadilt of Bentinck Island excessive winter rain and cold wind, which in occasional years blew up from the south, was of great concern and showed a factor of 7 percent in the list of natural causes of death during the past fifty years. In good years when tall grass had grown after the summer rains, individual grass shelters were a form of protection, but these failed when the cold winds were excessive; at such times a rounded pit under a tree in the sand dunes with a cover of whatever branches could be obtained as a lid, served as protection. During major cyclonic storms such shelters, placed on the highest available land areas, were the only safe refuges, and distance away from such areas was cited by survivors as the cause of death or disappearance of their companions during such catastrophic attacks by unbridled nature. Incidentally, archaeologists should be aware of the existence of such deep holes when considering apparent anomalies in the stratigraphy of some of their sites.

A taped story of a Janggal tribesman's experience, of which I give here an abridged summary, describes how as a child about the year 1880 a man and his parents had survived by clinging to their raft, tied to the highest branches of a mangrove forest, when their low-lying Forsyth Island home in the Gulf of Carpentaria had been drowned by the high tides induced by some extraordinary storm. The people afterward sought shelter on Mornington Island and were given shelter by the Lardiil until their home islands could be used again. After such unusual happenings the water table becomes loaded with salty water which disappears only after a rainy season again fills the sand with fresh water.

Along the low-lying shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria and parts of Arnhem Land, the onset of the northwest monsoonal rains of summer necessitated the abandonment of large areas of flooded land, compressing some groups and isolating others. Some hordes were forced to endure long periods of isolation on crude hut platforms, sheltering under roofs made from sheets of stringybark stripped from the trees during the period of rising sap at the beginning of the wet season. This seasonal pattern of isolation tended to accentuate hordal separations. On Groote Eylandt at such seasons the preferred places for people to live were on largely artificial shell mounds among the mangrove swamps. These mounds, a by-product of their ancestors residence there, were in the winter season frequently increased in size and added to by the activities of the jungle fowl *Megapodius freycinet.* These birds constantly raked up leaf debris in the making of their egg incubation pits. The birds themselves were largely unmolested by the aborigines who obtained a constant supply of eggs by taxing the birds whenever they returned to the sites. Their own contributions to the mounds were substantially the shells of *Arca trapezia* and of mangrove oysters. The soils of these mounds were well drained and considered desirable dwelling places despite the clouds of mosquitoes that rendered life miserable except in the shelter of the smoke-filled stringybark-roofed huts.

As already mentioned, in the Western Desert the appearance of the occasional excessive rain broke down all real barriers determining normal lines of travel and "everywhere" became a potential camp, as countless claypans and depressions filled and permitted free movement to the most inaccessible and infrequently exploitable parts of the tribal territory. At such times men ventured boldly into areas seen only at such infrequent intervals that they were often in doubt as to whether or not they were trespassing, and they would often flee at the first sign of "strangers" such as unidentifiable "smokes" on the horizon or strange tracks. One of the first effects of a great rain was a clean sweep, wiping away from the ground all the tracks and old impressions

of animals' feet. Every spoor was now the indication of a fresh presence of potential food. No longer was it necessary to study and closely analyze a maze of marks to determine which was the latest and therefore only valuable clue, since large areas could be scanned at a glance. Such periodic openings of clean, unexploited areas had important effects on the whole tribal area. There was instant dispersal of the hordes, each toward the more inaccessible parts of their traditional home area. It freed the principal survival areas from the overly heavy demands on the stock of plants and small animals it carried, which at all times was less because of the annual drain on its resources. Whether or not aborigines always understood the reasons, it was a recognized practice to leave main standby waters as soon as the rainy season was assured, working out toward the remoter undisturbed areas and then drifting back toward the more reliable ones, as the arid season dictated.

In the south, storm and rain, coming in the winter season, brought problems. Flooded rivers separated peoples. Constant work was necessary to keep out rain, maintain fires, and stock supplies of wood dry enough to burn. Coastal camping sites were abandoned in favor of inland ones. The presence in many places along the south coast of inland sand dunes of red sand, the remains of interglacial eustatic shorelines, formed attractive camping areas because of the warmth of the sand, the good drainage, and the possibility of obtaining some shelter from the cold winds on the northeast side of the dunes themselves. In some cases, as among the Kaurna of Adelaide, the season was often a stimulus to trade with other people.

The Kaurna winter shelters of earth, bark, and logs near fallen and hollow trees along the creeks were in constant need of attention. Sudden drenching downpours, floodings, and endless days of drizzling rain made maintenance of fires difficult. Carelessness of some old women or a sudden downpour on occasion destroyed their fires leading to a serious deprivation of comfort and inability to keep warm. On such occasions it was necessary to go to other hordes to get fire. At times there would be a temporary migration toward the northeast, skirting the tribal boundary of the Peramangk and going over the low part of the Mount Lofty Ranges by way of Nuriootpa ['Ŋuriutpa] and Truro, descending in force on the otherwise despised noncircumcising Ngaiawang and Nganguruku, and by offering skin cloaks, quartz flakes, red ochre from Ochre Cove, and other inducements obtain fresh fire. The fire-making apparatus used by the Kaurna was the twirled grass tree flowering stem, rubbed with downward pressure against the notched edge of a piece of wood, sometimes native peachwood or even a split piece of the *Xanthorrhoea* stem itself. The method was almost impossible to employ when damp air and winter cold combined to defeat their efforts. The method was probably of more use in the northern country which was said in tradition to be the direction from which they had originally come to the Adelaide plains.

The Ramindjeri and the Peramangk and some of the tribes east of the Mount Lofty Ranges knew how to strike fire using flint against a piece of iron pyrites, catching the spark on dry punk fungus from the shelter of hollow gum trees. The Nganguruku used a grass tree stick and a split piece of kangaroo bone packed with kangaroo dung or similar tinder and pressed the twirling stick against it. Neither of these methods seems to have been practiced by the Kaurna. The Kaurna were the southernmost of the circumcising peoples and were considered as dangerous strangers in the country farther east, but the loss of fire was so relatively frequent an event that necessity made for appearances of friendship. Thus there was a spasmodic pattern of intertribal exchange between the Kaurna and the noncircumcising tribes of the Murray valley whose languages were also different. So far as memory goes it never led to any exchange of women or other close links except in one instance. A man of the Tanganekald named ['Kaltaŋanuru] married a woman from Cape Jervis, the southernmost horde of the Kaurna, and lived with her in the country at Latarngg ['Lataŋg] in the vicinity of Goolwa and then went to live in her country near Yankalilla ['Jaŋkalja'wa:ŋk]. In his old age he sang a series of songs describing his fears and experiences in the strange country he was led into by his wife's father, from Latarngg to Crozier Hill ['Nibielaŋk], thence to ['Towara:ŋk] near Inman valley, passing Mount Hayfield ['Wata'bareiŋgi] or ['Watare'beriŋg].

> How much further must we go?
> Come on—it's a long way yet
> Look back to high Watareberingg.

His companions took him out to hunt in the wooded mountain gullies; he was a "Sand hill man" lost in the forest. It seemed he kept on walking in the same place. He moved in circles; then he heard strange noises and became frightened

> Clatterings of the departing hunters cease
> Swallow and ring tail mouse break the silence
>
> What's that strange noise?
> A lonely stranger
> Left wondering what the noises mean.

It is to the mischievous ['Watiari] and ['Lepidawi], the swallow and the ring-tailed mouse, that unaccountable

noises are ascribed. This scrub was their totemic country. His companions found him.

"Ah! Next time you had better make a smoke fire. The swallows and the ring-tailed mice have fooled you."

These songs reveal the fears of strange country which prevent trespass on the territory of others. This theme is elaborated in the next chapter, which deals with native tracks, travel, trespass, and trade.

5

Tracks, Travel, Trespass, and Trade

The permanent nature of the water barriers separating Australia from Asia indicates that the first ventures out to the continent were over water and involved either raft or canoe. Plate 3 shows a raft of a kind still used from Dampier Land in the northwest of the continent, to the Wellesley Islands in the Gulf of Carpentaria, and occasionally also among the people of the Cairns area of Queensland. The absence of floatable wood inhibited raft-using along the west coast south of Broome, and in the colder phases of the last Ice Age the wood could have been even less available (see chap. 8). Thus access to the south along the western shore must have been on foot.

The easiest lines of movement into Australia during the earlier and later phases of the Wisconsin Ice Age are shown in figure 24. During the earlier cold phases, as in later ones, Australia and New Guinea were connected by the broad and relatively desolate desert lowlands of the Sahul Shelf. The easiest corridor of access would have been along the eastern margin of the continent now represented by Cape York. Here the onshore winds preserved a more humid environment right up to New Guinea, as registered in the presence of separate old local forms of many rain-forest-dwelling species at intervals along it.

It would seem that the lines of easiest access would lie in the more open land immediately to the west. Any additional migrations, after the Flandrian recession had raised sea level to near its present height, would have been even more rigidly restricted to this line of entry. Incidentally, it has scarcely been noticed that the earliest migrations into the Pacific from Asia were around the northern side because the portal through Torres Strait was only open after the earlier waves of migration had already taken place.

Referring again to figure 24, it seems that during the time intervals between the three postulated periods of entry into Australia, the stocks of people had changed so that on the Australian continent it is still possible to see in the patterns of their distribution an indication of the general sequence of their arrivals. This is referred to again in the brief section on Australian physical types (chap. 6).

Every tribal territory is crossed by tracks and pathways. In difficult country these represent the lines of least resistance between waters and advantageous feeding places. They are accentuated in areas of restricted passage and between places that have long lasting, superior qualities and/or quantities of food, materials used, water, and shelter.

Among hunting peoples, the hunters tend to travel along spurs and ridges and over higher ground where they can have advantage of a view of the terrain and of any game. Their women, burden carriers and vegetable food gleaners, tend to walk on the softer soil or sand-covered lowlands where vegetable growth is more often luxurious and more apt to yield vegetable foods.

The Kaurna people of the vicinity of Adelaide, whose normal abodes were on the plains and the coastal sand hills, yet had an expression ['turuŋga 'padnendi] meaning "to travel along the ridge of a mountain," and in many places in Australia these ancient tracks, kept fresh by the movements of both man and animal, still show the easiest routes over mountain passes, along the banks of streams, as well as lake margins and the seashore. Since virtually the whole of the coastline of Australia was of interest, there were formerly tracks leading by the readiest routes over each headland linking one lookout to another. Even in some cases after a century of disuse there may remain evidence of them, while in the Western Desert and the tropical north some such tracks are still well defined. Plate 4 shows such a track in use near the mouth of the Stewart River on Princess Charlotte Bay, Queensland. At Ooldea, a major standby water on the north side of the Nullarbor plain in western South Australia, the constant tread of people approaching the water from the west has kept shrubs from developing for many miles from the water along a trail, leaving a natural lane or open line running through the otherwise densely clothed mulga scrub country.

The general lines of such native tracks can be readily detected by the changes in vegetation, which have been induced by the periodic application of the fire stick to the vegetation, thereby opening up lines of fire succession vegetation along habitually traversed corridors used by people in their seasonal movements about their country.

J. M. Gilbert (1959), writing of Tasmania, shows that even after over one hundred years the summer migrations inland of the Tasmanian aborigines can be traced

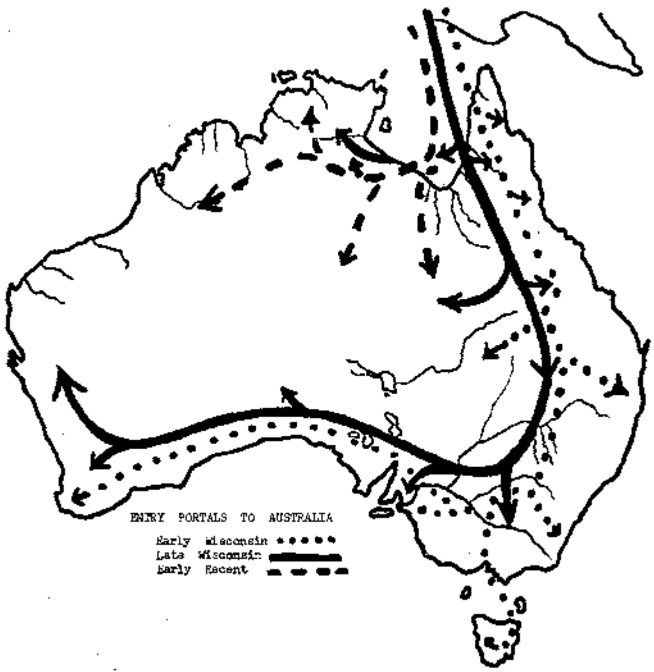


Fig. 24. Theoretical entry portals to Australia.

by the occurrence along their former tracks of even-aged eucalypt forests, still indicating their lines of travel and registering their former regular use of fire in opening their country.

In the porcupine grass covered sand hills of the Western Desert large areas of grass are fired at certain seasons by aborigines, who follow the flames to pick up the scorched grasshoppers, mantids, gryllacrids, and other insects that die in the effort to escape the flames, together with many small lizards, native mice, and nestling birds. Usually far more are destroyed than can be gathered and eaten so that a retinue of small hawks, crows, and other scavenging birds habitually follow the people who thus casually provide them with a daily feast. Fires so kindled may blaze away to the horizon. When fired at the end of the wet season, the regenerative capabilities often cause a fresh green and tender growth attracting kangaroos and other larger game, thus providing a later supply of food when the strip of country is traversed in the reverse direction. The longer term effects of these food-providing fires are patent in aerial photographs of the desert—grasslands along customary routes of travel being criss-crossed by traces of old grass fires of different years. The very openness of the routes by which people have access to their country along these traditional and water-available corridors often has determined the nature of the vegetation, whether it be secondary forest, grassland succeeding burned over scrubland, or open *Eucalyptus* glades succeeding destroyed rain forest.

In Victoria several names for paths, footways, or tracks have been reported. James Dawson (1881) gives ['pariŋ] in Tjapwurong and ['ta:n] in the Portland area among the Gunditjmara. The Jarildekald speak of the paths skirting the shores of Lake Alexandrina as ['jarluke], and on Eyre Peninsula paths in general are called ['widla]. A sample list includes the following Northern Territory names:

'wandaŋoporo	Diakui, Arnhem Land
'kojol	Ngandi and Ngalakan tribes, north of Roper River
'maŋan	Alawa tribe, Hodgson River
'adi	Nunggubuju tribe, west coast of Gulf of Carpentaria
'manadi	Ingura, Groote Eylandt

The degrees of isolation that may determine a tribal unit both in the cultural and physical planes are a matter of some theoretical interest.

Gathering of data on intertribal marriages in Australia (Tindale, 1953) has shown that a mean of close to 86 percent of marriages are within the tribe and thus 14 percent are intertribal. The numbers of such intertribal marriages are relatively high between contiguous hordes of separate tribes and very few between tribes once removed. Depending on the state of enmity or otherwise among tribes, such marriages, as recorded in the past several generations for which data is obtainable, range from zero to around 30 percent. Birdsell (1958) using this data has determined the likely role of gene exchange and has constructed models that have led to great increases in our understanding of the ways in which hunting populations may have been physically modified and culturally influenced during Recent and Pleistocene times.

Some late-coming anthropologists have attempted to reduce the significance of tribal exclusiveness, basing their views on the largely artificial situations created by contact with Westerners and increasing dependence on government charity and support. It will be useful to support the opposite view to which I hold, by quoting some of the observations made by earlier workers and observers.

C. G. Teichelmann (1841:6) says "each tribe has a certain district of the country as a property received from their forefathers, the boundaries of which were fixed, according to their narration, by them: therefore no tribe is allowed to live on the district of another one, except as occasional visitors."

J. D. Lang (1861) observed that the "aborigines of

Australia were universally divided into distinct and independent tribes, each occupying as their hunting-grounds a certain portion of territory, of which the limits are generally well defined by prominent features in the natural scenery of the country, and well known to all the neighbouring tribes." He came to the further conclusion that the division into tribes was old and that there was no part of the country to which some tribe or other did not lay claim, and he learned that "the territory of each tribe is subdivided . . . among the different families of which it consists" and that there were exclusive rights to direct when such a territory should be hunted over or the grass burned for the obtaining of its animals for food. His observations were made in the Moreton Bay area of southern coastal Queensland.

Charles Gray (in Smyth 1878, 1;42), after questioning the natives of the Nareeb district in Victoria, made the observation that the aborigines to whom he spoke could only describe positively the boundaries of lands occupied by their own tribe, since opportunities for learning the limits of the lands of others did not occur.

Edward Palmer (1884) whose experience was based on tribes along the coast of Queensland says "tribal territories, or tribal localities as they may be called, were recognized by each tribe, and their boundaries, though not very clearly defined, were sufficiently well known to form landmarks for them to observe when getting into neutral or debatable ground." He also observed that in the areas with which he was familiar "no actual or individual right seemed to belong to any one person, to any one particular spot of these localities, or even any inheritance in the land itself, either tribal or individual, but merely the right to the game that lived on such territory; and such right belonged to the tribe as a whole, and each one shared that right in common with the rest of the people composing the tribe. Anyone else interfering with the game, or trespassing for such purpose, was looked upon as an intruder, and would be called on to give an account of himself, and unless he was accredited as a messenger or herald would pay the penalty most likely with his life. When tribes met at certain places such as large lagoons in another's hunting ground, they did so with permission or consent of the owner of that place, and when the particular mission they were on was fulfilled, as for instance, a *bora* meeting or general gathering to corroborry, they departed and each went to their own home. Yet they never hesitated to enter or cross a neighbour's hunting ground, for the purpose of carrying out any blood feud, or for revenge for murder, or for any warlike enterprise."

Mathews (1904:62 [Gr. 6455]), writing of the tribes in Western Australia, said, "the boundaries of the hunting grounds of the different tribes are defined by patches of scrub, hills, sandy tracts, or any remarkable natural features. If these are trespassed upon by adjoining tribes, the intruders are driven back by armed force."

The following details from Western Australian official documents (Department of Native Affairs. Abo 23/31 and 384/24) are of interest when discussing boundaries and trespass. The first is a letter from H. Reid, manager of Munja Native Station, written November 15, 1930, claiming that the newly formed station had helped to make the aborigines in that area of the Kimberleys more orderly. He writes, "The old time custom of each tribe keeping to its own boundaries and killing all interlopers is becoming a thing of the past in this corner. All tribes are welcome here and I made a hard and fast rule that there was to be no fighting or quarrelling when they were camped in the vicinity of the Station. The outcome is that they come here without fear, which has resulted in establishing a friendly feeling among them and they now visit one another quite a lot. When the first lot of the *Bromar* tribe [Paramara:ra horde of the Ngarinjin tribe] visited here, there was only one boy who could talk to them. Now they all can join in and understand one another's language. There are natives here at present from six different tribes."

A map in the Western Australian Department with comments by James R. B. Love lists the six tribes as Wunambal, Ngarinjin (represented by the aforesaid Bromar horde), Worora, Jaudjibaia (of the Montgomery Islands), the Kambure, and the Kunan (i.e., the Konejandi).

Between some tribal areas there is a seemingly neutral zone or strip where members of more than one tribe may travel without the imputation of trespass. Parkhouse (1936:18) has drawn attention to one such belt between the Larakia tribe whose southern boundary ostensibly lies at Darwin River, 43 miles (74 km.) south of Darwin while the northern boundary of the Awarai horde of the Wulwulam is on a branch of the Finniss River 54 miles (86 km.) south of the same place. Parkhouse met a Larakia man who was traveling with a stolen wife, and though he had a spear wound in his instep, he was walking at the rate of between 5 and 10 miles (8 and 13 km.) a day along the neutral zone rather than ride the railway train, which would have meant passing through the territory of another people.

Not all boundaries are free of contention and dispute. On Bentinck Island among the Kaiadilt there was an area of territory at the southwestern end of the island in dispute at the hordal level (Tindale, 1960:274). Similar disputes at the tribal level have been a feature of life in many areas. Usually there is some specific reason for the

dispute. Some areas are difficult to approach, being either without reliable waters or lacking in secure nearby camping places. Such areas may be exploited only by cautious hunters of both sides, who feeling they are in dangerous territory are only too likely to flee at any fancied sign of trouble—unexplained movements of birds, imagined noises, or mere nervousness at supposed trespass. The timidity of men at such times was illustrated in the preceding chapter by the songs of the Tanganekald man Kaltanganuru when in strange country beyond the bounds of his own tribe.

Brough Smyth (1878, 2:14) tells how the Wurundjeri of the Yarra River in southern Victoria were separated from tribes in Gippsland by the waters of Western Port Bay and the dense marshes and scrubs that extended north from that inlet to the rim of the Yarra basin. East of the Western Port there was a tract of wild country, debatable ground, the scene of many forays in former times, the territory being held sometimes by the Western Port tribe, that is, the Bunurong, and again by those of Gippsland.

In the Western Desert runs of good seasons sometimes enabled temporary occupation of territories by breakaway hordes, and my reading of late history of more than one tribe suggests this type of event may have given rise to more than one new tribal group. The story of one is given in chapter 10 commenting on tribes in South Australia and concerns the Danggali. Another one linked with the Northern Njangamarda is discussed under the heading of Western Australia tribes in the same chapter.

Such groups seem apt to be wiped out when attention is drawn to their existence, unless they have been able to maintain themselves long enough to rear youths to an age when they can share in the defense of the breakaway group so that it cannot be readily destroyed.

On the map accompanying this work is the indication of a disputed boundary at Israelite Bay in the eastern part of southwestern Australia. There the Ngadjunmaia of the Balladonia area and the Njunga of the Esperance area both lay claim to Israelite Bay. As claimed by the Njunga the boundary is at a place 5 miles (8 km.) north of Cape Dempster, which they call ['Tjitjalap]. The actual boundary watering-place they name as Kaapkidjakidj, where ['ka:p] is "water." As proof of the justice of their claim they say that their ancestral heroic Being named ['Paljat] chased a kangaroo from east of the Thomas River, ['Bojatap], following it northeastward along the coast to well beyond Israelite Bay.

The Ngadjunmaia claim that their country extends to Jawarangap, or Point Malcolm, and call Israelite Bay and Cape Dempster both Tjitjilanja ['Tjitjila:nja], placing their own suffix on the name. In support of their view they claim that Kaapkidjakidj is near Thomas River and not at the northern end of the bay. The disputed area extends inland and amounts to approximately 500 square miles (1,300 sq. km.). Inland it is marked by Mount Ragged which the Njunga call Karaap ['Kara:p] while the northern people call this height Paningganja ['Paniŋganja] which means the "lookout or overlook of the Paningga hawks." The literary evidence does not support the Ngadjunmaia position beyond Mount Ragged. They clearly have adapted southern names for the areas they are usurping. The southern people who were originally noncircumcising have been on the defensive against the aggressive circumcising people from the north for several generations at least, indeed as far back as memory goes. This is an interesting example of a territorial grab followed by an attempt at modification of the nomenclature by a people with a different dialect. The European name for the bay is an indication that at the time it was given, the Ngadjunmaia were in evidence there.

There is more to the story, however. At the time of first European contacts, the Njunga were passing through a phase of splitting into two tribes under pressure from the people to their north. The eastern hordes wished to adopt the rites of circumcision and subincision and within a few years those of Fanny Cove had accepted the rite after a period of disputation with the Ngadjunmaia over the possession of Israelite Bay. Thereafter, in place of their earlier name Wudjari, the eastern hordes preferred to be called Njunga which means "men" and even ['Bardonjunga] or "circumcised men" to advertise their new status. The people west of Fanny Bay, in avoiding the rites, shifted west toward Ravensthorpe so that at the time of their settling down among the incoming white settlers they were almost a separate tribe. They adopted a name, ['Bardok], for the members of the eastern hordes who had the male initiatory rite. They did visit each other but there was some ill feeling between them because of the superior attitudes taken by the Bardok men.

In the preceding paragraphs there have been several references to trespass and the fears and penalties that could accompany the wrongful entry into another tribal domain. J. Bray (1901), a pioneer magistrate, gave a useful account of his observations on tribal trespass in the Murwillumbah district of northeastern New South Wales. The aborigines "would not trespass on each other's country. . . . When I came here first I had to send to Ballina to post my letters but my own blacks (the Moorung-Moobar tribe) would not go there. I used to pull down to the Tweed Heads, go to the camp of the Coodjung-burra blacks and send one of them . . . with my mailbag. Then in about a week I would go down to

their camp and get it as he would not come up here. . . . It gave me a great deal of trouble, this fastidiousness about trespassing in each other's grounds. When I was with them they did not mind where they went, but they said they would be killed if caught by themselves trespassing. At corroboree time the tribes would all meet and fraternize."

To clarify Bray's statements we should notice his situation involved two hordes of the Kalibal, one the Murwillambara at Murwillumbah in the south and the Murangbara (his Moorung-moobar) living to the north and somewhat inland. The Kudjangbara (his Coodjung-burra) lived in the Cudgen district south of Tweed Heads and belonged to a different tribe, the Minjungbal. He does not indicate what would have happened on the Arakwal boundary north of Ballina.

Rankin (1900:133) recorded a word ['war:iar] at Lismore in the territory of the Arakwal which means a "tribal boundary" or a "landmark," and he indicates that although there were resemblances in the languages of the tribes at Lismore and northward to the Tweed River, the people to the south, that is, the Badjalang, on the Clarence River, spoke quite a distinct language.

Communication between some of the tribes in this area was so poor that white men were living in some districts and had cleared large areas of country before tribespeople living less than 50 miles (80 km.) away through the rain forests had heard of the strangers. Restriction of hordes to their own territories, except at times of ceremonial gatherings which were arranged in advance through recognized messengers, were not unusual along the eastern coast. Thus Breton (1833:215) indicated hordal-type groups of thirty to fifty men, women, and children (he called them tribes) each occupying areas of land from 20 to 30 miles square (400 to 900 sq. miles or about 1,000 to 2,300 sq. km.). He met them to the north of Sydney. They kept to their particular boundaries, which they seldom passed, save to attend korobori gatherings.

On the peripheries of the Great Western Desert, trespass was by starving strangers who were also short of water. They are denoted by a widespread term that has been mentioned earlier in this work, namely ngatari ['ŋatari]. It has been treated as a tribal term by some but it is not a valid name. We first heard it when smokes were seen in the distance and strangers appeared silently on the western outskirts of the Ngadadjara camps at Warupuju in the Warburton Ranges in late winter (August) of 1935 when our University of Adelaide Anthropological Expedition was there. Plates 56, 57, 58, and 59 show the reception afforded them. The Nana had been driven out of their usual territory by lack of rain and had headed east to the spring they knew had never been known to fail and because it was in another tribe's territory only older persons had ever seen it. In this case the reception was friendly and led to the son of the Ngadadjara old man Katabulka receiving promise of a girl as wife.

It is in the dry season at the beginning of summer that ngatari are apt to appear. Hence ['waŋgari] or small whirlwinds spinning across the plains and through the camps of the Njangamarda of the Pilbara area of Western Australia are harbingers of strangers. During the hot hours of midday rising dust columns are thought to indicate the presence of strange men.

The degree of intertribal relationship varies from place to place and from generation to generation. The Pandjima and the Bailgu in the Hamersley Ranges of Western Australia for example were not friends, although both were people practicing circumcision and subincision with the attendant ceremonials. They had on occasion even taken part in ceremonial meetings together. They had a long tradition of friction and would kill each other when and wherever there was an opportunity. Whenever a lone man was seen he was killed. His friends would miss him and seek him without success. Then they would plan and carry out a surprise attack on a camp of members of the opposite tribe, using spears to kill and attacking while their enemies were asleep. Only men were killed, for as a general practice the women were taken as wives and the children reared as if they were the new husband's own. Killing of one man enforced on his brothers, both the ['kurta] elder and ['mala] younger, the duty of seeking revenge. Thus there was never an end to enmity.

The Njangamarda men to the northeast of them were in the habit of raiding eastward into the desert with the intention of taking girls, mostly Wanman women, for wives. These tribes in the zone of change from people physically of predominantly Murrayian-type living along the coast to the principally "Desert" peoples of different physical type were in this way tending to diminish the differences by interbreeding. It is possible that there were different levels of fertility even in times prior to the arrival of white men. Today the birth rate of the coastal tribes such as the Njamal, Njangamarda, Njikena, and Karadjari is so very low that it is only through accessions of new women from the desert east that any local population is being maintained.

Between some other tribes close bonds of friendship were maintained, sometimes for several generations. Among South Australian tribes for example, contiguous hordes of the Tanganekald and Jarildekald were friendly and frequently intermarried so that access rights through marriage tended to develop between some families of these contiguous tribes. As in most fraternizations of this

kind, jealousies, thefts of women, wrongful use of hunting territories, and deaths ascribed to cruelty and sorcery tended to limit the growth and continuation of such bonds.

The common sharing of large surpluses of foods such as in the seeding years of the Bunya Pine of southeast Queensland, of which a more detailed description is given in chapter 7 led to the periodic meeting together of tribespeople normally living widely apart. This coming together to feed on bunya pine seeds ['banja] is an example of the temporary formalized invasions that may happen even in territories normally left to their rightful users.

In South Australia the stranding of a "royal fish" such as a large blue or other whale was a happening that, in aboriginal belief, could be caused by a man of the Whale totem performing the appropriate magical rites. Success set in motion recognized forms of territorial invasion by others. If not invited by message or signal, their noses informed them, and they came from afar to take part in the temporary surplus of food made available by their benefactor's magic.

The occurrence of such temporary abrogations of territorial rule in tribal distributions emphasizes the point that one of the principal factors determining the existence of tribal boundaries is economic. The ability of the tribal group, speaking a common language and recognizing some responsibilities to one another through their common kinship system, enables it to arrange the distribution of land-use rights among its members, either as family or as hordal units, so that they can by efficient utilization of their food and other resources, such as firewood and water, maintain themselves for the whole cycle of the year. Finding water, food, and shelter were basic elements of success. The test was the ability to keep the folk of their primary units alive during the periods of the year when unfavorable factors were dominant. According to their situation on the continent, this period might be the hottest, driest, coldest, or even the most seriously overwet season of the year. In some areas the presence of endemic diseases such as ['irkintja], a non-venereal form of treponematosis other than yaws, yaws itself, and leprosy were unfavorable factors (Hackett, 1963). Such diseases along with malaria in the tropical north may have been limiting factors in the development of viable tribal units, but in the broadest sense the limiting factors for survival appear to have been those of climatic origin.

Intertribal associations could be friendly but were often unhappy. The desire, or rather the need, to obtain material products unavailable in the tribal territory either because of their rarity or their local distribution often led to contacts sometimes extending to relatively great distances, either directly or indirectly. The list of such products would be very large. They range from flints, cherts, quartz, and dioritic rocks for implements; flat bedded sandstones for metates; firm quartzite boulders for use as hammers; to pigments such as wad, red, and yellow ochres; special clays for treating fibers, in the making of cordage, baskets; lianas, spear woods, hardwoods for weapons; seashells of great variety, including pearl shells for use in the magical making of northwest monsoonal rain clouds; poisons like *Duboisia,* for stupefying emus; and better qualities of resins and gums for the hafting of tools. From the north there were trades in partly finished goods such as ironwood spearheads with special types of barbs, partly pressure-flaked blades for spearheads and for knives, plain-knapped blades of quartzite for the same purposes, and hammer-dressed ax blanks and newly edge ground ax heads from far distant outcrops of diorite.

In the beginning of this book I mentioned the part that Maroadunei, the Ngandi songmaker, played in awakening my interest in tribes. His key to success was in part personality and his skill as ['didjiri'du] player and singer, but the material basis of his achievements was as a go-between carrying trade parcels of desired products. In the activities of such men we may well read an early phase in the development of the itinerant bard and the traveling tinker of other cultures.

The roots of such trading ways may be very old. In South Australia among the tribes of the lower Murray River, the formal establishment of a child in a trading link with others began at the moment of birth when his navel cord, carefully severed, was wrapped in a small parcel of emu feathers. Among the Tanganekald the custom was called ngiangiampe ['ŋiaŋi'ampe] and it was practiced by several other tribes in the same area. The parcel was then sent away, along with a gift, sometimes spears of types available in the boy-child's clan territory. It might be a parcel of black flint flakes or pieces or some other special product of his people—*Eucrassatela* shells for knives, shields of hardwood or boomerangs—anything that would appear desirable in the northern country. The whole package was sent from hand to hand either upriver or, in the case of some of the Tanganekald clans, northeastward into Victoria. At a considerable distance the parcel together with the accompanying gifts would be accepted by a man or by a woman of another tribe, who, from that moment became a ['ŋiaŋi'ampe] of the child. The term was reciprocal and the link so made ensured that, while the two would never speak directly with each other nor even come face to face, there was a lasting bond between them. Thereafter, the elder would look after the

interests of the younger and would as agent see that trade parcels would travel to him. If it was necessary for him to travel to the country of his ngiangiampe, he would have the protection of this unseen friend. While the link was often with a person of a distant clan of the same tribe, it sometimes passed to members of adjoining tribes so that a Tanganekald man could have a link with a person whose territory lay as far away as the Peebinga district, nearly 200 miles (over 300 km.) to the north. A Jarildekald man of Tailem Bend in South Australia had a ngiangiampe among the Ngaiawang and a Maraura born on the western anabranch of the Darling River, who had had to leave his own country after a quarrel, sought and found refuge at Swan Reach on the Murray River in the southern part of the territory of the same Ngaiawang tribe because his navel cord had at his birth been sent south. In the last-named instance there had been white man contact and disturbance but the pattern was an old one. The ngiangiampe custom is widespread but has had little notice, thus no excuse is necessary for the following detailed notes.

A Portaulun man introduced the subject to me by saying that he had lived with the custom and had accepted its obligations all his life. His ngiangiampe was the wife of a man named Karpani. She was of a different tribe and there was no close blood relationship. When he was born his people took the afterbirth and placed it on the ground with a pile of stones over it. This ngiangiampe pile was considered sacred. Many such cairns were to be seen in the vicinity of Lake Alexandrina. He could not marry into the clan or tribe of his ngiangiampe and there was never any direct contact. If he went into her country her brothers would care for him and defend him against harm. The exchange of gifts and trade parcels and the promotion of the passing on of these were among the significant features of the arrangement engendered by the acceptance of the navel cord.

It is not intended here to enter into all the details of intertribal trade which are available. Unfortunately much is fragmentary and attempts to gather details were too late to bring out the full pattern. McCarthy (1939) has provided a useful summary of the literature. The following remarks are based on personal observations and conclusions. In comparing types of trade contact between tribes in different parts of Australia, one cannot but be struck with the differing rates at which such contacts led to the transmission of materials, ideas, and cultural innovations.

Along the north-south riverine corridors of western Queensland and New South Wales, there was relative freedom of movement unhampered by the absence of water. Permanence of waterholes and billabongs, even when the main channels of the rivers had not flowed for several years, tended to promote continuous lines of communication. The relative lack of tribal shift and movement led to the recognition of clear-cut boundaries between tribes at specific watering places. Adjoining hordes did meet at times from a desire to trade a variety of materials. The almost total absence of good stone for implements on the silt plains was alone an inducement for the passage of these and other materials. The great dependence on grass seed milling and the demand for stone axes wherever there were hollow trees lodging stingless honeybees were other compulsives. In western Queensland hammer-dressed stone axes were always being traded southward from the direction of Cloncurry, which had a monopoly on their production because there were no other igneous outcrops of suitable stone within a radius of nearly 400 miles (over 600 km.). Sandstone slabs from the Flinders Ranges in South Australia and from the Grey Range in southern Queensland were moved in several directions but most often to the north.

Looking at the contacts made during trade exchanges in the western part of the continent and the desert interior, the great distances covered and also the difficulties encountered, considering the precarious line of communication across formidable dry areas, are striking. The same basic desire for trade in material things as well as for the paraphernalia required in ceremonial activities is observed. The rates of exchange are unquestionably far slower, since lines of springs and watering places are seldom available for more than a few favorable months, and often for years at a time are not available at all. In chapter 1 and previously in this one we mentioned the Nana tribe contact with the Ngadadjara in the Warburton Ranges after lapse of many years, yet this was the direction from which some trade articles have come for periods that may run into centuries. The centers of their territories are only some 250 miles (400 km.) apart. In this case it was lack of water that led to the contact in trade; a promised bride for access to water. Yet manufactured goods moved across the whole width of the Western Desert.

A typical pattern of trading is hard to define. Some tribes are possessors of special mineral resources such as red ochre, cherts, sandstones, and ax quarries. Other tribes are occupiers of areas periodically yielding great crops of food, such as the bunya pine tree seed, the so-called bopple nuts of the rain forests of Queensland, or the pindan nuts of northwestern Australia. When they could retain title to the source of these riches, they had something to offer and much to defend. Other peoples manufactured trade goods and sent them away, often in only partially finished form, expecting to get other

products in return. There is much yet to learn of the ramifications and detail of such exchanges.

While working in northwestern Australia in 1953 and later in the Western Desert during 1957, 1963, and 1966, it was possible for me to glean some useful notes on trade routes. Because our knowledge is still meager on the whole subject, I have summarized these observations in the hope that they will illustrate some of the general principles that operated in other areas where it is now too late to obtain much detail.

In the northwest of Western Australia, one of the key watering places is Joanna Springs (124°23′E x 20°7′S). Its two main waters are known to aborigines over a vast area as Kaalun ['Ka:lun] and Pikurangu ['Pikuraŋu]. From these places two trade route lines extend. They were used by Mangala and surrounding tribes. One of the lines went southwest and west until it reached the coast at Wallal on the Eighty Mile Beach. It went through Njangamarda territory. The other line went northwest and arrived on the coast between La Grange and Anna Plains. Both these routes followed as closely as possible the boundaries between peoples, the southern route passing between the living areas of the two divided halves of the Njangamarda and the other between the Njangamarda Kundal and the Karadjari territories. This is an interesting example of the extent to which boundaries are neutral territories where fears of trespass are less powerful. During favorable times of the year they may be available as travel routes for men carrying ceremonial objects and trade articles. They may help also in understanding why so many boundaries are indicated as old and stable. Although some of these routes pass through generally inhospitable country, they tend to join up with important standby watering places or ['tjaramara], with permanent open water, and with ['tjila] where one can always dig and get supplies even in the driest times. Kaalun and Pikurangu along with the unidentified places Werewelke and Kululadu were essential points along these routes.

As we have indicated earlier in this chapter, Ngokanitjardu was a meeting place of three tribes. The two routes to the coast parted here (see fig. 5). Eastward one of the two lines skirted the northern boundary of the Nangatara. A line of twenty-five waters took the other across Nangatara country to Diiru, also called Teiro, which is Well 41 on the Canning Stock Route. The Mandjildjara, whose country lies astride the C.S.R. between Kokaparna (Well 39) in the north and Tjundutjundu (Well 30) had an extension of this route which departed southeastward from Walawala (Wullowla). This water lies a little way southeast of Well 31. The route led to waters whose positions are still unknown, named Jatudi, Perede, and Japira. Beyond Japira the contact was with a people called Keiadjara who, through contacts unknown to my informants, ultimately carried parcels to the Ngadadjara people. They knew that white men lived there at a place called ['Wik 'tjubei], a white man's name which can be identified as the Warburton Range Mission south of Warupuju. The Mandjildjara also carried desired trade articles along a route going northwest from Tjundutjundu (Well 30) into Wanman territory near their eastern boundary. It passed through unlocalized waters called Tabu, Nadakulu, Koda:ra, Rawa, Itjara, Watingguru, Taljura (a known place near Sahara Well at 123°53′E x 21°30′S and from there linked up with Njangamarda tribespeople at a meeting place called Kaliwa, not fixed, but leading to known waters, Murdu (Moodoo on maps at 122°52′E x 21°10′S) and Katakada (Cuttacutta Soak) a few miles farther on. Another of their tracks went north toward Karbardi which is an important but still undetermined sand soak water a few miles east of Tjandalkuru, a known water presently on maps as Tundalgoo at 123°25′E x 21°0′S. At this place trade route users linked up with Mangala tribespeople. It was along this route that some of the treasured hooked wooden hunting spears of mulga wood reached the northwest in exchange for pearl shell pendants and pressure-flaked stone points.

Among the dominant Kitja and Djaru tribes of the eastern Kimberleys, the most precious articles of trade they could receive were spears made from the supple hardwoods of mulga (*Acacia aneura*) and witjuti bush (*Acacia kempeana*). When traded from the south they were composite spears with a hardwood shaft, usually a butt-piece of the flexible spear wood shrub *Pandorea*, fixed to it with porcupine grass resin and lashed with kangaroo leg sinews, a flat-bladed head of hardwood also fixed in the same manner and provided with one and occasionally two lashed-on curved hardwood pegs to serve as barbs. These spears were considered so superior to their own bifacially pressure-flaked stone-bladed spears that they sent several kinds of trade goods to the south and southeast across the Great Western Desert to gain the better hunting spears from otherwise despised "southerners" or Julbaritja.

Chief among the goods they sent were bifacially worked stone knife and spear blades partly trimmed by being pressure-flaked once over and then individually wrapped in paperbark, pearl shells that they obtained by trade from others, also a few edge-ground stone axes of diorite which had been made from igneous rock by chipping but never shaped by hammer dressing as was done in the stone quarries half a continent away to the east (pl. 72). The nature and directions of the trading

implied perhaps that the trade originated when people carrying newer ideas and techniques of weapon-making emerged from the southern desert areas and the open grassed plains to the east. The bifacially worked pressure-flaked stone blades are archaeologically late in the area, imposed on a spear-blade type made with unifacial working, a type known in Australia as the *pirri*. The pirri stone spear tip survives in present day use on the upper Victoria River in the Northern Territory and in some parts of the Western Desert. As I have commented elsewhere in a paper on the nomenclature of Australian archaeological culture phases (Tindale, 1968), the ['tjimbila] spear blade of the Djaru and other tribes in the Kimberleys appears to be a late postclimax manifestation of the Pirrian Culture that spread into southern Australia from the north about 5000 B.P. and then made its way to the northwest. This culture disappeared in the Murray valley over 3,000 years ago, but it sporadically lingered until the present time in the northwest of the continent. This suggests that the development of these trade patterns may have taken a long time and that in terms of other than local movement by sea the Kimberley area is one of the most remote parts of Australia away from the places of entry of early peoples and accessions of culture.

On the subject of trade routes, the Konejandi of the vicinity of Fitzroy Crossing were strategically placed where several lines met. They called trading activities by the term ['tjirdi]. It was an important activity. They were a people with a compact territory relatively well supplied with foods, also an assured water supply from the Fitzroy River. They were intermediaries in a trade that extended for great distances in all directions. The Konejandi did not have any monopoly in the making or using of tjimbila. All surrounding tribes to the northwest and east made them. To the south the Kokatja, the Walmadjari, and the Mangala pretended to have little interest in them, although in drawings they made, they sometimes included a picture of it among their equipment and gave its name, ['tjimbila], as one familiar to them. Through these tribes a limited number were passed to the south along with pearl shell pendants. Their value increased as they went south, and as knives they became secret treasures kept by men to use in the performance of the circumcision operation. By the time they had passed south to the Ngadadjara, the Nakako, and the Nana, they were much worn, even blunt-edged, yet essential for the rite. The 16mm films of the circumcision rites at Warupuju taken in 1935 show two of them in use. One of them is shown in figure 25 along with others that have been passed down the trade routes.

Pearl shells are carved and worn by men as neck ornaments and as phallocrypts among several of the coastal tribes between Roebourne and Port Hedland, including the Kariara and Ngarla who do not practice circumcision. They call them ['pirapira]. Plate 73 shows a typical example that has been used for rainmaking magic. Among the Kariara of the Yule River area in Western Australia, youths wore them as ornaments suspended by fur string or human hair string around the neck. When he became a ['malulu] or initiated man after having passed through the arm-binding ceremony, a young man wore the shell as a covering for the penis. The shells came from the northeast by trade. The Ngaluma of the Roebourne area received their shells in trade from their northeastern neighbors. Some of them were passed on to the Indjibandi in the Hamersley Ranges who in turn sent them to the Kurama in the highlands of the same ranges. Return exchanges consisted of spear shafts of mulga and witjuti bush woods highly prized because of their durability (pls. 20, 21). The Njamal people, the circumcising tribe living nearest to the Kariara, knew of

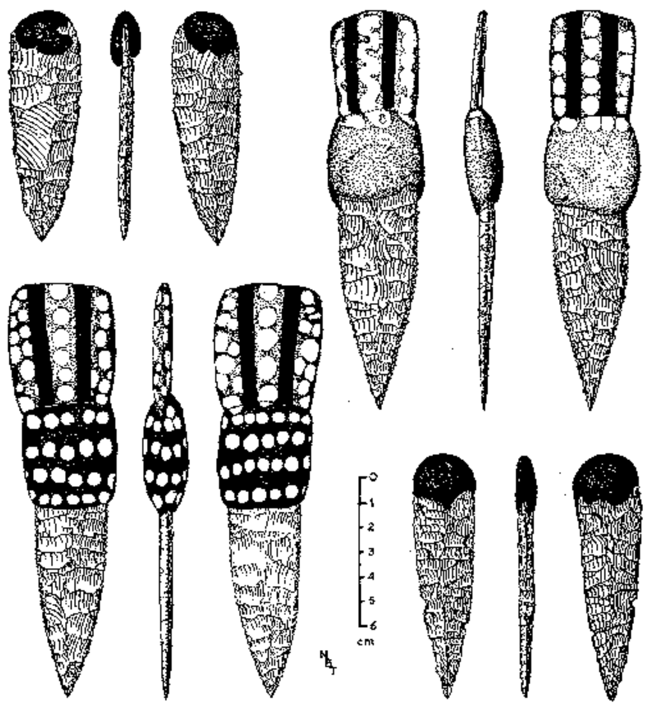


Fig. 25. Biface pressure-flaked stone knives traded from northwestern Australia. *Top left:* Three views of Nakako tribe circumcisional knife ['jerabuta], Mount Davies, South Australia, traded from the north (specimen A.54730 in South Australian Museum). *Bottom right:* Ngadadjara tribe knife used in circumcision operations of August 24, 1935, witnessed at Warupuju, Warburton Ranges, Western Australia (A.22821). *Top right:* Circumcision knife with resin haft and wooden handle decorated with ochres and pipe clay, from west of Tennant Creek, Northern Territory (A.42533). *Bottom left:* Circumcision knife with resin haft and decorated wooden handle, labeled only as from Central Australia (A.35611).

the shells but pretended to have little interest in them. Sometimes they used the term ['pirapira] for them. Among their inland neighbors, the Njangamarda, they were called ['tjimbu]. When received in trade the shells were passed on to a tier of tribes still farther inland who prized them and used them as an important source of magical white powder in their rainmaking ceremonies.

Sources of the shells were reefs off the shore from near Port Hedland northeast to well beyond Derby. Those from the south were found by aboriginal beachcombers. Shells found in more northern areas were gathered on reefs by the raft-using seagoers of the Djaui, Ongkarango, and Jaudjibaia. The Baada were also active gatherers and carvers of shells which they called ['re:dja]. The shells, some already carved with designs and others plain, but with a suspension hole already drilled, were passed inland in trade; spear woods were passed in return for them. Among the recipients, the Mangala of the desert areas in the Canning basin recognized two types, ['redji] the large yellow-lipped pearl shell ornament that was the more sought after and the smaller black-lipped one that they termed ['poŋarna]. The black-lipped shell was received by a Mangala young man at the time of his marriage, its receipt being a sign that he had passed through all stages of his initiation or mangi ['maŋi], including katiipungu ['kati:puŋu] or circumcision and ['para] or subincision. The black-lipped pongarna were passed south most frequently in trade. Besides being active users of shells, the Mangala were also promoters of a trade southeastward to the Nangatara in the desert about the Percival Lakes. The Nangatara called them pungarna ['puŋarna].

Unlike the Njangamarda, the Bailgu expressed no interest in pearl shells, had no name of their own for them, and merely used the Kariara term ['pirapira] when talking about them.

Another trade line started with the Djaui of the Sunday Islands and other raft-using people in King Sound. They gave shells to the Warwa and Njikena as "presents" when they met them along the seashore, receiving spear woods in exchange. They were passed by the Njikena to the Punaba and the Konejandi. The latter called them ['tjakuli]. They had no particular use for them save that they were intermediaries in trading them south into the Great Western Desert and to the Kitja and the Djaru, their eastern neighbors. Their own return for the pearl shells included a series of cult objects of hardwood in the form of the tjurunga ['tjuruŋa] of eastern tribes. Many of these they made themselves, marking them with incised concentric circle and spiral designs. They were sent toward the west with a cycle of ceremonies; a series initiated in this century were called Kurangara ['Kuraŋara].

The shells the Konejandi sent to the south became increasingly desirable possessions as they moved inland. When mixed with human semen at rainmaking ceremonies among the Ngadadjara and Pitjandjara, they helped to "create" new northwest monsoonal rain clouds during the increase ceremonies so important to people whose lives were dominated by the capricious behavior of the summer rain clouds.

The Kitja recognized the two types of shell, black-lipped called ['njaliga] and the larger golden-lipped called ['tjakuli]. Both were received by them from their western neighbors, Punaba and Konejandi, with whom they were normally and usually unfriendly because they could not understand their languages. They knew the Konejandi by the name Wadeawulu and boasted that when they did meet the Wadeawulu they were often able to fill their dilly bags with shells. The Djaru sought particularly the larger shells from the Konejandi, also calling them ['tjakuli].

The Njikena passed the large golden-lipped shells along another trade route through the Walmadjari of the Noonkanbah area, who then passed them east toward Sturt Creek and the Kokatja, who in turn traded them to the Ngardi. The Ngardi gave hunting boomerangs and composite peg-tipped mulga spears in exchange for the ['tjakoli], Ngardi term, which they received.

From this inner tier of tribes, pearl shells moved in diminished numbers and with greatly increased values, along with the bifacially pressure-flaked ['tjimbila], going as far south as the Nakako and Ngadadjara tribes in the southern half of the Western Desert, with an occasional pearl shell remnant reaching the south coast of Australia with it edges scraped away so that as much as one half has gone to provide "rain clouds," and the original suspension hole completely worn through and replaced by a piece of hair string fastened to it with resin. Such shells are often so smoothed and worn that the original "lock and key" pattern carved on it in the northwest of the continent can only be detected by holding it obliquely in reflected light.

Viewing the pearl shell trade from the receivers end, we learn that among the Pintubi of the Kintore Ranges in the far west of central Australia there are two routes by which they have received pearl shells which they call ['tjakuli]. They are very rare and regarded as most precious. In 1956 the well-known Pintubi aboriginal "Nosepeg" possessed some that had belonged to his father and before that to his father's brother. They had been kept at Walunguru in the Kintore Range. Such orna-

ments were never given away. The Wenamba received theirs from the people of the Rawlinson Ranges. The Ngadadjara people there named them ['takulu]. Bandju, a member of the Kolo or northwesternmost horde of the Pintubi, said that the ones they had came from people they met at Mangaii, a still unlocalized place. The people at Mangaii, who apparently were the Kokatja, called them ['lengilia]. The Kukatja of the western MacDonnell Ranges call theirs ['takulu], and the Ngalia who live to the north use a similar name ['takuli]. Both these people said their pearl shells came from the west. Thus the one name links the Kukatja at one end over a minimal route distance of 600 miles (960 km.) with the Konejandi. Adding to this the distance from the Djaui to the Konejandi country, the shells have traveled over 800 miles (nearly 1,300 km.). Any that had traversed the southern route through the Ngadadjara may have been handed on for well over 1,100 miles (1,700 km.). Whichever route they took they must have been through intermediaries of no fewer than eight tribes.

The Aranda still farther east in the MacDonnell Ranges have a few shells. They call them patarinja and know merely that they come from a northwesterly direction.

It is difficult to obtain information on the length of time taken for a given piece to travel the whole distance. Examination of most of the known specimens has shown that none has been incised with metal tools, a possible indication that they could have started their journeys nearly one hundred years ago which would imply a rate of little more than 10 or at most 20 miles (say 15 to 30 km.) a year. This may well fit in with the idea that contact would be between hordes and that handing-on would come only when conditions were favorable for meeting with another at the opposite margin of their territory; perhaps forty to fifty years would be a more realistic estimate. It seems that the Kurangara ceremony, which originated in the Fitzroy area before World War II and traveled down via the Murchison area before turning east to the Warburton Ranges, took only about twenty-five years in being handed on from one major ceremonial gathering to the next, but in this case conveyance in at least a portion of the long journey was assisted by European modes of transport.

The vital part played by rocks and mineral products of derivations that are far different from those of interest to later metal-using peoples can be seen in the raw materials carried in trade by Australian aborigines. Their tool requirements were predominantly for siliceous rocks of which marine flints, cherts, and jaspers, and the rather rare obsidians were preferred types, especially among the later arrivals. The highly siliceous and old Precambrian and Palaeozoic quartzites were very much in demand especially by the people of Wisconsin times. The earliest edge-ground axes were of quartzite pebbles but, subsequently, ax-makers preferred igneous porphyry and basic igneous rocks of fine texture. In the Moolabulla area of northwestern Australia, a Pirrian camping ground had in it a grooved pebble ax, while the overlying layer, representing the present time, had edge-ground axes of dark diorite (pl. 72, top left).

What little obsidian found was from areas where a shower of glassy meteorites had fallen during the past five or six thousand years. The pieces, seldom larger than 2 inches (5 cm.) in diameter and known as *australites,* were used by the peoples of the Pirrian and the succeeding Mudukian culture phase, who were microlith implement users.

Some of the crudest appearing materials that were regularly used for tools were the granite slices used by ['kodja] ax-makers of the Albany area of Western Australia (pl. 72, bottom right). In areas farther to the east where marine flints and better stone were available by trade, the *karta*-type stones employed in the kodja axes were very well worked (pl. 72, top right). The iron silcretes used for bifacially trimmed fist axes and for oyster hammers by the Kaiadilt of Bentinck Island were often of poor quality but were the best available materials, except for shells. The edges of *Eucrassatella* bivalve shells and ovate pieces of *Melo diadema* or baler shell, trimmed with the teeth, were used as knives by the same people.

On a continent-wide basis, any stone, or even shell, which would carry an edge for cutting when knapped might be used. Both shells and raw siliceous materials were given fire treatment, a simple manufacturing procedure that evidently was known in the earliest days of the occupation of Australia, and much used in later times.

Pigments were mined. These were important for enhancing the appearance of the body, decorating possessions and, along with oils, serving as protective coating against cold, sunburn, and swarms of attacking insects. The most sought after pigment was red ochre. Trade lines extending for upward of 1,000 miles (1,600 km.) from important sources of supply are indicated, and much refined data may be obtainable when chemical and other tests are done on ethnographic materials and collections of ochres of known locality. Choicest supplies were available in a limited number of mining areas. Inferior kinds were more common and less eagerly sought after. Key red ochre mines that have been observed include Parachilna in the Flinders Ranges of South

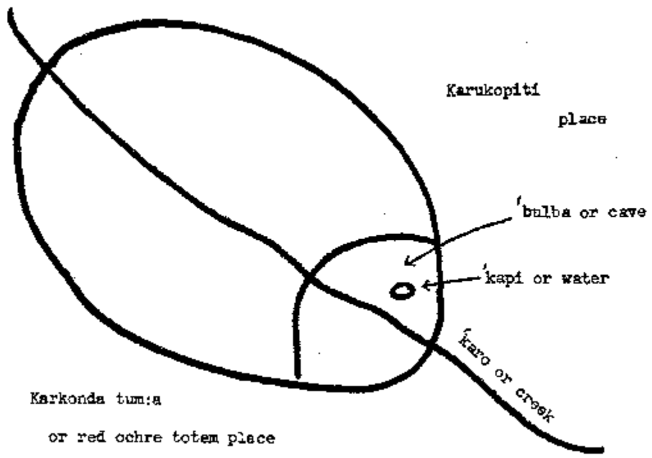


Fig. 26. Ngadadjara tribe drawing indicating a red ochre totemic site at Karukopiti in the country northwest of the Warburton Ranges, not yet located.

Australia, which has a high mercury content and very bright color; Mount Cockburn, native name Karko, in central Australia; and Wilga Mia in Western Australia. A native drawing done by one of the men of the lately discovered Tekateka horde of the Ngadadjara tribe from northwest of the Warburton Ranges in Western Australia (fig. 26), suggests that another important mine lies somewhere in that area. The native name of the place is Karukopiti where piti means a hole. It is a red ochre totemic place ['karkonda 'tum:a] situated in a cave where there is water. A creek is indicated in the man's drawing as passing through the cave. This little detail shows how some knowledge of the aborigines has been built up by leads from the people themselves.

On Bentinck Island a small supply of a rich red-colored ochre was available in one hordal area, and the supply was monopolized by the numerically most powerful horde, one of eight such groups of the Kaiadilt people. The same horde possessed also a superior outcrop of the silcrete used for bifacially worked fist axes. Plate 68 shows the younger brother of the hordal elder standing on the horde's source of stone wealth.

Manganese dioxide was another sought after pigment, especially in the soft jet black form that is sometimes of localized occurrence. There is a key supply in the form known as wad at Pernatty Lagoon in northern South Australia. It is notable for a trade radius of upward of 300 miles (500 km.). When mixed with kangaroo fat and ashes it yields a purplish-black pigment much sought after as a forehead paint. It appears on the forehead of the Pitjandjara man shown in three poses in plate 92. Among have-not tribes in the northern part of the Western Desert, the black spores of a dry puffball fungus are a substitute.

Yellow ochres were important and especially in demand for women, being used in more than one area to denote stages in their menstruation often by marks on the forehead. The yellow cobalt ochre in the form of a fine powder is mined by a species of ant in the Tomkinson Range area at the extreme northwest corner of South Australia. It is gathered, wrapped in bark, lashed with fur string, and traded by the members of the local horde of the Pitjandjara. The paintings done with it in caves have been noted up to 200 miles (320 km.) away. At Cave Hill in the Musgrave Ranges, the appearance of yellow ochre as a palimpsest on older cave paintings registers the usurpation of that area by the Pitjandjara in 1917 (Tindale, 1963:499–514). Some yellow ochres were fire treated as on Mornington Island in the Gulf of Carpentaria where Lardiil women make several shades of red ochre by reducing the degree of hydration of the iron oxides. Other manufacturing processes consisted of pounding, mixing, and rubbing in greases and fixatives such as tree orchid juices.

White clays were widely used both as pigments and as cleaning agents. Prior to ceremonies the feather ornaments were often washed in clays and, when dry, dusted to remove dirt and grease. White pigment was usually applied to the body whenever there was chance of a premeditated fight. The white dung of eagles was gathered from below their nesting aerie. This was a substitute in paintings at Fort Mueller in Western Australia by aborigines, depicting the horse tracks of the explorer Giles.

In central Australia shales and chlorite schists were mined at several places and shaped for the making of stone tjurunga. The blanks were traded to all parts of the Aranda territories and west to the Kukatja, the Jumu, and the Ngalia. One of the extensively worked deposits is situated near and north of Haast Bluff on the northern side of the MacDonnell Ranges.

Slabs of sandstone and sandy shales strongly bound with silica were mined and shaped for milling of grass seeds and for the sharpening of stone axes. In the eastern grassland men would travel long distances to get slabs of stone for mills or metates. At one mine in the Flinders Ranges, camps a mile or two from the mining area were strewn with partly trimmed slabs, and trails leading east into the stoneless country are marked by small piles of such partly worked slabs showing where overoptimistic carriers had had to scale down the loads with which they had started back toward their home territories. The restricted occurrence of suitable supplies of minerals often created opportunities for hordes and, in the case of very important sites, whole tribes to claim right to and exclude others from such mines, in some instances by

surrounding them with an aura of mystery or fear. When I was being told about the red ochre site at Karukopiti (fig. 26), the Ngadadjara artist said of the place that it was ['pika 'ŋulu] where ['pika] means dangerous, deadly, or painful, and ['ŋulu] and ['ŋulunu] mean frightening or terrifying. As in other places such as the Parachilna ochre mines, they were approached with fear. In chapter 10 there is a summary of a myth accounting for the origin of the Parachilna ochre deposit. It implies a defense of the site against others.

In similar fashion the Ngadadjara have a song cycle that records the existence of a mystical place in the far south where fire inside flints was selfishly being destroyed by ['Keibara], a Being of the turkey bustard totem. When traced south from tribe to tribe, the song cycle becomes a recognizable itinerary leading to a flint outcrop in a cliff facing deep water of the Southern Ocean at a distance of over 500 miles (800 km.) south of the place where the songs were first heard. A more southern aboriginal escorted John Greenway and me to the vicinity of the mine, but his fears of the mystical place were so strong that he would not trespass by looking at the site. A full account with transcriptions of the songs is in preparation for future publication.

Mines and supplies of economic resources and products derived from them have determined lines of movement across Australia, led to communication and trade between peoples, as well as developing strategies of the creation of fears and mystery to preserve useful bases for trade. Possession of more than one kind of such resource has led to fears and necessities of defense against marauding strangers.

An interesting observation made in 1966 was that the Nakako tribespeople, having shifted from their traditional living area for the first time, came to live in an unoccupied part of the country south of the Musgrave Ranges which had been left by aborigines now congregated around the Ernabella Mission. Still depending entirely on stone implements, they found themselves unable to find mining places for new stone. They had, therefore, been compelled to glean old implement stone pieces from archaeological campsites and remake them so that the new implements showed two generations of work on them. When archaeologists begin to study movements of people of the past, indications such as this may be very important.

Brief mention has been made of the important trade routes for axes and stone of all types along the eastern grassland corridor of Australia. Mathews (1907:37 [Gr. 6423]) gives some details of tribal exchanges among the New South Wales tribes which should be consulted by those interested in trade. He writes of the Morowari, the Wiradjuri, and the Ugumba. Ugumba is, of course, a lapse or typographical error for the Ngemba tribe of the lower Bogan River.

Among the rain forest negrito tribes of the Atherton tableland, trade was local with the people on the coast and north and south along it. There are collective terms used for the trade goods that seem to be linked with the tribal source from which they originate. Thus I learned that the Ngatjan and Djirubal (fig. 27) used a rain shield called ['keramai] made by beating the bark of a tree, a crude form of tapa cloth. These bark rain shields were traded from the south. The trees from which the bark coverings were made grow in the country of the Keramai tribe along the Herbert River, hence their name. Similarly pearl shell pendants, *Nautilus* shell necklaces, and *Melo* shells came from the Bandjin of the Hinchinbrook Island area, hence were collectively ['bandjin]. Roth (1910) was the first to record this without noticing the connection with tribal names. He found that trade goods received by the Gulngai (his Mallanpara) of the Tully Falls area, coming from the north, were termed *irakanji*

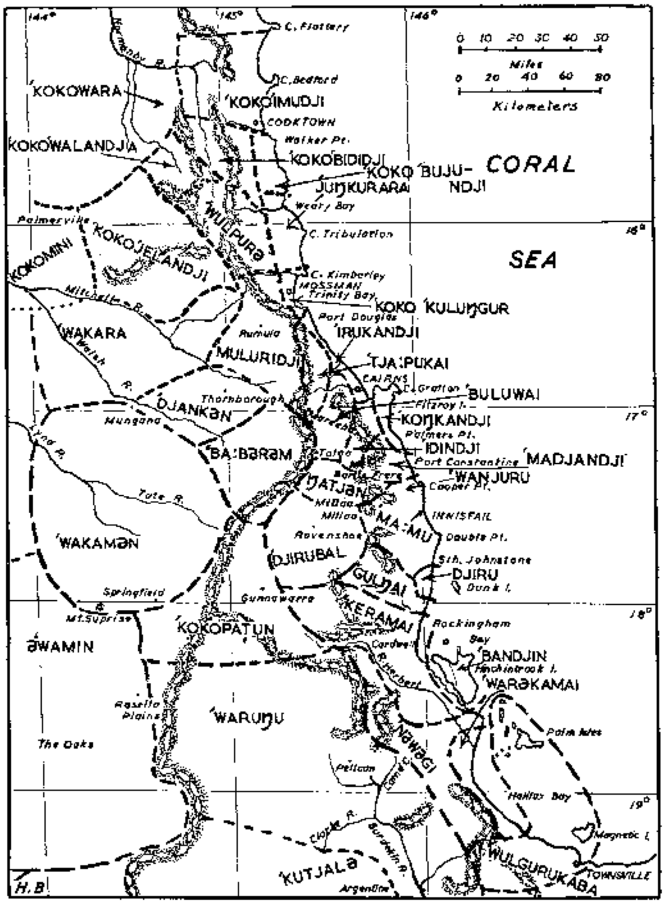


Fig. 27. Sketch map of the tribes in the rain-forested areas of the Cairns district of northeastern Queensland.

while those from the south were *kun-yin*. The first term is very obviously the same as the name of the Irukandji of the Cairns lowlands and the second is perhaps a mistake in recording or a mishearing of the term ['bandjin] given above. Use of such collectives has close parallels in our own culture for we say "china" for highly glazed pottery, originally imported from the East, and archaeologists speak of the pebble choppers of the Early Hoabinhian of Southeast Asia as "sumatraliths" from the place of their first reporting.

6

Physical Anthropology of Tribes

In this chapter there is a brief account of the several physical types that have been noted in Australia followed by a few remarks on the point of view of the aborigines themselves about the physical differences they have noted or use in their accounts of other peoples.

My own observations on aborigines are nonmetric, based primarily on association with people of several different parts of the continent over periods of many months. They are thus primarily visual impressions and mental comparisons. An added advantage has been association with Professor Birdsell the physical anthropologist who is the authority in the field of the anthropometry of the Australian aborigines. On our joint field expeditions, my role has been as recorder of genealogical information, interrogator on patterns of material culture and ideas and beliefs, collector of kinship data, and gatherer of geographical and tribal information. On occasion my role included the daily supplying of blood of N B type for use in serological cross-testing and at other times the gathering of blood samples for laboratory testing.

My evaluations have been arrived at without the meticulous analysis of the anthropometric data, since we agreed, as a research technique, to keep our approaches separate. Nevertheless, many a campfire discussion has helped to give my impressions solid form, and, although the following is a personal statement, it owes much to Birdsell's sharing with me directly the continuing results of our daily observations on physical type in the field.

Evidence available up to the present suggests that the first human invaders of the virgin Australian continent, some forty thousand or more years ago, were a people of small stature of a type still to be found in small hideaway groups in the rain forests of tropical Southeast Asia and New Guinea, and as far out into the Pacific as the New Hebrides. They are collectively known as negritos, a separate small-framed type of modern man forming one of the earliest stocks in southern Asia, and geographically, somewhat remote from the negrillo peoples of Africa. Birdsell (1941, 1949, 1967) formally named the Australian representatives of this type as the Barrinean, after our 1938 work in the Lake Barrine area had confirmed their presence (Tindale and Birdsell, 1940; see pl. 87). We found representatives of twelve tribes of substantially negritoid type clinging to the shelter of the rain forests of the Atherton tableland and the tropical lowland rain forests nearer to the coast, and living in artificially created open patches cleared in past times by firing of the forest during dry phases of the year. Birdsell measured definitive series of both males and females, sufficient to establish the type beyond cavil. Of an original population present in the 1890s when the area was first opened to occupation—an estimated two thousand—we probably saw five hundred present-day descendants. Our discovery was in effect a confirmation of suggestions and casual observations that had been made over many years, but overlooked by students of physical anthropology. The presence of this relatively large population gave immediate substance to earlier theoretical evaluations by astute observers of the aborigines. Some of them will be mentioned in later paragraphs of this chapter. Today there are, of course, still students who refuse to believe in the existence of any but a single physical type of Australian, but none of them, to my knowledge, has ever tried to view these negritoid people for themselves. Those physical anthropologists who have seen them, however, realize they do exist, among them C. von Levetzow and R. Ruggles Gates (pers. comm.). Just before his death in 1962, Gates (1960) published his observations on a few of the people with whom he was able to work.

The Tasmanian aborigines were present in Tasmania at least from the end of the Wisconsin cold period, since archaeological traces dated to 8700 B.P. (Reber, 1965) are present and stone implements of the Kartan type have been found at St. Helens in northwestern Tasmania, at Carlton, and on both Cape Barren and Flinders Islands in Bass Strait. According to Birdsell's deductions, the Tasmanians were primarily of negritoid stock with a considerable admixture of a second type, the Murrayian (also named by Birdsell), detected as having entered the Australian continent. Some of the crania recovered from the northwestern part of Tasmania indicate the great likelihood of this being so.

Physical characteristics of the Barrinean type, in addition to diminutive stature, include the un-Australian characteristic of crisp curly hair. Without entering into discussion of these differences, which are best left to my

colleague's expositions, it seems that some of the negritic characteristics still survive among some of the other local populations on the Australian continent, to a degree sufficient to indicate that they spread over much of the continent before being confronted with later comers. The Melville Islanders show a greater percentage of crisp hair than mainlanders. The people of the south Queensland rain forests were claimed to be smaller than the open forest country folk. Some remnant survivors of the Bidawal in the southeast of New South Wales and Victoria seen in 1949 were similar in appearance and stature to negritoids of the Barrinean type. A few of the people met with in Mount Barker, Western Australia, also were reminiscent of the same people. Where noted they have been seen in peripheral areas and as indicated in the very generalized sketch map (fig. 28), their positions suggest strongly that they may be relict populations.

Archaeology is beginning to produce indications supporting the early presence of a people like the ones who entered Tasmania at some time late in the Wisconsin age. At Mungo Lake in New South Wales, a cremated burial similar to those familiar in Tasmania was discovered with a date of 25,500 B.P. (fig. 16). The cranial remains, that of a female, fit best with the Tasmanian.

Indications are that the relict negritoid populations are mixed with Murrayian peoples wherever found but that the inferior environment presented by the rain forests acted as refuge for them in a manner similar to the rain forest protection afforded the Semang tribes of Malaya and the negritos of the mountaintop refuges in the Philippine Islands.

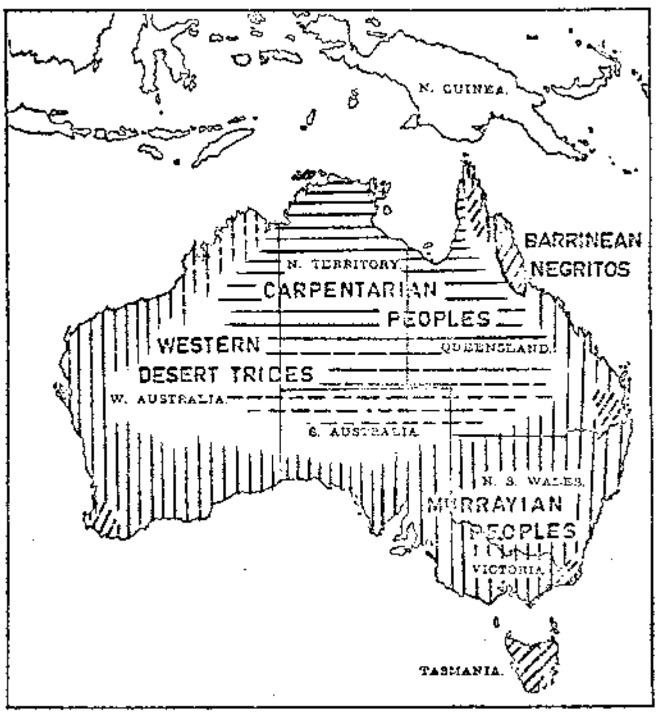


Fig. 28. Distribution of the main types of Australian people.

The second people entering the Australian scene appears to have been the Murrayian. This type was established by the observations and measurements of Birdsell on a long series of individuals of both sexes studied in the Murray valley with supporting data from all the other states. He also examined a series of one hundred and more crania of adult males from the same area of the Murray River. Murrayians are more robust, with straight to low-waved hair, are relatively lighter in skin color, and in Birdsell's opinion are in metric form close to the aboriginal population of northeastern Asia as represented today by the Ainu of Hokkaido in northern Japan (see pls. 88–91).

The Murrayians, in their most characteristic type, appear as the dominants in southeastern Australia, extending along the southern coastal regions to the west coast of the continent. In the Cairns rain forest they surround the nuclear area of negritoid and where there is evidence of intermediate types, this can be owing to the greater degree of admixture with the Murrayian type. It appears from my own observations, not supported by measurements, that Murrayian populations extend along the eastern coast as far north as Cape York. The Australian-like peoples who have been reported by F. E. Williams (1936) as seminomadic in the Fly River delta appear from photographs he showed me to be of the same general stocky, hairy-bodied type, with low to medium waved hair unlike the general Papuan population. The published diary of Bronislaw Malinowski (1967) records his impressions of two men of an inland tribe, the Borowa'i in the Mullin Harbor area of southern New Guinea. He said they had extraordinary, entirely Australian faces, smooth hair, monkey noses, and a wildly frightened expression. At Ikoro village in the Rigo district, he was told of "straight haired people at Hulaa, Babau, Kerepunu and inland, but not very deep inland." These are the only references in his work which might have any bearing on the presence of Australian-like peoples in New Guinea.

The tribes along the west coast of Australia appear also to have closer relationship with the Murrayian type than with any later comers. Plates 88–89 show a man who would fit the type. He was encountered by A. T. Wells and B. H. Stinnear during a 1956 geological survey visit to the old Canning Stock Route Well 22 at Madaleiri. The negritic element seems to be little evident in

northwestern Australia where there is perhaps a mixing between the Murrayian and a third type, the Carpentarian of Birdsell. The Murrayian type is also somewhat evident in the southern tier of tribes of the Western Desert—the Kalamaia, Pindiini, and Kokata—but is overshadowed by the true Desert peoples who evidently represent a mixed type that shows some uniformity in that they have a high percentage of hair blondness that appears in their children as almost a universal in the Warburton Ranges area and is less dominant as one goes northeast and south. This blond hair characteristic in the children reappears on Bentinck Island among the Kaiadilt.

The third type to enter Australia appears to have been the Carpentarian as defined by Birdsell. Their distribution today suggests entry from the north prior to the complete drowning of the Sahul Shelf by the rise of sea level during the Flandrian Recession. It is evident that this type extended south along the eastern grassland and riverine corridor and to have physically influenced the people of western Queensland. They also extended west along the northern portion of the continent and are the dominant type east of the Kimberleys. Coastwise they do not seem to have traveled far down the east coast, perhaps because during their entry across the dry Sahul Shelf their abilities as navigators would have declined. Their southward movement along the west coast was probably inhibited, owing in part to the total absence of floatable timbers south of King Sound and to the general inhospitality of the Canning Basin which would have given great advantage to the prior residents. The present day Njamal people of the Pilbara region thus retain a substantially Murrayian look. The people who move north and west out of the Western Desert as "Julbaritja" or "Southerners" tend to be of the Carpentarian admixture (see pl. 92).

The zones of contact between the three main types are obscured. The observed general 15 percent intertribal marriage rate would be sufficient to spread mixed types relatively quickly wherever there was friendly contact. Where newcomers would be less likely to make their appearance and would meet hostile competition as in the most inhospitable environments such as rain forests and in the extreme desert areas requiring special knowledge and, for instance, places where the water from tree roots is the main supply, the separation of the types seems sharper.

The Bentinck Islanders are a type somewhat apart from the rest of the Australians. They are shore-dwellers, at present isolated on a small island group with a high degree of inbreeding among a population of no more than about 120 (Tindale, 1961, 1962). Their island home was only created after the Flandrian Recession had flooded the Gulf of Carpentaria, but they perhaps represent a people once widely spread along the northwestern shoreline of Ice Age Australia. They have a very high incidence of type B blood (Simmons, Tindale, and Birdsell, 1962; Simmons, Graydon, and Tindale, 1964) almost unique in Australia except to a small degree among the Tagalag tribe and some people farther north in northeast Queensland and a substantially higher incidence among the Karawa who live in the rough country north of the Barkly tableland, inland from the southwestern corner of the Gulf of Carpentaria. My associates consider this may be an intrusive element but it is possible that they represent the local survival of a very old type of visitor whose adaptation to a littoral mangrove swamp environment enabled him to survive long after competition had eliminated his kind elsewhere. While culture and physical type are not directly linked, the preservation among the Kaiadilt of the use of the bifacially chipped pyriform fist ax, universally forgotten or superseded among other simple peoples, may be an indication of his generally isolated existence. Perhaps it is not too rash to suggest that in the Kaiadilt we may be able to see modern survivors of a type like the Late Pleistocene Wadjak people of Java.

The above is a brief summary of the personal views that I have been led to by fieldwork and association with aborigines for over fifty years.

Some early writers, who had chances to observe aborigines in different parts of the continent, made comments on what they had noticed. Some thought the differences were a matter of nurture, others suspected genetic differences. Alfred A. C. LeSouef (1878), writing of differences he observed among the people of northeastern Victoria, Upper Murray River people of Murrayian type, or "fish-eating tribes," as he called them, said they were the most robust and dominant people, with six-foot men among them, well built and stout in proportion. He contrasted them with the people who lived in less favored country, lacking rivers and having little water, lesser encampments, fewer appliances, and ruder weapons. He described the latter as miserable creatures, repulsive in appearance, stunted in growth, and without vigor. Obviously to him the differences were due less or not at all to nature but to nurture. The contrast between the classic Murrayian people of the Murray valley and, for example, the Bidawal of the southeasternmost rain-forested areas of Gippsland observed by us in 1939 would in large measure fit LeSouef's description, except that the people were relatively well fed. At that time a small remnant sample of the Bidawal people were still living at Wallaga Lake.

The idea of the physical uniformity of the Australian was given some support by an observation of my predecessor at the South Australian Museum as a result of the Horn Expedition. Thus Edward C. Stirling (1894) noted that apart from "those features either of person or custom, which distinguish them in a subordinate degree from the tribes nearer the coast [of South Australia, they] are with but little variation found extending over the immense area of the central regions of the inappropriately named province of South Australia." He qualified his conclusions by pointing out the limited nature of his own transect. At the time he spoke the province extended to the north coast of Australia.

Among those who detected the probability of heterogeneity among the Australians was George Taplin (1872:85). "The aborigines evidently belong to two races—one like the Eastern Polynesians and the other like the Western, or Melanesians. One race has straight hair and a lighter complexion; the other has curly hair, and is darker." His field of observation was in the southern parts of South Australia extending west only to Eyre Peninsula where the people do show somewhat of a different character to that of the people of the lower Murray among whom his main work was done.

Speculation on the mode of entry of the aborigines into Tasmania commenced early. Augustus Oldfield (1865) considered the advent of a people whom he called Alfouru as having occurred prior to the disappearance of "a low sandy isthmus once connecting Tasmania with the mainland," thus anticipating by half a century speculations of an unrealistic type by F. Wood Jones and several later writers which would have allowed the Tasmanians to traverse over 1,000 miles (1,600 km.) of stormy ocean from the direction of the New Hebrides without any contact with the Australian mainland. With the development of knowledge of the eustatic changes in sea level during Wisconsin and later times, Oldfield's view has been justified. The high mortality rate inflicted on forced voyagers, on rafts, in even short sea crossings of 8 miles (13 km.), as reported by me (Tindale, 1962) for the relatively mild waters of the Gulf of Carpentaria surely gave the coup de grace to the views of Wood Jones and his followers.

It may be of some interest to turn to the aborigines themselves and determine what they see in their neighbors. Some of their views are probably traditional and have little or no present validity. Their impressions were often based on a prejudiced view of themselves as the perfect people and all others as in some measure less worthy or comely. Thus C. W. Schürmann (1844) records the Pangkala of Eyre Peninsula in South Australia as considering the Nauo different from themselves and as possessing rotten teeth and long-rumped bodies [Nawir:i irabukar:i kadla wil:urur:i].

The Ngangurukú, according to one of my informants who lived near Mannum on the lower Murray River, regarded themselves as ordinary sized people but had traditions of the appearance of larger people, spoken of as "overgrown" in my informant's language. Some of them were too tall to be allowed to live. They came down the Murray River from out of the dry country to the north. Some of them were so helpless that they had to be fed. The descriptions given could be interpreted as memory of a gaunt, starving more linear people. His description came with the rider that these people first came when all the waters were dry in their own country.

The Njamal, who are a relatively heavy-bodied people similar to the Murrayians, differentiate between themselves and the Western Desert people who live to their east beyond the De Grey River in the Pilbara region of Western Australia. They account for the contrasts between their own hairy-bodied and stout-legged kinsfolk and the more glabrous and spindly-legged people of the east as similar to the differences they see in the euro (*Macropus robustus*) and the red kangaroo (*Megaleia rufa*). They liken the thin-shanked desert men to the kangaroo of the open plains. The kangaroo was initiated in the manner practiced by the Kariara, without benefit of the rite of circumcision but with its legs bound tightly with strings in the manner of the arm-binding practiced on Kariara youths during their initiation, hence the kangaroos' legs grew long and thin like those of the rock-hole people, the Bedengo of the eastern deserts.

The euro or kangaroo of the hilly country was initiated without binding of its legs, more in the way that Njamal youths were initiated, hence it has the shorter heavier legs like themselves. They possess a whole suite of songs or ['pundur] named ['Munjuwarda], which describes the differences and likens them to what they see in the animals. They have a rude name for the people of the desert whom they call Guna Nalkathara ['Guna 'Nalkaθara] where ['kuna] means both anus and feces. In their belief Guna Nalkathara are cannibals or ['wariŋari], and a favorite story told in song describes the adventures of a Njamal who was once captured by some of the Bedengo and kept in a cave. Each day the Guna Nalkathara would say "we will send you home tomorrow." At the same time, they poked the fleshy parts of his body. Njamal men said they had not known of this until one of their people had suffered this indignity and had escaped to tell the tale. This man had been taken to a fire and thrown into it. The porcupine grass exploded in flames and the impetus it gave him was so great that he "flew home." The hero of this episode made a song about

it. The Guna Nalkathara got their name because they traditionally ate one of the desert fruits with such effects that it "blew their backsides off" thus accounting for their small rumps.

It is interesting to note that a similar story is on record by D. E. Hackett (in Curr, 1886, 1:342). The uncircumcised Balardong of the York district east of Perth nearly 1,000 miles (1,500 km.) to the south tell of cannibalism among the circumcising people to the east and of the escape of an intended victim, after he had been circumcised and before he was eaten. Such stories seem to indicate that the realities of physical and other differences across major lines of physical and cultural break are long remembered. Among the Njamal such stories are called manginju ['maŋinju].

The Walmadjari who live on the middle reaches of the Fitzroy River in northwestern Australia see themselves as one of three different kinds of people. The predominantly Carpentarian people on their east, the Kokatja, they consider to be very tall in stature; they are ['tjilparta]; they speak ['Nambulatji], a term applied to several languages farther east including Walpiri. To their south live people whom they consider to be short in stature. Collectively they term them ['wanmala], including in this description the Wanman, Nangatara, Potidjara, and the Mandjildjara, people who, in small parties, have come north out of the desert and who have been called by the Walmadjari the ['Julbaritja] or "Southerners." They consider themselves to be tall but not so tall as the ['tjilparta] people. In my opinion, using Birdsell's classificatory terms, the Walmadjari have some links with the Murrayians, the Kokatja are more Carpentarian, and the southern people are nearer to the blond-haired type that Birdsell tentatively calls the Desert type of mixed Carpentarian origin.

The presence of blond hair among the children of the Desert peoples has not escaped the notice of aborigines. They point out that the Indjibandi of the Hamersley plateau in Western Australia have many fair-haired children and that their skin color is light, or "copper colored" as described by an aboriginal. They contrast the Indjibandi with the Kariara and the other peoples along the northwest coast whose children's hair is dark. In a letter dated February 7, 1953, Father Worms mentioned that a Jawuru (his Jaoro) informant had indicated that the Mangala people living to the east were people with "white hair," in contrast with their own locks which were darker. Father Worms indicated that he had himself noted that some children had sandy-colored hair among the Kokatja (his Gogadja) in the vicinity of Gregory Salt Sea.

According to the observations of Birdsell, the center of distribution for the gene for blondness lies in the Warburton Ranges of Western Australia with decreasing percentages as one moves away from that locus. In our 1953 fieldwork we were able to confirm that the Mangala were the northernmost people who showed striking evidence of blond-haired children. As mentioned earlier in passing, I found (Tindale, 1962) that the Kaiadilt children also possessed this or a similar character. Most Bentinck Island children, and girls well into their late teens, have either ash-blond or golden-blond hair. This is absent on adjoining Mornington Island, among the Lardiil.

Stories of little people and of fears of meeting them when alone, also of ways to circumvent their attentions by not looking directly at them, are widely current. Among the Tanganekald there are stories of how the little people who lived in the rough scrub country and known as tharkuni ['θarkuni] were exterminated by being driven onto a point of land jutting out into the sea and were turned into the penguins that live along the southern shores. When you saw a tharkuni out of the corner of your eye, you had better dissemble and turn aside. Then he would not attack you. There are similar stories in a manuscript that I edited for the late Dr. L. P. Winterbotham, not yet published. In this series one of the tales tells how the big people of the country near Brisbane in Queensland, who were without fire, stole it from the little people of the rain forests.

At Broome in Western Australia in 1953, a Karadjari man named Panibuda volunteered a story about a little people he called ['gogoro] or ['ja:daŋali]. They lived beside a great billabong at Pilbara, supposed to be three or four days' walk southeast of Lindjarkading, which is at the southeastern corner of Karadjari territory. The ground there shows like fire at night. No one goes there for it is the end of Karadjari country. Only once had his people gone there for water. The second time they tried to get a drink, the water had turned to piss. A big watersnake was supposed to live at Pilbara. Only the gogoro lived there. They had big bellies, long ears, big heads, and thin legs. They made their ceremonies there like other people do. "Gogoro are a kind of spirit or devil, by magic they can make you sick even though you do not see them. We left our own country to try and find food when it was short. There was no food and water for us in their country. I saw a gogoro once, in the dark, and it ran away." This description, of course, may suggest a group of starving, swollen bellied displaced persons from out of the desert to the east, such as were seen at Hermannsburg in 1929 (chap. 4).

7

Tribes and Food

There is now a considerable body of information on the food-gathering habits and the foods used by Australians. The late Sir John Cleland spent much time during our many field trips in gathering food plants, and on occasion I assisted in obtaining data from aborigines on their native names and uses. There are recent summaries and those interested may be referred to F. R. Irving (1957) and to Alan Keast and others (1959) for references and some of the background information. The following will be rigidly selective, highlighting those aspects of food-seeking practices of the aborigines that have come under personal notice and are relevant for the understanding of the tribal situation.

At the beginning a question arises as to whether present-day hunters, whose great dependence is on game of generally small size and very much on the day-long activities of their women and children in gathering vegetable foods, had the same attitudes and ways of life as possessed by their earlier ancestors who obtained larger game, such as the *Diprotodon*, *Nototherium*, and several kinds of giant kangaroos as well as the giant *Genyornis* birds and their mammoth eggs. The decline and disappearance of these animals during the Flandrian Recession presumably was gradual. The very widespread similarities in cultural outlook implied by the relics of occupation found over the continent from the onset of the Flandrian Recession, plus the knowledge that in some sundered areas there appear to be survivals from past culture phases, not only argues for slow rates of change but gives us a measure of hindsight into their past activities. This is true not only on the Australian continent but also of the milieu of some of the preagricultural peoples of Southeast Asia who began the practice of agriculture and were either their forebears or were associated with them.

In the past it has been generally assumed that the aborigines have always been a nonagricultural people and this may be true, yet some practices suggest that the very first steps may have been taken in areas along a path or paths leading to gardening, irrigation, and the partial domestication of animals. The interest of such glimmerings of dawn, if that is what they are, have become the greater recently because of the archaeological findings in Thailand by C. F. Gorman (1969), indicating that area as the possible home of the first planters of gardens. The possibility that this might be so was first suggested by Carl O. Sauer in his Bowman Memorial Address of 1952. It happened that while working on other evidence I indicated the same general area a few years later (Tindale, 1960:243). Sauer's deductions are now being supported by new evidence suggesting that some of the basic foods of the southeastern tropics were already domesticated prior to the end of the Wisconsin Ice Age. This is a date far earlier than any that has been demonstrated for the Near East or the Mediterranean.

One of the species that appears in the earliest list of domesticated plants is *Eleocharis*—the water chestnut. Wild forms of this plant occur as far east as New Guinea and Australia and a species *Eleocharis dulcis* is widely used in the northern parts of Australia. Each year as the water level drops in favored subtropical swamps these sedges grow to maturity. Women and children dig for the corms using short digging sticks, sometimes only 1 foot (30 cm.) long but often as long as about 4 feet (over 1 m.). These are trimmed to a tapered chisel point and hardened by treatment in a fire. The diggers turn over the soil around the edges of the marshes and obtain a substantial harvest. In the process they till the soil, miss a proportion of the crop, and thus not only unconsciously prepare the soil but make the plantings for a future harvest. Since rhizomes of water lilies (*Nymphaea stellata*) and other corms are obtained at the same time, they prepare the ground for a general renewal of the food crops rather than a specific one. There is thus laid the basis for the annual return to the places of past activities.

A species of wild rice is widely spread in the flooding marshlands of Arnhem Land. On the Roper River the heads of *Oryza fatua* were harvested with much the same technique employed by some American Indians. Using a sewn bark canoe, sometimes a miniature of the normal craft, made by folding a sheet of stringybark with the smooth inner layer outward, they beat the ripened ears into it with a stick or paddle. Much grain was lost in the process and trampled into the mud below with their feet. Unquestionably this became the seed for the following year's crop. There is no indication that the rice seed ever was scattered deliberately to extend the area for later harvests. Were the Mara and the Alawa on the verge of becoming rice growers? They went each year to the same

areas. Only one step, deliberate planting, was missing. The Alawa had even learned to store surplus food such as water lily seed in paperbark-lined pits in rock-shelters; however, there is no suggestion that this was ever used for planting.

The seed of the pigweed or purslane, *Portulaca oleracea,* which is an almost cosmopolitan plant and widely distributed in Australia, is an important food. The plant is often plentiful where there is temporary flooding after rain and the tiny seeds are believed to have been widely distributed in mud adhering to birds' feet.

A general term for the seed, over a wide area of central Australia is ['wakati]. The rather oily dark seeds are of much importance in their season. Following summer rains, wakati grows rapidly often forming a mat of succulent leaves over the ground. Where flooding and sun baking have given the soil a smooth firm surface, women sweep up the dust together with the fine seed and winnow it. This is not the most important method of harvesting. Rather, just before the seed capsules are ready to open, women working with their children pull up the plants and pile them in large heaps on a piece of firm ground swept clean of all dirt and debris. The heap may be from 6 to 10 feet (2 to 3 m.) across. The heap is surrounded with a ring of stones or of logs. Where women of two or more families are working together, several such rings may be formed, either partly joined or a little distance apart. Within a day or so the drying of the plants, aided perhaps by the fermentation of the mass, ripens the capsules and causes them to release their seeds. The plants are shaken and thrown aside leaving the dust and the wakati within the enclosure. Then follows processes of winnowing and preparation of the cleaned seed. Plates 25 through 32 show these activities in progress at the Warburton Ranges in Western Australia. They involve the use of shallow wooden dishes and millstones. In the Western Desert and elsewhere the final stages usually involve the use of a special stone implement that has been named variously a "licking stone" and/or a "roller mill stone" because of its specialized modes of use. The Pitjandjara, the Ngadadjara, and other desert peoples place a small heap of wakati seed on the flat stone nether mill and then rub the upper millstone with a rolling sliding motion away from them so that the stone turns away from the user through an arc of some 120 degrees and is then counterrotated. First the surface of the stone is moistened with saliva so that on the return movement the crushed seed adheres to it and is transferred to the mouth where a further licking prepares it for the next mouthful of the oily food. Wakati seed may be eaten raw or may be parched by rocking it in a wooden dish with hot ashes before the final cleaning. Use of the licking stone in this manner over a period of time, because such stones are family possessions that are carried from camp to camp, develops a highly characteristic stone of about 12 centimeters across, 6 wide, and amygdaloid or ellipsoid in cross section with two smoothed opposite faces and ends that tend to be flat from having been used as pounders in other domestic activities.

Gathering of purslane seed as food has been known for many years but the association with rings of arranged stones, in places where such stones are available, is a late discovery. Edward Palmer (1884) was perhaps the first to draw attention to its use among the Maijabi and kindred tribes on the Cloncurry River in western Queensland. There the seed is thukouro ['θukouro]. It grows plentifully on the banks of rivers and on sand ridges after the summer wet season. The stems were eaten raw and also heated in ashes, the rest of the plant being placed on the heap to wilt. Maijabi women used freshwater mussel shells to scoop up the seed that accumulated. There it was ground between stones, pressed into cakes, and cooked in hot ashes. The same preparatory methods of seed-cake making are also used in the Western Desert. Millstones that have been used for the crushing of the seeds retain their oiliness for many years and the greasy appearance may persist in stones found in archaeological deposits.

On Cooper Creek a second species of purslane, *Portulaca intraterranea,* is to be found. Its large taproot is eaten as well as the seeds. A. L. P. Cameron (1904) gives the Punthamara name for the plant as ['ku:raba].

I have known of the use of rings of stone in the harvesting of *Portulaca* seed among the Wadjari, Wanman, Pitjandjara, Ngadadjara, Iliaura, and Wakaja. The presence of the abandoned stones as archaeological remains in other places attests to the widespread use of such food-harvesting circles. Archaeologists who have found stone arrangements of this kind on claypan surfaces, especially in areas from which the aborigines have disappeared, have theorized about them without checking with the living peoples. T. D. Campbell and P. S. Hossfeld (1964) figured several such circles from the vicinity of Lake Windabout, west of Lake Torrens, in South Australia, an area from which the Kokata aborigines have vanished. They noted the absence of aboriginal artifacts near the circles, but drew the unwarranted conclusion that the area was therefore a ceremonial ground, not realizing that aboriginal women, who do not generally use stone tools in their food gathering, would not leave much evidence of their labors.

It is sometimes overlooked that northern Australia lies within the area of natural distribution of at least two species of yam of the genus *Dioscorea.* Ray L. Specht (1958) has confirmed that the yams I reported on Groote

Eylandt (Tindale, 1925:77) are two forms *elongata* and *rotundata* of *D. sativa.* A few years later I saw the Walmbaria women of Flinders Island and the Mutumui of the adjoining mainland of northern Queensland dig up yams just after the beginning of the rainy season in December and January. These were an important part of their food supply.

Such yams grow in deep soil patches among the rocks on Flinders Island, especially where the runoff from the rocks provides additional moisture in the seasons of less rain. Women dig for the yams with digging sticks following them to a depth of up to 3 feet (nearly 1 m.), repeating a formula that is supposed to make the yam large and shapely. Having recovered their prize, the women's attitudes change. They now scold the stem that has guided them to the tuber, even beat and bruise it and throw it back in the hole. Then they are rude to it to the extent that they urinate and on occasion defecate on it, at the same time telling it to go back and do better since its yam was poor. Finally, they may push some of the earth back into the hole, but we did not see any systematic action of this kind. They were magically preparing the way for a future harvest although they seemed to be unconscious of the practical effects of tilling the soil, fertilizing it, and replanting segments of the stem in a hole protected from the full effects of the sun, but at a time when the northwest monsoonal rains were almost certain to stimulate the regrowth of the vine within a matter of a few days or weeks and so provide the chance of a further harvest. Birkill (1935), as quoted by Sauer (1952), states that the original homes of the *Dioscorea* yams were on the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal for *D. alata* and Indochina for *D. esculenta.* It is thus of interest that food-gathering man probably was exposed to an association with the yam in many places between the Bay of Bengal and northern Queensland, long before he took the last steps toward mass cultivation of it as a crop.

Joan Greenway (pers. comm., 1970) during fieldwork on Groote Eylandt saw women digging up yams and replacing part of the stem in the hole they had dug but she saw neither the scolding nor the rude acts. The women return each season expecting a renewal of the crop.

On Bentinck Island, Kaiadilt women whom we took back to their island home after an absence of some years, went almost immediately from the newly set up camp at Minakuri, near the southwestern corner of the island, to the places where they knew *Dioscorea* vines were to be found and dug them up. They found the tubers, which they said were poisonous before treatment and were too large and woody to be palatable because they were too old; they should have been dug up sooner. Kaiadilt women do not have any fixed idea of replanting, but in their diggings for the vines they do stir up areas of soil and do bury some parts of the vine, evidently sufficient to perpetuate the plants. In our 1963 visit to the island we were unfortunately too far away to revisit Minakuri to see whether the vines had grown again. The women said, however, that the vines were always to be found in the same place. Yams still grow around the margin of the little lake at Njinjilki which was first seen by Matthew Flinders in 1802. Here as at Minakuri the vines grow on silty soil at an elevation of somewhat more than 10 feet (3 m.) above sea level in a place where there are pandanus palms and a few struggling gallery rain forest trees indicating a relatively fertile environment.

An almost ubiquitous food-gathering activity of aborigines in Australia is the turning over of large areas of country in search of the tiny bulbs or resting corms of the so-called nut grass, or *Cyperus rotundatus.* The bulbs are present in wide areas from well north of the Tropic of Capricorn to the southern coasts of the continent. The tiny corms, seldom more than 6 to 8 millimeters in diameter, almost spherical and white-fleshed with a thin brown onionlike skin, are abundantly present in the soil on banks of creeks that flow during heavy rains, and especially where floodwaters spill over and deposit fresh layers of silt on the plain. In the Western Desert and over wide areas of the continent the corms and the straplike plants are called ['jelka]. They grow as wiry mats of "grass" in some places, springing up after rains and withering off as the ground becomes too dry to support active growth. The principal areas where they grow are known to aborigines even though little remains on the surface to indicate the presence of the corms. Ground turned over by digging stick in search of the food may extend over many acres. In the winter season aborigines may spend long hours of each day using digging sticks and turning over the soil to a depth of 3 or 4 inches (8 to 10 cm.). This manner of feeding becomes such second nature to them that they often feel the corms and transfer them to their mouths without seeming to look. Men when hungry will sometimes deign to feed themselves. Usually women and children gather the corms into wooden dishes for later eating. They are often steamed by placing them over hot ashes on a mat of succulent vegetation such as the fleshy leaves of *Calandrinia* or *Zygophyllum.*

No aboriginal has ever volunteered information suggesting that turning over the compacted soil, with some corms still remaining, ensures a new crop in the following year. Rather, in their ideology it is the performance of the Jelka increase ceremony, a half-secret rite, part of which may be witnessed by women, which ensures the future new crop. Their belief is that ancestral beings, the

['Jelka 'tum:a] made the place in ancient time. ['Jelka 'wati 'tjukurupa] had placed the food there for them.

Here we have a tilling of the soil in the act of gathering food. The place is a camp, hence it receives added humus as a result of their living. In many areas *Cyperus* is so widespread that there is little thought of it as being a clan possession; anyone may eat at will. The food is of poor nutritional value and those who feed on it for long periods of time develop swollen bellies. The actual food value has not to my knowledge been tested but it forms an important standby item of diet since the corms are available even during extended periods of drought. Children with distended bellies become sick and weak. The condition is called ['njuka], a term they also apply to kangaroos whose flesh is fatless and wasted. While we can say with some assurance that this jelka-gathering activity is not an agricultural one, it seems clear that the results unwittingly are extended and fertilized fields harvested every time the aborigines pass in their annual tour of their territory. There is a 16mm film made during the University of Adelaide Expedition to the Warburton Ranges in 1935 which illustrates this activity with children engaged in jelka digging and eating. Plate 15 shows children so engaged.

One of the few luxury crops harvested by aborigines, and that chiefly in the central desert regions, is native tobacco. The chewing of the fire-wilted leaves of several indigenous species of *Nicotiana*, mixed with the ashes of *Acacia* twigs and phyllodes, is a custom far older than first contact times.

Aborigines are very attentive to the natural growths of such tobaccos as *Nicotiana excelsior*. In the arid environment of the Western Desert, the Ngadadjara, Nakako, and Pitjandjara men know most of the places where the tobacco flourishes and watch over its growth. The tiny seeds blow about with the wind and they have no concept of planting, but they are zealous in watching over the maturing plants. They have noticed that the plants grow well at the mouths of caves and rock-shelters, although they do not understand that the fertile soil of the talus slopes, the disturbed soil, the added runoff from the rocks, and the partial shelter of the rock hangovers are the factors that encourage growth. The plants are associated with specific ['kulpi] or rock-shelters linked with clan totems, hence can be very particular possessions of the clan. Thus trespass to take tobacco is considered a serious matter.

During 1957 I had an opportunity to go with the Native Patrol Officer, W. B. MacDougall to Kalaiapiti, a previously little or never visited standby water of the westernmost horde of the Pitjandjara tribe, forcing a track by landrover over many parallel sand dunes to approach the place between Mount Lindsay and the Blyth Range on the western border of South Australia. Pitjandjara men, having seen unexplained smokes of fires on the southwestern horizon had inferred that ngatari ['ŋatari] or strangers probably were raiding their territory to gather tobacco plants, a trespass that they could remember as having taken place before. During the journey we were accompanied by the oldest member of the clan who considered that his was the right to that tobacco. On the way we saw particular places on the southern flank at Mount Davies, at Mount Lindsay, at Kalaipiti, and at Mount Agnes where conditions for the growth of such tobaccos were considered to be good. In the days before their eastward migration, after the 1914–1916 drought, they had visited each of these places in season to check the growing plants and to make sure there were no trespassers. Perhaps this was merely the gathering of a casually occurring plant save for the fact that each producing kulpi was known, exploited, and the possession, traditionally, of a particular clan. In this instance we found that the natural gardens had been depleted by strangers, ['warumala] or ngatari, during the previous month or so. They had left behind evidence of their use of the precious weed or minggul ['miŋgul]. Having departed from Makurapiti in the Blyth Range and visited Tepelnga ['Tepelŋa] on the west side of the Sir Thomas Range in South Australia, they had disappeared to the southwest.

Some three years later the strangers were contacted for the first time by MacDougall and a little later I was able to talk with them. They were men of the Nakako tribe who had not previously met white men. They admitted their trespass on Pitjandjara country. When confronted, the man Tjibukudu admitted that he had, some years previously, taken minggul at Makurapiti, wondering a little how I knew he had been there. He indicated that in his own country he had plenty of kulpi of his own where minggul grew well and implied that his taking of the tobacco was merely opportune.

The record of this tribal trespass by a people not in contact with the Western world may be of particular interest in revealing a small sample of preagricultural trespass on what had come to be regarded almost as private gardens to be harvested only by the people who claimed the area as their own. In one sense the stealing of minggul by Tjibukudu was only the act of a nomadic food gatherer, but perhaps only a few additional steps were needed to make it an act of robbery from an established garden. Camping at Makurapiti in our company, the two Pitjandjara men were so disturbed by their fears of the strangers that they had us fire Verey lights to allay their fears by driving away the ngatari.

Figure 29 shows the layout of the deserted camp at Makurapiti of the ['warumala] or strangers. From the interpretation of the traces left, the Pitjandjara men who had suffered trespass determined that sixteen persons had been present; that minggul had been prepared, as indicated by burned twigs of *Acacia* and ash stains on a grinding stone; that a kangaroo and a dingo had been eaten; some inferences were made as to the relationships of some of the persons present; and that one of the unmarried girls had just finished a period of menstruation on the evening of the day of trespass.

Figure 30 shows the subsequent camp the strangers made at Tepelnga in the Mount Sir Thomas Range. I wondered at the time how our Pitjandjara men had determined the Tepelnga camp had been later than the Makurapiti one until in redrawing the present diagrams for publication it was realized that the earlier camp had been occupied in late summer, during the northwest monsoon, whereas the breakwinds at Tepelnga had been oriented to give shelter from the southeast trade winds of late April.

In many parts of Australia the harvesting of grains is an important activity, the significance of which has scarcely been realized in the literature on the foods of the Australian aborigines. The seeds of a whole range of grasses are often important staples, in other areas their gathering is only a minor woman's chore.

In the northern third of Australia both man and the herbivorous animals are in direct competition with grass-feeding termites for the annual crop of rank grasses and grassy vegetation that grows under the influence of the summer rains carried inland on the winds of the northwest monsoon between December and April.

Grass-feeding termites are common in the semihumid coastal fringe. On the west coast they are very abundant south to the Tropic of Capricorn. In the drier desert interior their dominance seems to diminish south of about 18 degrees south latitude. Along the eastern grasslands of the great plains west of the Dividing Range in Queensland, they are equally dominant. In general they place a tremendous strain on such plant growth with their huge termitaria dominating the landscape on every favorable plain. On a June night near Port Hedland, in Western Australia, armies of these insects may be seen on the surface of the ground, attacking and removing whole tussocks of *Triodia* grass in a single evening, taking stems,

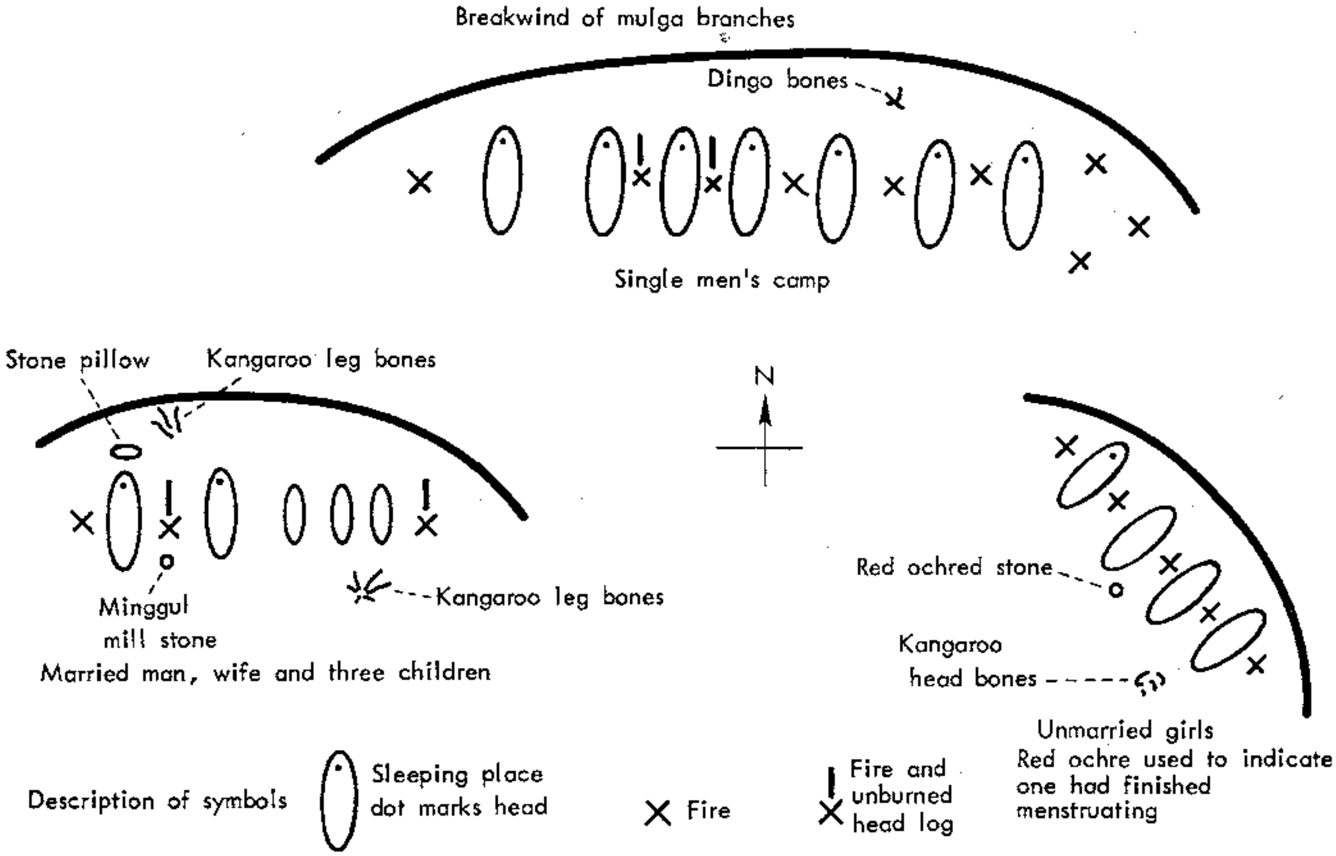


Fig. 29. Camp of ngatari or strangers at Makurapiti, Mount Agnes, in the Blyth Range, eastern border of Western Australia, about April 1957.

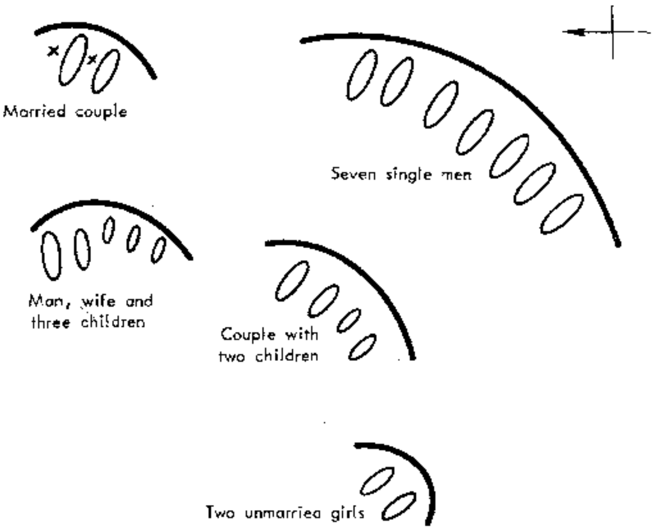


Fig. 30. Camp of warumala (ngatari) at Tepelnga on the west side of Sir Thomas Range, South Australia, about late April 1957.

flower stalks, and even the grain, in a furious mass onslaught on a specific tussock assailed at one time by thousands of termites.

The principal areas where grass seed or grain is particularly important lie south of latitude 18 degrees in a belt where there is sufficient precipitation to develop a crop of grass but with a dry season sufficiently severe to inhibit foraging by termites on the scale evident farther north. The presence of winter frost may also be another controlling factor. Figure 31 shows the principal areas where there are indications of major dependence on grass seed foods with the names of some of the tribes that are discussed in the following paragraphs. The positions of others mentioned may be seen to fall also along the indicated grassland belt.

Plates 33 through 40 illustrate some of the stages of gathering one of the *Panicum* grasses among the Iliaura of the eastern interior of the Northern Territory. Their name for the grass and the seed is otteta [ˈot:eta]. The grass springs up and flourishes after the summer rains have commenced, growing mostly on level plains where the storm showers temporarily flood to the depth of a few inches (perhaps 10 cm.) over the ground. By the time the seed heads are ready to shed, the country is dry and the ground sunbaked. The bird population is then, for lack of open waters, unable to take full toll, and it is the small foraging black ants that carry the seed to their nesting holes and store them as a ring on the ground at the entrance to their nests. Women sweep these accumulations into wooden dishes and take their harvest to a suitable tree where in hard ground they have dug a circular hole about a foot and a half (45 cm.) in diameter and the same in depth. Pouring the grain and husk, mixed with small grain-sized pebbles into the hole, the woman grasps the tree trunk and rotates her feet first to one side and then the other in the hole thus converting herself into a husking mill.

The husked grain is then winnowed to take out as much as possible of the dust, and the mixed grain and grit are subjected to a series of rockings and shakings in the shallow oval wooden dishes, some of which have longitudinal groovings that help in the differential sorting of the seed and the grit. Following several stages of this cleaning process, the grain is milled. The process used is a wet grinding one with a large nether millstone or metate of oval shape 15 or so inches in length (40 cm.). The upper stone is much smaller, usually when new about 2 inches thick (5 cm.) but from repeated use wears down to much less. A small heap of seed is placed on the millstone on the end near the kneeling woman. A squirt of water from a supply in her mouth wets the heap, which is then caught under the handstone and pushed away, so that in the process of crushing it is first moved to the distant end of the metate and then dragged back with somewhat of a circular motion, moving it back along the left-hand half of the stone. Prior to doing this a wooden dish had been placed under the distal right lip of the lower mill. The action may be repeated. The now crushed grain is then pushed from the near left-hand side obliquely across the millstone so that it drips over the



Fig. 31. Grassland areas exploited by aborigines as important sources of grain food with some of the names of tribes.

edge and into the container. This procedure is then repeated with additional small heaps of grain.

When sufficient wet meal has accumulated, any surplus water that has separated from it is poured off and the soft mass carefully poured onto a bed of hot white ashes taking care that no charcoal or other particles become incorporated. Burning sticks are built over the meal so that the surface will become a little hardened and dry. Then the whole generally elongate oval mass is covered with hot ashes and left until cooked. Using a brush of grass stems, the ashes are then swept off leaving a hot and at first rather tender cake that is carefully turned over into a small wooden dish, which has served also in earlier culinary stages as a digging tool, water scoop, and fire shovel. The gathering of otteta seed is shown in the 16mm film, Macdonald Downs Reel 2, of the University of Adelaide series, I took in 1930. Gathered grass seed may be stored by women in caves for several months.

There are sometimes great hardships in obtaining suitable millstones in the western plains. The upper stones become worn until they are almost wafer thin. There is a woman's song that laments the inertia of her husband who would not make the journey to fetch new tjungguri [tjuŋguri] stones for her. Her hand stone is worn so thin the tips of her fingers are bleeding as she makes his bread.

The difficulties of getting new stones may be illustrated by some native drawings made when describing the adventures of an ancestral Lizard Being, Ngintaka tjukurupa ['Ŋintaka 'tjukurupa], of a western horde of the Pitjandjara who went secretly into the far eastern country and stole flat sandstone slabs. *Varanus* lizard man ['Wati ngintaka] left his home at Wingelina, northwest of

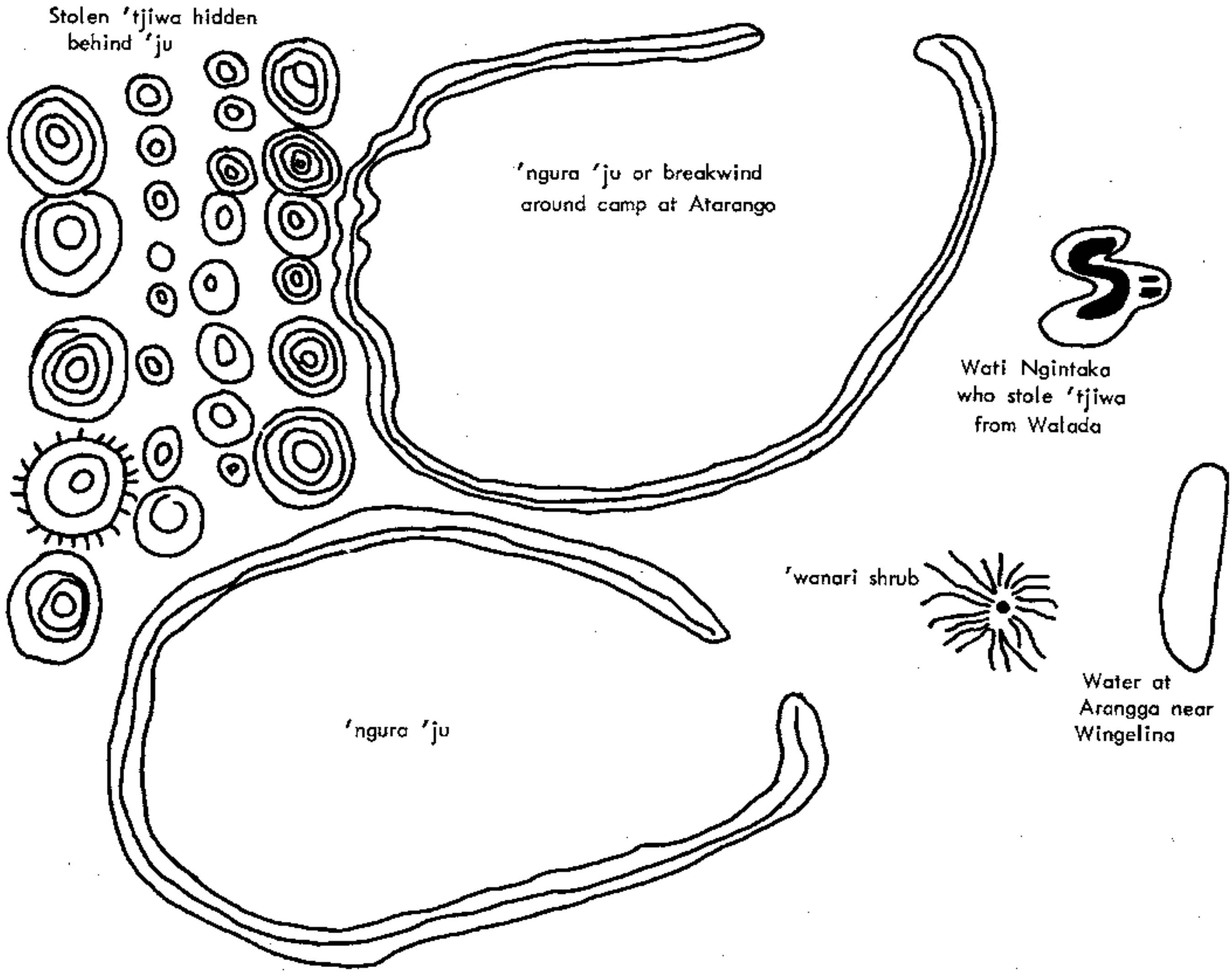


Fig. 32. Camp of Wati Ngintaka at Atarango in the Western Musgrave Ranges, South Australia, with the stolen ['tjiwa] millstones.

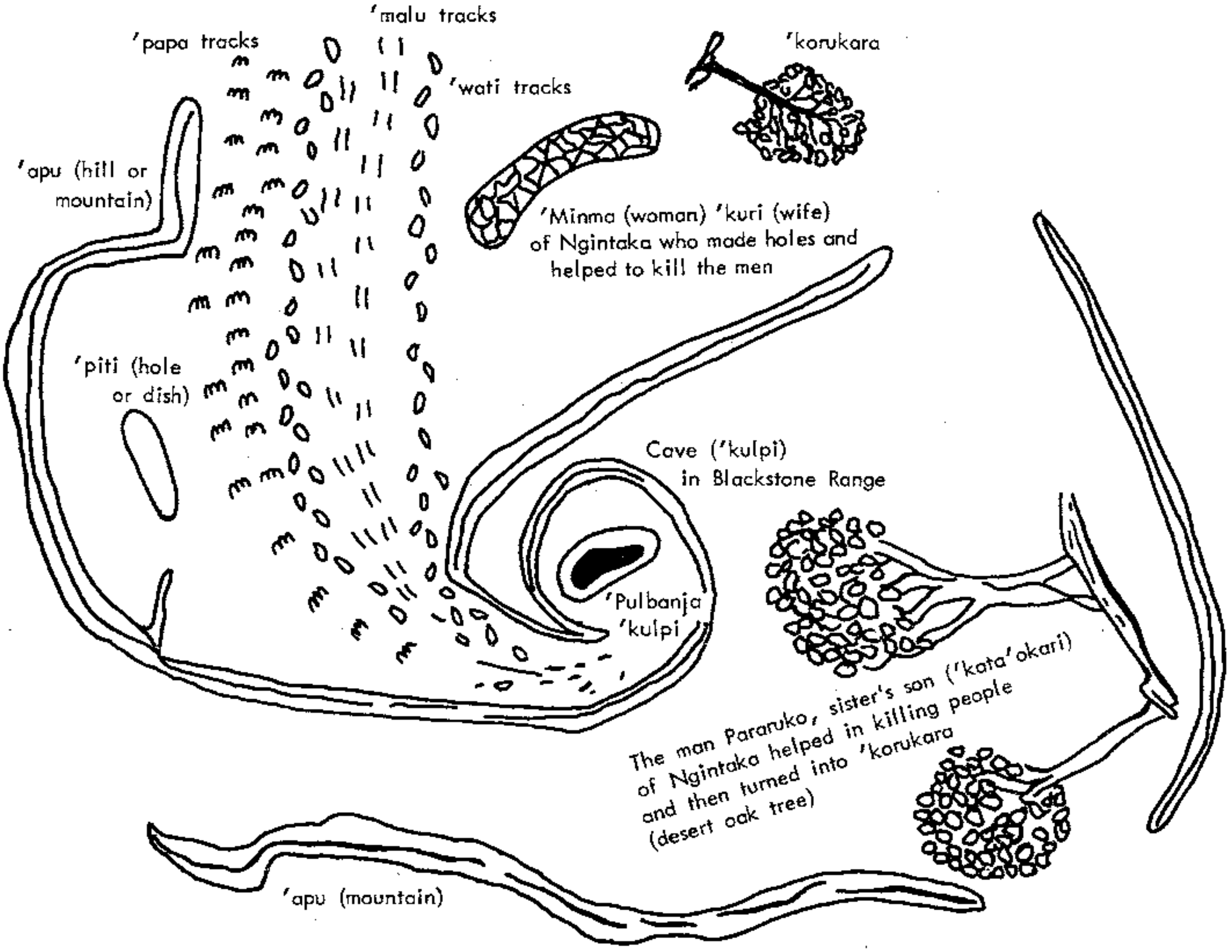


Fig. 33. Man trap of Ngintaka in the dark cave at Pulbanja in the Blackstone Ranges, Western Australia. The tracks are of dogs ['papa], kangaroo [malu], and men ['wati].

Mount Davies on the eastern border of Western Australia, and passing undetected through the territories of other people stole ['tjiwa] millstones from Walada, also called Waljatarana, a place south of Granite Downs, now called Walatinna by Westerners. He sneaked back toward his country and made a camp at Atarango in the Western Musgrave Ranges. Figure 32 shows a drawing of his camp or ngura ['ŋura] with two shelters or breakwinds ['ju] and the stolen ['tjiwa], represented in the picture by concentric circles, hidden behind them. Continuing his flight, he passed through Arangga which is shown as an open pool of water near Wingelina on the right margin of the drawing. The song series tells then of the journey west to the Blackstone Range in the country of his western neighbors, the Ngadajara. Among the hills ['apu] or ['japu] to the north of Mount Aloysius as depicted in figure 33, he found a large cave or ['kulpi] called ['Pulbanja'kulpi]. Here his wife dug ['panapiti] or dishlike holes in the darkness near the entrance to the cave. When men ['wati], dogs ['papa], and kangaroos ['malu] came to drink, Ngintaka who was lying in ambush killed them. The drawing shows all the tracks going into the cave and none returning. Ngintaka had the assistance of ['Pararu'ko], his sister's son ['kata 'okari]. Later Pararuko was transformed into a desert oak tree ['korukara] many of which still grow there as depicted in the drawing.

Ngintaka then moved his camp east again to Arangga. Figure 34 depicts the subsequent fate of Ngintaka at the hands of ['warumala] or strangers who came upon his camp while he was away in the nearby hills gathering ['paruka'baruka], the sweet berries of the mistletoe (*Lysiana murrayi*) which grow on ['wanari] or mulga trees (*Acacia aneura*). The ['warumala] trampled on his ['tjiwa],

on his pounding stones for grass seed ['tjuŋgari], and took away his treasured ['miŋuri] or discoidal stone with battered edges and smooth flat face used in preparing chewing quids of native tobacco or ['okeri]. Ngintaka heard the noises made by the marauders and fled, but was assailed with many spears which he successfully dodged until a spear thrown by a left-handed man killed him. His body became a large stone near Arangga ['Araŋga]. The spears unsuccessfully thrown at Ngintaka are at the top left of the drawing, below them are the tracks of Wati Ngintaka as he dodged them and the confused marks to the left of the middle are the tracks of the assailants as they stood and threw these weapons.

The whole song cycle appears to be a kind of apologia for the scarcity of ['tjiwa] in Pitjandjara territory and their inability to make much ['konakandi] or grass seed cake. They pretend to despise their grass seed eating eastern neighbors. Wet milled grass grain is known to many Western Desert language speakers as ['konakandi]. The name derives from ['kona] meaning dung and ['kandi] a term applied to vegetable foods in general, in contradistinction to ['koka] applied to meat foods. The term is quite obviously suggested by the small loaves of yellowish meal taken from the ashes and the sloppy mess that is poured into the ashes for cooking.

The substantially meat-eating Kokata tribespeople to the south who live west of areas where the seed is a staple indeed make a play on their own tribal designation, suggesting their name is based on the word ['koka] with the added root ['ṭa] whose basic meaning is tooth, thus implying they are meat eaters and not dung eaters.

The importance of the grass seed milling activities of the people in the chief grassland areas was scarcely realized in 1930 when I filmed the procedures. Lists of grass foods were given in the reports of our Macdonald Downs Expedition by Cleland (1932). Campbell observed that the Iliaura, who are one of the group highly dependent on konakandi, had a higher percentage of dental caries than he had observed elsewhere up to that time in the Western Desert. This may have been one of the most serious disabilities faced by these aborigines in adopting such a relatively soft carbohydrate diet.

Several significant items of information came subsequently from an Iliaura man. One was that the grasses were most abundant on mulga plains that became flooded for limited periods during heavy rains, and it was proper to fill the runoff channels of creeks so that larger areas of ground would be inundated when the rains came. For many years there was no substantiation, but in 1963 a Wanji man indicated that his people knew it was an advantage to get as large an area as possible flooded by these freshets, and at certain places where the country was suitable, they choked up the normal channels with stones, earth, and other debris. Areas such as this were well known as grain fields and visited at the proper season. Even the suggestion of manipulation of water in the most rudimentary fashion in such areas may be worthy of notice, since it hints at the beginnings of agricultural irrigation.

The wet-grinding grass seed activities has attracted my increasing attention as an important link between the grassland belts and the main distribution of the large stone mills. These mills are to be found in great numbers in a belt extending along the western flanks of the Dividing Range, down the Diamantina and other rivers, but becoming relatively few in the lower Murray valley where they are smaller and by their patterns of wear suggest that they were used for other functions more like those common in the southern parts of the Western Desert and in parts of Western Australia where the dry grinding of *Acacia* seed, the pulping of fruits and seeds, and the cracking of the hard seeds of the kurrajong and the kernels of the Quandong (*Santalum acuminatum*) developed an entirely different set of use traces. Also there were indications that the populations of such tribes were sometimes greater than the usual 400 to 500 persons, hinting perhaps that a grass-seed-based economy might have other effects. Some of these are discussed in the next chapter dealing with tribes that depart from the usual, either in extent of area used, the small area tribes, and the ones of large population size. Before turning to them, some additional aspects of the grass seed situation should be examined, including some of the earlier observations that have so far not been given sufficient attention by other workers.

A useful lead came from a Wadjari tribesman of the middle Murchison River in Western Australia with whom I discussed the Wadjari and the large population they once had there. He suggested that his people had an advantage over those people whom he had met on the coast and the Widi of the country southeast of Mullewa, because they placed great reliance on grass seed food whereas the other people lived only on the hammered seeds of shrubs, did not use the process of wet milling of grass seed, and thus, he said, often went hungry. When the first white contacts were made and white sheep farmers went into the Murchison, the Wadjari occupied the whole of the Sanford River area and most of the upper Murchison and were moving west into Geraldton in the earlier days of that town.

It may seem that the extractive efficiency of the wet milled grass seed economy was greater than one based on those obtained from the shrub lands providing only hard seed with a large amount of waste. It is an important

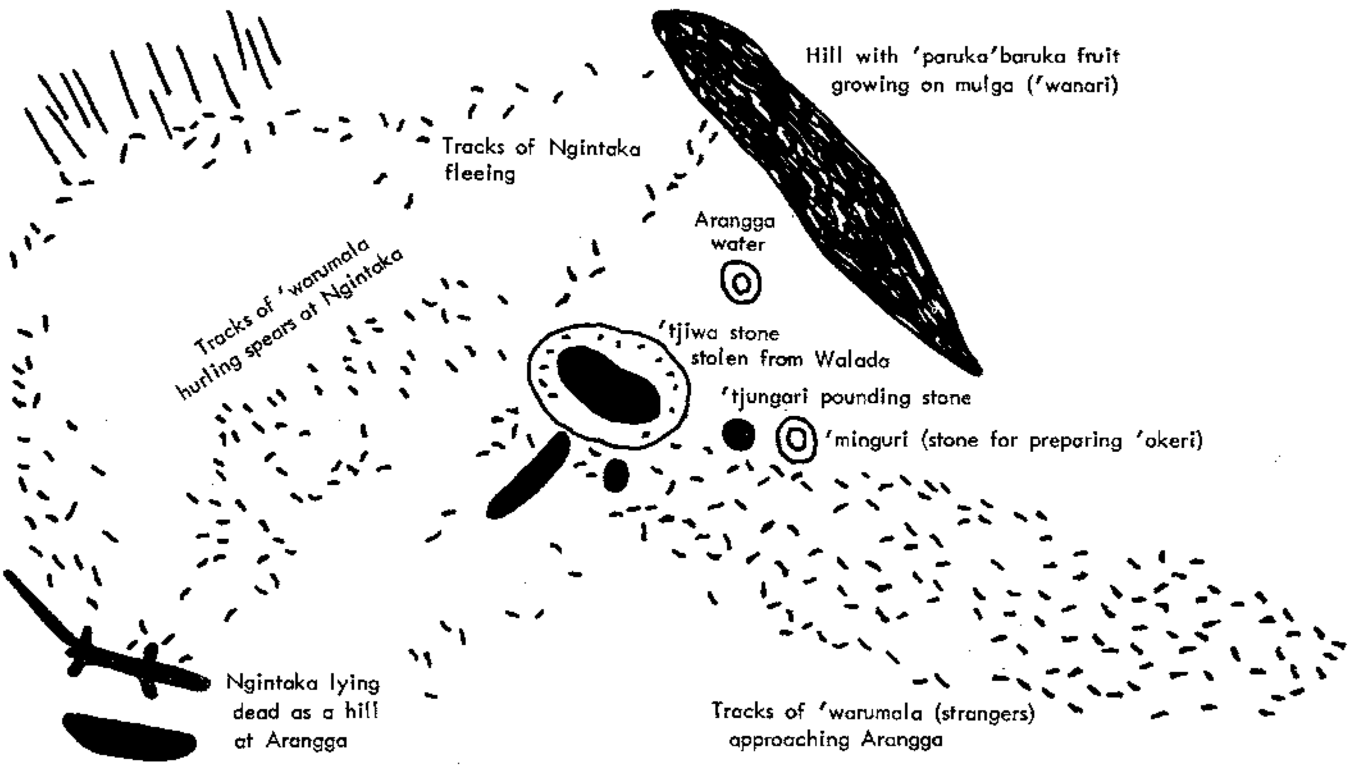


Fig. 34. Killing of Wati Ngintaka at Arangga, near Wingelina, Western Australia, by ['warumala] strangers.

question as to whether the western Queensland and New South Wales grasslands were an artifact developed with the aid of the fire sticks of the aborigines during the period of the Flandrian Recession or whether they have always been a feature of the Australian landscape. So far, botanists do not seem to have given complete answers. The *Diprotodon* animals that died by being bogged in the muds of Lake Callabonna in the manner that cattle are today trapped in drying waterholes along the upper Victoria River in the Northern Territory had as their last meals masses of twigs and similar shrubby vegetation, suggesting either that they were shrubland dwellers or that there was little grassland as such.

It may be of interest to discuss the buffers that a grass seed dependent people might have in years when the rains were meager. During such years the mulga does not flower in any profusion. The honey ants, *Melophorus*, however, have stores of honey held in the distended bodies of certain of their workers (color pl. 42). According to aborigines, there are chances of digging up supplies for one or two years of bad season. The grassland belt south of Winton has extensive areas of saltbush (*Rhagodia* spp.) which attract kangaroos. The *Bassia* and *Atriplex* shrubs spread over areas of saline character on the distributaries of the so-called channel country and such herbaceous undershrubs of short life as *Zygophyllum* and the tumbleweed (*Salsola*) are also most abundant. The four last-named plants all have boring in their roots grubs of the moth family Cossidae. There are several genera including *Xyleutes* and *Catoxophylla*. Following up my interest in aboriginal foods, I have paid much attention to this group of food-yielding insects (Tindale, 1953, 1958, 1966); a brief summary will suffice here. There are several additional species feeding in the roots and even the stems of shrubs and trees. Color plate 41 shows a large species that bores in the stems of the whitewash gum (*Eucalyptus papuana*), and there are other species in other trees. These moths have a delayed emergence as adults which is triggered off by suitable climatic conditions and sometimes delayed for several years after they have grown to late larval and sometimes to early pupal stages. They serve therefore to tide aborigines over the first year or so of any drought cycle. Some, like those boring in tumbleweeds, sever the tissues at the base so that when the shrub growing above blows away, their silk-lined and capped exit hole is both inconspicuous and free. Not only are aborigines trained to find these but they also sweep away large areas of *Salsola* growth to take the maturing larvae. Figure 35 shows *Xyleutes amphiplecta*, one of the *Bassia* feeders. Still

other species appear from the roots of *Nitraria* shrubs after rains.

The gidgea *Acacia* shrubs shelter root-feeding Cossids and Buprestid beetle larvae that have a diapause built into their life cycle, so that they are also available. Not only do the eucalypts such as the box, coolibah, and others yield the largest Cossid borers but also wherever wood-boring termites have hollowed the trees, there is an abundant supply of honey stored by stingless *Trigona* bees. In this area the main spread of the use of the edge-ground stone ax is virtually the same as the distribution of *Trigona* bees that store quantities of honey. Plate 46 shows honey-gathering on Groote Eylandt.

Where lines of the red gum run across the open plains, indicating the existence of a watercourse along an old sand-filled channel, there are the larvae of the Hepialid moth, *Trictena argentata*. The moths fly during the first big summer rain, escaping from vertical tunnels in the stream channels before they become temporary watercourses. The small larvae hatch in a matter of four to seven days and, as the soil dries, work their way down into the ground, at first feeding on decaying vegetable matter and finally attaching themselves in a silken tube externally on a large root of the red gum (*Eucalyptus camaldulensis*) where they feed for at least two years, maintaining their vertical tunnel to the surface as they grow in size. Finally, as active pupae capable of moving up and down their tunnel, they seek the level of humidity that suits them and await the next favorable season. The aborigines scoop off the surface of the ground following clues indicating the presence below of a root. They smell the round holes they discover and if the humidity is correct push down a 6 or 7 foot (1.7 or 2 m.) long flexible stick with a hook, with which they jag the large larva or pupa. All these sources serve to buffer the economy of the grassland aborigines.

The soils of these vast plains vary from compact yellowish-brown to silty clays and clay loams, usually mixed with pebbles and subject to very little fissuring. In some areas there are wide stretches of sandy country of lesser fertility, but these also serve as buffer against drier years, since they respond more quickly to light rains that may be of lesser value to heavier Mitchell grass-growing soils.

The importance to the aborigines of the variable rainfall may be noted. After a series of good years the numbers of grass seed eating finches and doves (*Geopelia*) and the grass parrots are greatly multiplied and may become competitive with man for available supplies. Onset of dryness and the contraction of open water supplies draws the birds increasingly to smaller waters where they are readily killed in vast numbers by aborigines, often by their children, who hide in a small blind and strike the birds down as they are forced to take water. A major drought cycle greatly reduces the bird populations, so that in the year following the return of good seasons, grass seed will again likely be available in sufficient quantities for all.

The combination of all these factors seems to have led to the development of relatively large populations in the grassland belt, but one that was liable to suffer periodically from the pressure of drought, sometimes leading to enforced migration along the grain of the country determined by the north to south flowing streams. Unquestionably the movements of people were in both directions, since we know that trade routes lead in both directions from the Longreach and Cloncurry areas south to the Darling River and to the Flinders Ranges, also down Cooper Creek. Although maintained, the evidence seems to imply that the end results were a long continuing southward drift of peoples. We may perhaps assume that a relatively late development of the grass seed exploitation techniques linked with the wet-grinding practice was carried down into the south along this corridor and penetrated west also with a subsidiary front extending southwest through the western interior as far as the territory of the Wadjari people.

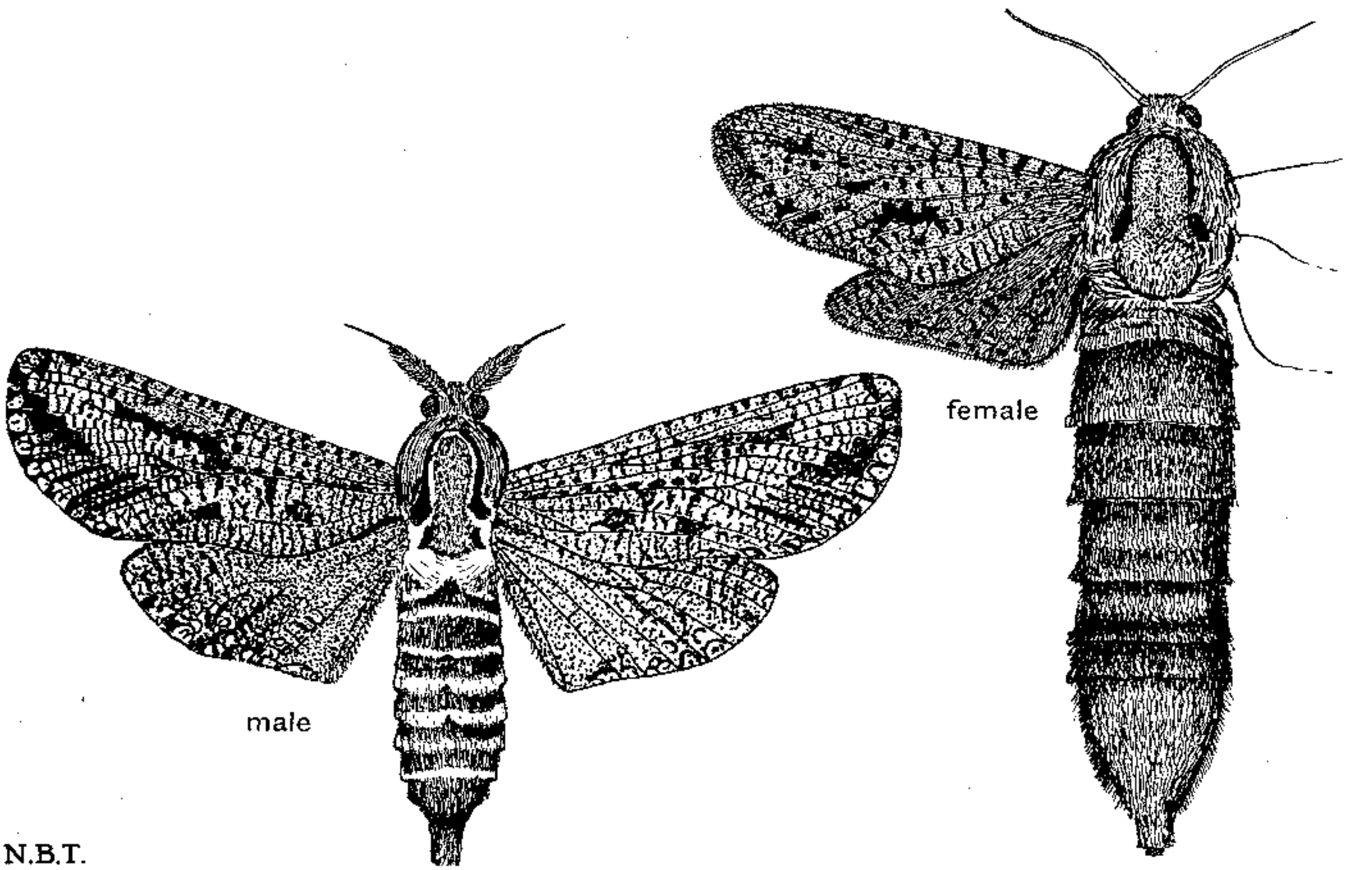
One of the important elements of proto-agriculture present among the Iliaura and other konakandi users seems to have been the idea of storage. Food sufficient only for current needs was milled. The dry atmosphere of winter and the mode of collection extended the harvest time. Gathered surpluses were stored in caves for months so that women did not have to go food-gathering every day. That storage is not quite unknown elsewhere is indicated for both the Ualarai and the Wadjari as indicated in later paragraphs; however, the storage was always for use and never for returning to the soil. Storage for the future was practiced in some places. I have already mentioned in passing storage of water lily seeds by the Alawa of the Hodgson River in the Northern Territory. In 1922 I observed such a store of seed in the Wagundu cave which, according to the son of the storemakers, had been set aside for several years against a future need.

The Karawa of the country north of the Barkly tableland in the Northern Territory with whom I worked in 1963 are one of the more northern of the tribes that place much reliance on grass seed food, which they call bodjan ['boːdjan]. They employ a flat nether millstone called jamar ['jamaɽ] and a hand stone tungalan ['tuŋalan] along with the wet-grinding method. There were other uses for these stones, since they were much employed in grinding up other vegetable foods, in general called ngakojan ['ŋakojan], including *Dioscorea*

yams (wild potatoes) and some nuts such as those of the cycad which were collectively called ['kanbakan], literally ['kanba] or snake foods. These had to be soaked or leached in water to take out the harmful ingredients. Plate 41 shows such a cyad growing at Mount Leach in coastal Queensland.

Nine hundred miles (1,450 km.) to the south, among the Ualarai of the Narran River area in New South Wales, the Karawa term for the nether millstone vital to the operation of milling has become the name for the grain harvested, namely jamara ['ja:mara]. Mrs. Langloh Parker (1905:105, 118, 144) describes how in that matrilineally oriented society men took part in the harvesting and there was storage of the product, which she calls *yarmmara*. Women gathered the heads of grass with the ripening ears while they were still green, and stacked them inside a brush enclosure which was then fired. The women turned the pile with poles to shake out the parched seeds that were then piled on opossum skin rugs. Men threshed the seeds and removed the husks by trampling them in a rectangular hole in the ground. Other men worked a stick around in a circular hole filled with the trampled grain. This caused the husks to work their way to the top of the pile. Further winnowing and the use of bark dishes called ['wiri] and an especially large canoe-shaped bark vessel known as a jubbil ['jub:il] completed the operation of cleaning the grain, which was then stored in skin bags until needed. Then the grain was prepared for eating by wet-grinding on millstones called ['dajurl] and making flat cakes, cooking them in ashes of a fire.

The same methods were apparently employed by the Kamilaroi and the Wiradjuri in the grassland west of the heavily wooded country southward to beyond the Lachlan River. Farther to the north the Kunggari, whose original territory was along the Nebine Creek in southern inland Queensland, milled grass seed and made a kind of cake or "damper." According to Harriott Barlow (1873:169, 174), the food-yielding grass was called ['i:li], her *eel-lee*.



N.B.T.

Fig. 35. *Xyleutes amphiplecta* Turner. A desert-living species of the family Cossidae from western Queensland. It has a brachypterous female that is unable to fly. It lays a vast number of small spherical eggs. The larvae are important as food in areas where *Bassia* (*Chenopodiaceae*) grows. Expanse of male 49 mm, of female 51 mm.

Another people who depended on grass seed milling were the Maiwali of the upper Diamantina River in Queensland. As described by S. Hill (1901:25) the grass they used was called ['papa], and it was prepared by the wet-grinding method. Still farther to the west the seeds of ['kulaba], the coolabah or coolibah tree of settlers (*Eucalyptus microtheca*), which were called ['papa], were collected in the manner employed by the Ualarai: whole branches were heaped on hard ground and allowed to ripen and shed their seed, then swept up, winnowed, and milled. J. Coghlan (1898) tells us that the millstones used around Glenormiston (in Wonkadjera territory) in the preparation of papa seed bread were traded from a native mine in Wakaja territory farther north. Permission had to be given by the occupier of the mine area before slabs of stone could be obtained. Relationship of mine to place of use strongly suggests a movement of such stones southward along the riverine corridors and supports the suggested evidence of the vocabulary link mentioned above between the Karawa and the Ualarai.

Simpson Newland (1889:22) described grass seed gathering among the Naualko (his Wampangee) indicating use of the wet-grinding method and a general name *parper* for the several grass seeds used. This is evidently the same name as among the Maiawali over 400 miles (650 km.) north and seven tribes removed.

Among the Ngemba in the heart of the western plains of New South Wales, millstones were in constant use in the wet-grinding process; the nether mill was called ['jauai], and the upper ['mar:a], a word widely used for the hand. R. H. Mathews (1904 [Gr. 6451]) records that the ancestral being Baiame was believed to have pounded nuts and ground grass seeds to make seed cakes at Bai, native name of a granite rock with a water supply a short distance west of the town now called Byrock. Plate 72 at middle and bottom left shows a hafted stone hammer of a type used in the pounding of nuts in the manner indicated.

All the above discussion and indications afforded in other sections of this work may come together to suggest that late-coming ancestors of the last phase of cultural development in Australia entered in the north around the Gulf of Carpentaria and moved south along the riverine corridors of western Queensland and New South Wales carrying with them a new mode of living. This invasion probably took place well before the end of the last cold phase of the Wisconsin Ice Age.

In the north and extending west along the northern fringe of these grass seed using peoples, we find the general term Panara or sometimes Bunara applied to more than one of these groups using ['konakandi]. The Ngardi, the Kokatja, and sometimes the Walpiri are included in the term that is based on ['pana], name of the oval wooden dish with which the grass seed is winnowed and cleaned. The name Panara has appeared in the general literature as Boonara and Boonarra and at times applied in error, as if it were a specific tribal name. For descriptive purposes, it could perhaps be used by anthropologists to differentiate the people who have adopted this way of life. It must be noted that the wooden dishes upon which the activity is based are widely used for many other purposes in areas beyond the Panara folks dwelling areas, although not in all peripheral parts of the continent.

So far in this chapter the emphasis has been on vegetable foods. In earlier sections of this work references were made to some of the limitations imposed on hunters and the general size of the residential hunter group because of the difficulties game and men both face when attempting to share the same territory in more than small numbers. The irregular distribution of watering places and the difficulties imposed on hunter movements when attempting to exploit the more remote parts of their territory have also been mentioned. It is clear that such areas serve to give relatively undisturbed living space for some of the important food-providing animals.

When water stress begins, as already indicated, animals are forced to share water with humans in places where men have the advantage. Emus and kangaroos fall particularly into this vulnerable situation because they must drink fairly regularly. The euro, the kangaroo of the hills, is less often thirsty, but aborigines have discovered other methods that enable them to take a toll of the animals. They place ambush shields of stones and brush on the flat country lying along the shortest axis from one hill to the next and by driving the animals along the range force them to the place of slaughter.

During hot humid weather after rain when the ground is soft two youths will team up to run down a kangaroo, taking advantage of the animal's tendency to always run in the arc of a wide circle. One youth cuts across and takes up the running as the other becomes exhausted. The physical effort is so exhausting that a successful kill is followed by several days of complete inactivity.

To trap emus, open pools of water are enclosed with brush fences, often supported by lines of large stones so that the birds, having come in to water along lines determined by these structures, may find themselves driven along a prearranged track to where a hidden hunter may be able to spear or throw a hunting boomerang. In some areas substances such as the hammered and bruised stems and foliage of *Duboisia,* a tall shrub growing on the parallel sand hills of the Western Desert, and containing the powerful drug nor-nicotine,

are placed in the pool to stupefy the birds. Emu fat is important to the aborigine and the feathers are essential for packaging secret treasures and for making feather tufts on their ceremonial objects.

Among southern tribes, such as the Meintangk, who live in the forested country of the southeastern part of South Australia, and other tribes in the same area, men take advantage of the emu's curiosity by dangling a bunch of feathers on a thin pole 10 to 15 feet (3 to 5 m.) long to attract the bird's attention from a place of hiding. A slip noose attached to the pole may then be quickly placed over the head of the bird. In the Victorian story of the capture of the giant bird, presumed to be the extinct *Genyornis*, a somewhat similar tactic was used but the operator hid in a tree and dropped the noose on the giant bird from above.

Nets set in the flyways of ducks were important to the people of the lower Murray and the places were treasured hordal possessions, in almost constant use in the duck season. Presence of a flyway also determined that a special type of boomerang, the true returning boomerang, would be in use. It was employed because of its capabilities of hovering flight, to simulate a duck hawk and, along with an artificial duck hawk cry from the hunter, cause the ducks at the proper moment to swoop down and be trapped in the set net. Since the thrower was also one of the net tenders, he set about his task with the knowledge that the boomerang would have returned to near the spot from which he had cast it, ready for the next throw.

It is not intended that this chapter should be a compendium on the many ways of the hunter in Australia. As hunters, the men in each area use the weapons most appropriate for their tasks. The student of material culture succession, however, will have noted many differences from place to place. I have already drawn some attention to the differences between the euro hunters' spears of the Kimberleys with their beautiful but fragile "one shot" pressure-flaked stone blade tipped spears and the more rugged ones they covet in trade from the south.

Even in such an apparently simple device as the spear-thrower (or atlatl, a term used in the United States), there are vital changes from area to area. I have a major distributional study in progress which may be briefly summarized here. In the southern parts of the continent there is what appears to be an older method of using spear and spear-thrower. This has determined not only its length, the orientation of the hook, and the shape of the shaft, but also the grip used. Even in the absence of the spear-thrower, there are two different ways of casting the spear. Heavy spears, without a hole on the butt for the insertion of such a device are generally called javelins in Australian literature and are generally thrown with a grip fairly close to but not at the butt, with the other hand supporting part of the weight until the moment of casting. Spears of lighter weight, with or without the butt hole, are thrown with the index finger acting as a natural hook at the butt end and the other hand again a brace. There are two basic methods of using the spear-thrower. In the first, which I have entitled method A, the spear-thrower handle rests between the thumb and index finger and is gripped firmly by flexing fingers three, four, and five. The spear shaft is taken between the tips of thumb and index. Preparing to cast, there is a tendency for the hunter to vibrate his spear up and down to test the firmness of the set before it is launched. He may often flick it with his thumb and index finger of the other hand and the slight up-and-down movement continues in flight; aborigines say that it keeps the flight true. Such a spear needs to be very straight and true and is kept so by warming over a fire and counterbending while hot before departing on a hunt. This often is done with eucalyptus leaves and their oily smoke as part of the smoking ritual that precedes the hunt.

In what appears to be a later method, which I call B, more commonly used as one goes north, the spear-thrower is held between the index and middle finger. The spear used in this method is more likely to be a composite spear with from two to four main sections—point or head piece, foreshaft, midshaft, and butt piece. The spear-thrower is gripped by flexing fingers four and five only. The spearshaft rests deeply between thumb and index. Plate 47 shows a man stalking a kangaroo using this method of spear-holding. During the cast the spearshaft is so forced against the length of the index finger that, as the spear-thrower is pulled forward and down, friction induces a clockwise spin in the spear. To take full advantage of the induced spin the spear should be slightly curved. This slight arc is sometimes introduced by a very firm setting of the spear in its grip between the hook and the man's thumb and forefinger. This often is possible because the butt piece is especially selected to be flexible. One of the best woods for this butt is *Pandorea* or spear wood. At other times a short butt piece is slightly angled away from the straight line of the spear. The composite spears are usually obliquely spliced with a resin adhesive and lashed over with kangaroo sinews that have been chewed to make them supple for use. Aborigines who know both methods consider method B to be the more effective. Others have indicated that the short spear-thrower, generally favored with method A, goes with a heavy spear most suitable for use in wooded country, whereas in open country the shorter lighter

spears propelled with a longer spear-thrower, employing method B, and introducing spin is better. Using the multipronged fishing gig to strike at fish in the water, A is best. In some Australian areas both methods are in use. B tends to have replaced or to exist alongside A, but in many southern and western peripheral areas only A is used. It is a question as to whether ecological controls are in operation here as grasslands replace forests.

Boomerangs have been referred to previously as hunting aids. Three main types are employed, each for its particular functional economic purpose. The true returning boomerang, used as an artificial duck hawk, is a rare tool in the sense that few authenticated examples are preserved today in world ethnographic collections. In a series of over five thousand boomerangs at the South Australian Museum, fewer than a dozen are of this type. More common is an adaptation of the ordinary boomerang for play, practice, and the taking of birds. This can be made to perform many different evolutions, such as returning directly or after passing behind the thrower in a descending spiral, and so on. All but one type of Australian boomerang are cut with the necessary slight cambers so that they fly like propellers and the twists can be modified by heating and twisting the hardwoods over a small fire. Too much twist, of course, leads to the weapon fluttering and falling ineffectively. Boomerangs fall into several main categories. One that may be termed the ordinary boomerang is about 20 to 24 inches (50 to 60 cm.) in length, moderately curved, with the hand-hold end slightly longer as a rule but with both ends similarly shaped. It is held so that the convex face is uppermost and the flatter face below. Sufficient propeller effect has been incorporated into the design so that when thrown with a spinning jerk of the wrist it will fly directly at and hit the target. For throwing at flocks of birds in flight, slightly more twist insures that if the boomerang passes through the flight without striking a target it will return toward the thrower, thus saving effort in retrieving it. The leading edges are usually quite sharp so that the maximum injury will be inflicted.

A second major type is the far heavier hunting boomerang, half as long again, nearly twice as heavy, stronger, but also made with sufficient propeller twist to insure that it will fly. This boomerang is for larger game. It is thrown so that when reaching the game it will be spinning on a vertical plane, will strike the ground a calculated distance from the game on the hunter's side, and at the first bounce will strike the prey. The effect is as though the whole spinning force is incorporated in the blow. In such boomerangs the handle end is virtually always longer than the head, but the distal half is sufficiently heavier so that the center of spin is a little nearer to the head. Thus it is the butt that strikes the ground. There is still in the hunting boomerang some differentiation as a rule between the convex upper and the flatter lower one. Right- and left-handed boomerangs are needed and in some areas they may occur in the ratio of 60-40 which is the same as the ratio of right- and left-handedness in such areas.

A further type of boomerang is the specialized fish killer, which has not been noticed often by ethnographers. Its distinguishing characteristic is that it is symmetrically biconvex in section and is usually heavy. It is cast into tidal waters to kill larger types of fish and other marine animals, then retrieved when the tide ebbs.

There are other specialized types of boomerang, especially hooked ones used in serious fighting where there is strong intention to kill. These have an eccentric center of spin making them difficult to ward off and a special nick at the base of the hook which is considered to throw the spinning boomerang off spin when a warding stick strikes it, thus accentuating the danger of being injured by its unpredictable behavior.

In addition there are in the southwestern parts of Queensland several tribes who make and display prestige boomerangs of elaborate design and often great size, possibly for use as clubs around a camp but seemingly made as outlets for creative urges. Some elaborately finished ones in the Cooper Creek area may be nearly 7 feet long (2 m.).

Short throwing clubs are everywhere used to hurl at small animals and the same sticklike piece, usually slightly curved, serves as the handle for the stone adze or chisel with which much work is done. The chisel stones are held in position with one of a large series of resin fixatives. As a result of work with the newly discovered Nakako tribespeople of the Bell Rock Range area of Western Australia a few years ago, I was able to compile some useful data on such stone tools (Tindale, 1965).

In some areas, as in the western parts of the Western Desert, there is so little large game that a man's sole equipment, among the Mangala, Nangatara, and Wanman for example, is such a small throwing club, pointed at one end to act as a digging tool. It serves for throwing at lizards of up to 6 or 7 inches in length (15 to 18 cm.), almost the sole type of life he is likely to encounter except an occasional hare wallaby or signs in the sand encouraging him to try and dig out some marsupial mole. The balance of his hunting equipment would be a length of fur or hair string around his waist, which he uses to catch and hold the heads of the string of lizards that it is his duty to secure for his family. In general there is no Australian animal that is not eaten if caught or killed. It will not be possible to enter into all details.

Something should, however, be said about the one truly domesticated animal possessed by the aborigines, the dog. There are a few other animals occasionally to be seen about aboriginal camps, largely as temporary pets, and a few semidomesticated birds left alone for their contributions of eggs. When settlers first arrived in Botany Bay, as recorded by Wilkes (1845), the aborigines did not possess or use any tamed dogs although the wild dingo was hunted and used as food. As indicated in chapter 9, this animal was introduced to the Australian scene only about six thousand years ago and spread rapidly as a feral creature to all parts of Australia. In some other parts of the continent, the dog is used as an aid in hunting but generally it is a camp hanger-on and scavenger and only very rarely serves as a kind of last hope meal for people facing abject starvation (see pls. 79, 80).

In central Australian mythology the dingo is often associated with the rites of circumcision and subincision; in southern Australia packs of starving dogs are linked with the arrival of famished humans from the north. Wherever the wild dingo can be speared it is killed for food and special attention is given to hunting for the lairs in which the fat puppies, whelped once a year in midwinter, are being suckled. Ceremonial observances linked with the heliacal rising of the Pleiades group of stars, the Kungkarungkara, in May of each year trigger off a round of dingo increase ceremonies over wide areas of Australia (Tindale, 1959). Traversing remoter parts of hordal territories to get these pups for food is an important seasonal activity. The camp scavenging dogs, often the progeny of irregularly marked feral dingo pups, but just as often descendants of generation after generation of ill-fed camp followers, live on any offal or scraps of human food discarded or left incautiously about. As many dogs as people may constitute a horde. The activities of dogs are well shown in the 16mm film "A day in the life of the Pitjandjara" published by the University of Adelaide and which I took in the Mann Ranges of South Australia in 1933.

A minor but important function performed by dogs in the Interior is to provide warmth at night—animated blankets for the feet and to nestle against the bodies of people as they huddle around campfires—when temperatures may drop to as low as 14 degrees Fahrenheit (-10 degrees Celsius) near the ground on which they lie.

It is of interest that the use of the dog as a camp animal lagged behind in the south and there were some inhibiting factors. One indicated to me in the colder parts of South Australia was that hungry dogs could not be trusted to leave untouched the skin cloaks and rugs so necessary to keep out winter cold and that therefore the dog population and use of dogs increased and spread only after the acquisition of white man's clothing. In the Interior and elsewhere where skin clothing was not worn, the dog was of value enough to be kept, a walking blanket for a nomad unable to carry in his wanderings more than a limited number of possessions.

In addition to the dingo there are other native mammals kept for longer or shorter periods as pets by aborigines. At Kulikuli in Western Australia, a full grown euro reared among the dogs moved freely about the Njangamarda camp. It had remained there for some time. Similar creatures are to be found in other places where the aborigines are less nomadic, and pet animals may be carried and fondled from camp to camp by children. There was no common tradition for this. In the southern parts of the Western Desert and in the Murray Mallee the mallee fowl (*Leipoa ocellata*) were not molested, as a rule, since the aborigines obtained the large eggs periodically by digging out the nesting mounds. I have already mentioned the similar truce between the scrub hens (*Megapodius freycinet*) and man on Groote Eylandt and elsewhere in the northern parts of the continent. The same applied to the scrub turkeys (*Alectura lathami*) which were generally left unmolested by the negrito inhabitants of the rain forests. But for this special status, it would have been unlikely that these mound-building birds would have survived. Among the Kongkandji and other Barrinean people in the rain forest areas, cassowary chicks were tethered for a few days in their camps until tamed and thereafter roamed freely about camp as young birds for up to a year. They were then usually killed and eaten, there being no remembered attempt to encourage breeding of any as domesticated birds. One of my Kongkandji informants said that such birds were always eaten when they grew large and fat enough to provide a feast.

8

Large Tribes and Small

Notwithstanding the generally moderate population size of Australian tribes, approximating 400 to 600 persons with a mean of around 450, there do exist other types of community, one involving much larger populations and another group of rather small sedentary character, occupying relatively diminutive territories. These two types are regionally separated and their character seems to be determined by ecological factors.

The large tribes, of whom the Kamilaroi and Wiradjuri are prime examples in the southeast of Australia, the Walpiri in the north, and the Wadjari in the west, tend to depend for their subsistence on natural grain crops of the kinds discussed at length in chapter 7. These people, for whom a general collective term is used by some aborigines of the north, for ease of reference will be called the Panara folk. Despite the fact that their harvesting methods are either precarious or even at the mercy of the continuing absence of winter rains and the lack of predation by grass-feeding termites, they have greater security of tenure than some other tribes whose lives are dependent on the continued presence of game and the necessity therefore of living, at all but some seasonal period of plenty, in a dispersed condition. While still often widely dispersed in the seasons for hunting, the Panara can spend more time together, can make far more extended contacts, and so are able to hold together as a single community a greater number of people than can a purely hunting tribe. This seems to me to be in great measure an outcome of the development or the appearance as a cultural innovation from the north of the wet-grinding technique of bread-making along with its accouterments.

The more southern tribes, confronted with the limited time of harvest, were already developing primitive methods of storing the products in skins and so lengthening the time during which the food was available. The Wadjari, in Western Australia, were not only storing grass seed in a similar manner but also were testing similar foods and had in fact found a new form of such seed, a newly described species, *Tecticornia arborea* which grows around the margins of one or two claypan lakes and is harvested after the lakes dry up. It is a member of the Chenopodiaceae and known to the Wadjari as ['bulibuli]. Harvesting methods were similar to those employed in gathering grass seed, the product was kept as long as half a year in animal skins used as bags, and it was wet ground as in the case of the grain.

It seems likely that the development of grain-using practices was altering strict territorial characteristics of the clan. Thus in chapter 1 I wrote of the Wanman, a grain-using people of the Western Desert who claimed their whole territory to be one unit, a ['waran], with numbers of ['wongal] or more important watering places where all had equal rights to obtain water. We do not have sufficient information to be able to place the Wanman directly among the "large tribes," since the progressive desiccation of their country during the past half century has forced them to vacate it and become dispersed as small groups among the coastal tribes between Roebourne and Broome. It seems clear from their own statements, however, that it was the ability to use grass seed which enabled them to live on in an otherwise rather extra desolate part of the Western Desert. Since coming to the coast their grass seed gleaning skills have given them employment because of a commercial demand that has grown up for the seed of a tropical grass, afghan grass, accidently introduced to the northwest from Afghanistan as packing in camel saddles, that has become, by aerial spreading, a major fodder grass for cattle over vast areas of arid Australia.

Summing up the several indications of this and the preceding chapter, it seems likely that in a broad belt of country that, for convenience, might be termed the desert grassland fringe, it was possible to sustain relatively large populations spread over extensive territories with sufficient stability of food resource to ensure more extended communication between larger populations than would be possible in a strictly hunting community such as the Kokata. The progressive depletion of larger game resources during late Flandrian times forced people to depend more and more on vegetable food products. Up till now we have tended to think of all Australians as hunters. Should we not attempt to differentiate between the ['kokata] or meat eaters and the ones whose economic base for living was ['konakandi]? Perhaps we can see here in embryo the start of the differentiation between the herder and the farmer, with a hint that the more settled Panara populations have sufficient added stability to

ensure that up to two and three times as many people may adhere politically as one, and here I refer specifically to such tribes as the Wiradjuri, Kamilaroi, Walpiri, and the Wadjari, among others. These are Australia's "large tribes" as contrasted with the ['koka] or meat-eating peoples among whom we find no more than about 450 to 500 people linked together as a tribal unit.

A very different situation appears when we consider some of the very densely occupied small coastal and off-shore island territories whose inhabitants are highly dependent on marine products. When I first began to see the problem in the 1930s, I ascribed such dense populations to the influence of the uniform rainfall regimes of the better watered areas of the south. While working with the highly intelligent aboriginal Milerum of the Tanganekald tribe of the Coorong in South Australia, it became clear to me that the smallest areas and densest populations were very local and were based largely on the exploitation of the fish and shellfish resources of the estuarine portion of the Murray River where population densities of up to one person per two square miles (5 sq. km.) were possible. Stone-walled fish traps and set nets for water birds and for shoals of fish provided a constantly renewed resource, fresh on every tide.

Further light was shed on such situations when the Kaiadilt people of the barren islands in the Gulf of Carpentaria were studied (Tindale, 1962, 2 papers). The Kaiadilt home is a sterile shelf of laterite covered flatland devoid of vegetation with a few vegetated uplands rising only to a height of about 33 feet (9 m.) except for a few windblown sand hills and one coral-capped upland of limited extent rising to 102 feet (31 m.). The summer rainfall of about 33 inches (91 cm.) produces only a limited area of gallery forest in a few favored spots, as described in the paragraphs dealing with native yams as food (chap. 7). Their country lies off the present-day mouths of a series of rivers flowing north from the northern part of the western Queensland basin. After summer monsoonal rains, the waters of this part of the Gulf of Carpentaria may be flooded with silt-laden water from the interior of Queensland, thus diluting the salinity of the local seas sufficiently to encourage much fish life and the growth of marine grasses attractive to such creatures as the herbivorous sea cow or dugong and sea turtles. During the winter months the southeast trade winds lower the general level of the sea by driving gulf waters northward revealing vast areas of sterile flatland as well as giving access to many offshore reefs during the lowest tides, which come usually during the night hours.

By choice the Kaiadilt camp just beyond the anticipated line of the next high tide, the better to watch their stone-walled fish traps which are flooded daily by the high tide and then half emptied by the low tide of the day, so that spear-armed men can take the corralled fish in their enclosures. Thus each horde is closely tied to its own source of food and the greatest need for departure from the daily routine focused on this small area is the seasonal one of searching for small additions to their never abundant water supply. The population study already mentioned (Tindale, 1962) showed that after a slow and steady rise over a period of thirty years from about 105 persons to a maximum of 123, only about 0.6 of a square mile (1.5 sq. km.) was required to support each individual during a favorable climatic period. Shortly afterward, while still free from any outside influences, a combination of lessened rainfall over several years and other unfavorable events seemingly linked with overpopulation caused a crash that in five years reduced their numbers to little more than one half. In less harsh environments such catastrophes might be less severe and the stability of the population somewhat greater. When we look more closely at the stable period of Kaiadilt growth we see that their resources came so exclusively from the sea that only about 0.12 of a square mile (0.3 sq. km.) of tidal reef and sea floor in the actic zone was necessary to support their simple way of life, with wooden barbed spears, palaeolithic type fist axes, and oyster hammers; with turtle shells for dishes, and *Melo* or baler shells to provide cooking pots, water vessels, and shell knives. Not only do such density figures suggest the important role of the littoral even in the Old Stone Age—the metropolitan areas of the early days of modern man's existence—but the further fact that much of the evidence for such populations has been swept away by the successive rises of sea level which have marked each ameliorating climatic phase of the Pleistocene.

For this study all coastal populations, especially those depending on constantly renewed marine supplies in sheltered bays and estuaries and river distributaries and deltas near the sea, have a special place. Examined as a group they are seen to be distributed in several areas of Australia where the ecological conditions favor them. The prime factor seems to be the continuing renewal by the sea of its supplies, necessitating constant attention to the same favored gathering places. Need for mobility is reduced and the backstop areas of land needed to supply materials required for the making of nets, traps, cordage, spears, and other accessories may be restricted. Thus we see the need for recognition of a special type of tribe, the "small tribe." They are usually rather sedentary. There are a series of contiguous hordes, usually recognized by name; they are exogamous, but they recognize by a common name that they are one tribe. Reexamination of

all the data we possess about the Gulf of Carpentaria tribes in the light of the Kaiadilt evidence and the data given in the papers by Stanner on the Daly River tribes indicates such tribes are to be found in more than one area.

A position on the seashore seems to afford a territorial advantage of a factor between three and four, given that the climatic and other conditions are similar, and where the inland rainfall is less, there is still greater advantage. An example in New South Wales is shown by the Wandandian and Gandangara, where the inland people occupy a space three times as great as their coastal neighbors who had the advantage of access to marine products. A similar disparity can be seen in the relative sizes of the territories of the Kaurna and Nukunu on the shores and the Ngadjuri of the inland country to the east. The proximity of the sea, however, is of little advantage where the coast is such that there is little or no use made of the marine products. Thus the Njangamarda Kundal territory fronting on the Eighty Mile Beach in Western Australia is as large as the area romed over by the Mangala of the Canning Basin. The Njangamarda, however, were originally an inland people, and although they live by the sea, they do not use it in any way. A similar pair of tribes seem to be present in northern New South Wales where the Kumbainggiri, who have minimal use for their seashore because of the configuration of the coast, occupy a territory of virtually identical size to that of their inland neighbors, the Banbai. In similar fashion the Mirning on the shores of the Great Australian Bight have a shore inaccessible to them because of the high cliffs and heavy ocean surf, and lacking all means of water transport behave as an inland tribe and, in fact, have one of the largest and in some ways the most inhospitable territory in Australia. The raft-using Djaui and Jaudjibaia tribes, however, occupy no more than about one-twentieth of the land that is needed by the inland, or rather land-oriented Nimanburu people, who have been mentioned in another part of this work (chap. 4).

Some of the following discussion is on the Gulf of Carpentaria tribes that seem to fit into this small tribe pattern. It follows closely data published by Ursula Hope McConnel (1939) and my personal discussions with her. I also look to Richard L. Sharp (1939) and the still earlier work of Walter E. Roth (1910). I briefly visited Batavia River in 1921 but my own lesser observations were in discussions with displaced aborigines in 1938, 1960, and 1963.

Combination of a fertile area in the lowlands of the eastern side of the gulf with many estuaries, slow-moving fresh water streams and lagoons, and intervening higher inhospitable areas has encouraged the development of a series of settled and largely sedentary populations, each knowing and caring little about other than immediate neighbors. With relative ease of life has come enlarged populations—but not very large ones—minor changes in dialect and variations in practices and beliefs, but on a common theme. What may at one time have been only a series of expanded hordes have acquired the manners and trappings and the independence of small tribes. It seems noteworthy that such developments virtually are confined to areas where the special environmental characteristics outlined above are present. In the most typical area there seems to be involvement of three major units, the Winduwinda, the Wikmunkan, and the Jupangati. Aborigines by their own nomenclature for themselves and for others supply some clues to the situation. Their group names have two main characteristics. One is a suffix-ngit ['-ŋit] attached to a name denoting a locality and sometimes incorporating also a totemic site component. The other is a prefix [Wik-] attached to a name that has associations with differences in modes of speech of the groups. The placement of these names geographically implies two larger groupings, consisting of blocks of smaller groupings of numerically and spatially equal size. Existence of the common type of name implies also that despite the general isolation of each there is sufficient knowledge and contact for such series of names to be meaningful and useful to all of them.

The Wik- prefix distinguishes a people whose combined areas extend north from the Holroyd River to the Watson, reaching from the gulf shores inland to the central highlands, a distance of 80 miles (130 km.). Of these Wik- tribes, the Wikmunkan of the interior is the dominant one, occupying a large area of less productive country where hunting is a way of life. West of the Wikmunkan is an intermediate line of four smaller tribal groups situated 20 to 40 miles (30 to 65 km.) inland and occupying the four main river valley systems. They are from the south the Wikianji, Mimungkum, Wikmean, and Wikampama, the last-named extending its bounds to the Watson River. Finally, there is a coastal tier of six small groups based on coastal swamps, river estuaries, and mangrove-lined tidal lowlands extending from the southernmost tidal channels of the Holroyd to Archer Bay and the south side of the coastal reaches of the Archer River. Their names are Wiknantjara, Wiknatanja, Wik-kalkan, Wikepa, Wikatinda (said to be now extinct), and Wikapatja. The Wikapatja inhabit the shores on the south side of Archer Bay and the nearby marshy islands.

According to one view, the whole area could be regarded as the territory of one large unit, the Wikmun-

kan. In the other extreme view each of the units could be considered as a separate tribe. McConnel has pointed out that there are differences in degree of separation and listed the Wikianji of the middle Holroyd as being on the way to a more isolated status. The northern Wikampama, partly surrounded by other tribes or small tribes of a different group, is another with greater claims to be closer to the type of tribe met with elsewhere in Australia.

North of the Wik- folk are those who use the suffix -ngit to differentiate between their local groupings. Their southern bounds are at the Archer River and their territories extend north to Albatross Bay and to about 10 miles (16 km.) north of the Mission River. There is only one coastal tier of twelve groups using the -ngit suffix. It has been suggested that all the -ngit "tribes" have associations with the name Winduwinda, which in one view would be the tribal name for all twelve of the -ngit groups. For the purposes of the Catalog of Tribes, they are listed together under this name. An important question arises. Is this type of expanded hordelike structure an old one, or is it an innovation arising from the special circumstances of the local ecology and physiography? McConnel regards the social organization of the Wikmunkan as being a "primitive" one with newer types farther north in the Cape York Peninsula. If, as has been suggested, the general drift of peoples has been southward down the Cape York corridor, relics of this type of structure should be detectable in the peoples who have moved south into more normal tribal territories. In this regard it could be significant that a whole group of tribes of normal Australian type do use a prefix Koko- and that still nearer to the special area of the Winduwinda a few tribes possess a general prefix Aja-. I am not sure that Aja- has the same significance, since it appears only in the Ajabatha and in one form of the name, Ajabakan, otherwise the Bakanu people. Even more uncertain is the suggestion that the name Laia may have relevance also.

A third group of four "small tribes" seems to exist in the general vicinity of Mapoon, a little farther north on Cape York Peninsula. McConnel associates them all as being related to the Jupangati and four of the five are said to speak angutimi (angadimi) which is given also as the name of one of the four small tribes. The meaning of the term is not given—it seems to be adjectival in form. The language, so far as can be determined from parallel vocabularies, differs from Winduwinda and seems to be the one recorded as Nggerikudi by I. N. Hey (1903) and referred to by Roth (1910) as Rakudi. In this case the group of names has a very different appearance. The territories extend along the coast from Duifken Point in the south to the north side of Pennefather River, as follows: Wimaranga, Angutimi, Nggerikudi (Rakudi), and Mbatjana. According to McConnel, the Tanikuit (Tainikudi) who live just to the east of the Wimaranga also speak "angutimi," but their social organization and other characteristics tend to identify them with the Wik-peoples. Here again it has proved convenient to list these smaller groups under the one term Jupangati in the catalog of Queensland tribes. Those who feel inclined to regard both the Winduwinda and Jupangati assemblages as having full tribal status may add a further dozen or more to the number of Australian tribes, bringing the total to over 600 tribes.

Going south to the rain forest areas of Queensland, particularly in the Cairns area and north and in the area occupied by the Dalla in the country north of Brisbane, we find groups that could be regarded as "small tribes." The Cairns and Atherton tableland tribes of this character appear to be of very long standing and some of the languages they speak are very different from others. Because of their varied economic bases for living—namely the almost year-long rains and the constant supplies of food of a vegetable nature, much of it derived by recourse to the tops of the rain forest canopy by climbing with looped canes—they are limited to very small intensely used areas rather than the true hunter's wider range in search of game. From this it would appear that any food cycle that can be developed in a limited area will hold a small tribe together. In the instance of the negritic tribes of the rain forests, their inferior stature, while perhaps an advantage in climbing into the overhead canopy of the forests, would tend to prevent them from ranging far from the shelter of their forest cover for fear of more powerful enemies.

Many of the Daly River tribes also seem to fall into the category of small tribes of sedentary type. Each seems to be based on a relatively permanent area of lagoons and swamps and streams yielding fish, those nearer the coast receiving a constant renewal of their supplies of estuarine fish. As indicated, they have vegetable foods in the water lily, which yields flowers, seeds, stems, and roots as food at the several seasons of the year along with wild rice and plants of the water chestnut type, as described in chapter 7.

From this short review of some of the forms taken by the smaller tribal units, it seems that in each area they have developed in response to a special local ecological situation. Whether the units developing as response to rain forest environments are of the same type as those of the sheltered littoral is a matter that deserves added study. The difference between the shore dwellers of the south, such as the Tanganekald, and those of the

subtropical north is that the northern tribes do not have to retreat from the shores to escape the rigors of winter cold and wind. How serious extremes of weather may be is indicated even among the people of Bentinck Island, well into the tropics, among whom one of the natural causes of death had to be given as "dying of cold and rain in the southeast trade wind season [winter]." Thus one type of "small tribe" may be confined to sheltered shore territories in warm temperate to tropical zones where retreat from the sea is not required by the rigors of winter. It is perhaps one of the very ancient patterns of living enjoyed by Australian tropical shore dwellers even before they set foot on their new home, some time in the mid-Wisconsin Ice Age.

I have discussed some ecological determinatives because they appear to have modified the character and size as well as the numbers of persons found in a given tribal group. Some modifiers may affect the form of a tribe. In an earlier chapter it was pointed out that the necessity of conserving walking distance tended in the ideal case to determine the shape of a tribal area as approaching the hexagonal shape of the honeybee cell. This was pointed out many years ago by L. Krzywicki (1934). Birdsell (1958) applied this geometrical concept to the study of intratribal and extratribal contacts, using data obtained in our Australian fieldwork. The actual work of ascertaining the boundaries from aborigines has shown very interesting departures from this ideal shape for a centrally based tribe. Some departures are very obvious, particularly in restricted peninsula areas and on islands. Some interesting differences are discussed in the account of the several tribes on Dampierland peninsula, and examination of the map will reveal others. A few additional determining factors may be noted. Dry country dominated by a series of parallel creeks or rivers flowing in a common direction, technically consequent streams, often strongly influence the elongation of the tribal territory in that direction, it being almost a rule that the trace of a dominant stream will alter the symmetrical form of a tribal territory. Narrow coastal fringes backed by steep mountains often determine strip territories, the ecological differences being such that fishermen, forestmen, and mountain men belong to separate communities, as in southern New South Wales. The negritoid tribes such as the Nawagi may have territories greatly elongated in the direction of their sheltering forest-covered mountain range. These may be considered physiographic modifications.

Other distortions of the symmetrical patterns may come when the people of a tribe are adapted to particular ranges of food or to special water-using habits. Thus we notice that the Kokata tribal territory is long drawn out along the belt of mallee forested country in which they find their water-bearing tree roots that determine not only their patterns of living but also influence their need for sufficient amicable relationship with surrounding peoples to enable them to repair to permanent water supplies in times of drought, an arrangement often facilitated by the temporary retreat to other places of the rightful inhabitants until the visitation is over.

It will be noticed also that coastal tribes tend to have their inland boundary on the first inland ridge, divide, or crestline, and if their coastal waters are sheltered, as when they are lined with mangroves, their routes of travel and their alignment of hordal territories are coastwise and often determined by the availability of hauling-up places for rafts and canoes. That such determinatives are important is indicated by an archaeological find at Policeman Point in South Australia which I have been able to study in some detail. During the Mudukian Culture period about 2,000 years ago when sea level was about two meters higher than at present along the Tenggi shore of the Coorong in South Australia (fig. 21), there was a sheltered cove, semicircular in outline with dunes sheltering a sloping beach protected from the winds blowing from the southwest. Here there was a series of several hut sites each with a small area of workshop for microlith stone implements of the characteristic types suitable for composite tools and weapons. A few of the specimens from the site are figured in my paper on archaeological nomenclature (Tindale, 1968, figs. 1–3). Geological evidence showed that, following a slight lowering of sea level, a sandbar built up, sealing off the cove, whereupon it was abandoned as a site and the place remained unattractive up to modern times. Evidently it lost its advantages when the bark canoes favored along the Coorong could no longer be beached there.

Along the course of a big river, several changes of pattern may occur. Thus estuaries provide one form of living; along the middle reaches, each permanent pool becomes the focus of a horde and the tribal territory tends to string out along the line of these permanent pools. Toward the headwaters of streams there is a tendency for the use of all the branchlets as a common territory with a tribal break on the divide separating the catchment basin on one side from that on the other. Because of the flatness of much of Australia, such divides tend to be gentle, often lacking in water supplies, hence not easy to use as camping areas. They frequently do provide refuges for animals and are favored as hunting areas. Men thus approach such divides from different stream systems fearing encounter with foreigners or strangers. The midline of the divide, therefore, is often

both the natural boundary and the most favored line of travel, since the chances of an unfortunate encounter are reduced and the fear of the consequences of trespass are lessened. As I have already mentioned in passing, such lines for travel were often those along which early explorers were guided by their aboriginal escorts.

Up to this point varied aspects of aboriginal life having a bearing on their organization into tribes have been discussed. It will now be possible to review in brief fashion some of the views of those who have tried to define the precise character of an Australian tribe and relate it to that of other regions of the world.

In the social sciences we are faced with the existence of general terms that have never been defined with any degree of precision which would make them accurate descriptive tools. In keeping with this, it is probably true that no strict definition of a tribe could be given which would fit all cases. Similar difficulties are faced by biologists who have never been able to agree on what is a species in the animal and plant kingdoms. Ernst Mayr (1966), who has probably come nearer to the truth than anyone so far, says that the most characteristic attribute of a species is that it is a population unit with biological discontinuity from other units in the system. Thus the gap that surrounds a species is to him the core of the biological species concept.

Without drawing any direct or close parallels with the biological concept, it seems clear to me that it is the gap between tribal populations that is their most characteristic feature. The discontinuities are real even though they differ in degree and kind from tribe to tribe. In some tribes there is a wide gap in communication because of strong differences in dialect or language. Between others there may be wide differences in social organizational features, while the languages may be so similar that when members of the two tribes encounter one another it may take only a short listening period to catch up on differences in pronunciation, in idiom, or in vocabulary. Indicative of the separation from others is their claim to, and occupation of, a discrete territory with finite limits beyond which the members have a sense of trespass. Such feelings of trespass remain even though in particular circumstances violations of such bounds may occur without precluding the existence of the tribe. Examples indicated in earlier chapters include the periodic gatherings in southern Queensland to take advantage of the banja harvests, the Ngarkat visits to the Murray River for water, and the common sharing of peripheral standby waters in the Western Desert during periods of stress. Such contacts may be far less intimate than might at first be apparent.

Another persistent feature, which from the occurrence of common features over the spread of the continent I have indicated to have a respectable antiquity, is the presence of a definite name or names for the tribe plus an aura of terms, not always polite, applied by others. These alone indicate the acceptance of the existence of the gap or separation that we see as tribal in character. I know of no instance where proper inquiries have been pursued where such a proper name of old standing has not been found.

Adolphus Peter Elkin (1943) gives a definition of the Australian tribe embodying five markers:

(a) they inhabit and claim a definite area of country
(b) use a dialect or language peculiar to themselves
(c) possess a distinctive name
(d) have customs and laws differing in some measure from those practiced by their neighbors
(e) possess beliefs and ceremonies differing from those held or performed by others.

None of the data given in this work negates or contradicts the general principles which can be seen behind these markers.

A few writers have attempted seriously to modify, redefine, or even deny the whole tribal concept as applied to the Australians. Some of the attempts have been based on incomplete and haphazardly gathered data, often by those only marginally interested in the tribal concept. It may be that today they would wish to review their conclusions in the light of the relatively great amount of information now available. Unfortunately, some of their views have gained currency, hence a few remarks about the more influential ones may be in order.

Roger C. Owen (1965:679) suggests that there is an unreality about the concept of the Australian tribe as a dialect/linguistic group. Forgetting or ignoring the results of a century of records, he implies that the "tribe" as a concept was "invented" by A. R. Brown and is neither a social reality nor an inherent element in Australian social concept. He quotes as evidence from Brown (1930:35–36) a statement that in Western Australia a horde lying on the boundary of the Ngaluma and Kariara tribes was described by his informants as "half Ngaluma, half Kariera." He then proceeds to argue that therefore there can be no tribal unit in existence. Not only has Owen put a wrong construction on the idiomatic phraseology of the Australian aboriginal when speaking in his adopted English but also fails to observe that the very existence of an aboriginal nomenclature for tribes implies a reality. Having passed over some of the literature, he does not indicate that in precontact times, on an Australia-wide basis, there was about 15 percent intertribal marriage. Such marriages naturally tend to be

between members of contiguous hordes, hence if they are friendly it is natural that in some places there should be peripheral hordes with men possessing wives received from people of the adjoining tribe. An example is detailed in chapter 1, describing the causes of friction between the Potaruwutj and the Tanganekald tribes in southeast South Australia, arising from the exchange of women in marriage.

W. J. Oates (1967) expressed some views on the naming of aboriginal tribes. It would seem that as a linguist he wished to have units of approximately equal "value" according to language criteria. Thus he was willing to exchange the natural tribal divisions, evolved by the aborigines themselves, for artificial groupings devised for the convenience of linguists. As a research device this may be a useful tool, but bastardized tribal terms with unnatural limits surely is not the answer, although it is possible to find in the work of other linguists such extraordinary artifacts as Barbaramic, Tjingiluan, Arandic, and others. Oates quotes Brown (1918) and his view of what was meant by an aboriginal tribe: "a collection of persons speaking what the natives themselves regard as one language, the name of the tribe and the name of the language being generally one and the same."

Brown's definition was an unsatisfactory one, devised at a time when he had had minimal field experience, and the fact that it is still quoted as authoritative is a commentary on the increasing reading gap between different sections of the anthropological discipline.

Gertrude E. Dole (1968) has made a much better analysis of the tribal situation, although she did fall foul of the artificial terms Murngin, of W. Lloyd Warner in the Arnhem Land area, and Kurnai, of Alfred W. Howitt in Victoria. Her tentative conclusion that a tribe is an autonomous group of people organized primarily by kinship ties seems to fit the Australian situation very closely and may tend to render unnecessary the qualifications that must usually be applied when using the five criteria favored by Elkin. In fact it may be safe to say that "an Australian tribe is an autonomous unit, possessing a self-recognized name and holding or maintaining claim to a specific territory."

Ronald M. Berndt and Catherine H. Berndt (1942–1944) outlined tribal information obtained during fieldwork at Ooldea. Their local data agree with and confirm my findings among the same people at Ooldea and given in my 1940 work. Their data about other tribes at distances of several hundred miles were much less accurate, although used as the basis of their attempted correction of some data gathered directly from the tribes concerned. The results were unfortunate, being merely the opinions of aborigines about people in distant places. As an example, they attempted to replace from hearsay the name of the Warburton Range people, the Ngadadjara, despite the fact that work had been carried out on the spot with about one hundred members of the tribe in 1935, some were seen again in 1939, one in 1951, over thirty of them in 1957, and about fifty were at Laverton in 1966, without any of them giving indication that they were the same people as the Nangatadjara nor had preference for any other name than Ngadadjara. Some did use in casual conversation the abbreviated form Ngada, sometimes Ngaada.

Other terms for distant peoples were also misunderstood. Thus Jabu is not a valid term for the Pitjandjara but is merely the word ['japu]-['apu] meaning stone or hill.

R. M. Berndt (1959) used this unsatisfactory data and a further imposing list of supposedly tribal terms as the material for a new concept on the structure of tribes in the Western Desert. Unfortunately for his theory, not all these terms can be accepted at face value as representing actual tribal units of the kind with which the present work is principally concerned. W. H. Douglas (1968) has indicated some of the erroneous terms in sufficient detail to confirm a suggestion that Berndt's conclusions are not supported by his tribal information. Jalindjara and presumably also the variant Jarindjara are merely two versions of the cardinal compass directional term for north ['jalindjara] already discussed in chapter 2. Their use as proper names for tribes is no more justifiable than Herbert Basedow's designation of a people in the same general area nearly half a century earlier as Wilurara, meaning west, or by extension Westerners, and suggests little advance in data-gathering standards and only a different direction in looking toward the people under discussion.

Some other terms are suspect. Thus Ngalaugari could be a phrase of a type ['ŋali 'okari] which could mean "we two [are related as] sister's daughters." If this is correct it was probably gathered from a woman. Without the context we can perhaps surmise only the possibility the informant was discussing the presence of relatives rather than giving definite information about the name of a tribe. We may recall the earlier phrase "my mother's country," which as a supposed name for a tribe, bedeviled the same general area in earlier years. The term Ngalagugurula also placed on Berndt's sketch map seems to have had its origin in a similar phrase. The informant presumably was discussing a father's sister's elder daughter ['kukuru] (or gugura in the Sydney system of transcription of the 1940s). The term Nanggaranggu placed on the sketch map a little to the west of the

above-mentioned terms also has its derivation in a phrase having the general meaning of "hostile men" from ['naŋga] man and ['raŋku] anything "spiny" or "spear carrying." In my own earlier work at Ooldea I had found the term applied to hordes of the Pindiini and Ngalea who had trespassed on the borders of Kokata territory near Ooldea, coming in from the northwest to obtain water at the great refuge water of Ooldea. A similar term Watirangku ['Watiraŋku], or "hostile men," was applied by the Pitjandjara to the Nakako people before they knew who they were, at the time they trespassed in the Blyth Range area during 1957 to obtain water and native tobacco plants (Tindale 1965). Another term Bunggura was placed to the north of Ooldea. Berndt evidently failed to sense that the term might have been derogatory. In the language of the southern frequenters of Ooldea in dry times, the Wirangu people, this word has the meanings of "smell" or "stink"; it may be compared with the similar meaning given by Bates (1918:154) for the Kokata word ['bu:ngara]. Perhaps the subjects under discussion were being rated as "stinkers."

When reduced to the finite number of tribal units that actually occupy the country, little argument is left for the particular kinds of "near" tribes or "qualified" tribes that he visualizes as existing there. Perhaps it is true that the habits of compulsive trespassing and near sharing of refuge waters during time of drought has introduced some minor elements of difference in tribal behavior patterns and especially helped to maintain abilities to communicate. The arrangements entered into, however, seem no more profound than the tacit compromises under which the Ngarkat of the Murray mallee scrub-lands of South Australia were able to seek water at a few places along the Murray River when their normal supplies of mallee root waters failed them in dry times nor the similar relationships or tolerances that existed between tribes along the Cooper Creek and the Darling River, as also in the so-called channel country of southwestern Queensland. In the nineteenth century there were even similar temporary sharings of territory between the Lardiil of Mornington Island in Queensland and their less securely based Janggal neighbors. I have information of a high tidal rise that drowned their low-lying islands at some time in the 1880s and another later one, both before the days of the first mission contact.

The part of Berndt's discussion which is useful is his account of the complex changes that are taking place in tribal structure under the new conditions of white contact, where lines of white man's wells, his roads and tracks, motor transport, police camps, government ration and feeding depots, and railway construction workers' camps, also the peripheries of small towns and their food handouts are replacing the traditional meeting places, the refuge waters, and traditional escape routes of earlier precontact times. Still further changes are taking place as pensions for older people and compulsory education for the young are altering all their old ways of tribal life. The aborigines everywhere are quickly adapting to the new patterns, although some of the old ways die hard. In many places old territorial bounds are transgressed and adjustments made to the entirely different situations in which they now find themselves.

It seems to me unfortunate that Berndt, using this data, feels that it supports his view that there is a looser territorial bond in the Western Desert than there is elsewhere. On the contrary, my own observations confirm an opinion that the tribal patterns evident there are not particularly different from those found among other hunting tribes in Australia.

What Berndt may have noticed is something new developing out of the contact situation which will lead to very different patterns. At present, while there is less communication between developing aboriginal groups in different parts of the continent, these changes seem to be taking somewhat different directions, hence the similarities and differences evident in the late history of the Walpiri (Meggitt, 1962) and of the people of parts of Arnhem Land as observed by Leslie R. Hiatt (1965) and the continuing work by W. E. H. Stanner. With further development of communication, there will be subtle changes that will be of considerable interest to students of the contact situation. There is a great danger that those only familiar with late changes may come to think of them as the normal situation. It is my hope that the data gathered here from the gleanings of fifty years and the interrogation of many people will furnish a firm basis for future studies.

The primary aim of this work was to obtain as detailed and as complete a record as possible of the tribal structure of Australian populations at the time of contact with the Western world. How far it measures up will be for those who use it to assess in the light of the support it gives to their own findings in the field.

9

Australian Tribes in Antiquity

There is no direct evidence for the presence of tribes or tribelike units in antiquity which has the backing of history. A few tribal names mentioned by the earliest Western visitors to Australia can be recognized today, but these names only go back to the late eighteenth century.

The universal presence in Australia of names for groups of all kinds as exemplified in this work enables us to infer that there has always been a demand or desire for identification, that the requirement was already sufficiently a stereotype, that names similarly derived could have spread to many parts of the continent, and that perhaps these names were as old as the migrating groups that carried them. The use of the often reduplicated word for "no" as a naming device may reveal a respectable antiquity. The practice occurs on Cobourg Peninsula in the Northern Territory, in the Brisbane area of southern Queensland, on the upper Murray River along the border between New South Wales and Victoria, and again in the northern vicinity of Perth in Western Australia. The four areas are separated from one another by distances of around 1,500 miles (2,200 km.), as the crow flies. This leads us to the surmise that there may be several ways to test the limits of stability and long-term identification of tribal units. In chapter 4 we saw that the Pitjandjara, Jangkundjara, and Kokata were compelled to shift their tribal territories southeastward under pressure of climatic vagaries during the second decade of this century, yet managed to retain their tribal identities unaltered, or nearly so. Admitting that there was an unusual circumstance in that the shift occurred at a time when the near presence of whitemen could have affected the situation, there is a clue that tribal bonds do hold.

Arthur E. Capell (1966) makes a categorical statement that "there is no diachronic evidence concerning Australian languages and there is never likely to be." He may have overlooked some facts that will help to modify this statement or view it in another light. Perhaps we can get a few leads on major events of change in the languages of Australia. When different peoples of the Western Desert, at least a century ago, were suddenly confronted with a new and strange animal, the feral cat, they had little opportunity to compare information with others. They had therefore to devise a name for the creature within their own experience and community. The Western Desert languages in general are closely related, as happens with people forced at times of stress to seek common watering places with others. Notwithstanding, a series of unrelated names arose. Only in one case, perhaps by chance because of an onomatopoeic resemblance that yielded [ˈŋi] and [ˈŋao], did they seem to be related. This situation contrasted with the other side of the continent where instead of animals spreading from chance landings from some wrecked Dutch ship, there was later contact with settlers. In New South Wales there appeared such terms as [ˈputjikata], [ˈkiti], and [ˈkukindjeri]. Since kukindjeri means "belonging to the cook," it bears witness to the nature of the culture contact made. The multiplicity of terms for the cat indicates that the names crystallized faster than contact between tribes permitted spread of a common nomenclature.

A far older introduction of a stranger to the Australian fauna was the dingo or Asian pariah dog *Canis f. dingo* (pls. 79, 80). This animal exists in two races in the Australasian area, one in New Guinea and the other in Australia. They are sufficiently different to warrant the assumption that they were always separate dog communities and thus could only have been introduced to the areas east of the Wallace Line at different times after the separation of New Guinea and Australia by the drowning of Sahul Land and the cutting through of Torres Strait. According to some calculations this event may have taken place around 7000 B.P.

Dingoes survive on the presently uninhabited Wallaby Island off the northern end of Mornington Island in the Gulf of Carpentaria. Today they are absent from the larger and relatively densely inhabited Mornington Island where domesticated dogs were formerly present but exterminated on orders from an early missionary. Unless the Wallaby Island dingoes were derived from once domesticated animals, it is possible that they have been present since a time before sea level rose sufficiently in the gulf to cut off these islands from the mainland of Australia. In that case they could have been there for up to 6,500 years. Against this is some negative evidence at Lake Menindee in New South Wales where archaeological deposits left by aborigines span a period of some 30,000 years. The white calcareous casts of dingoes are

very common in deposits of the Pirrian culture and later periods, along with evidences of the gnawed bones such as are left by dingoes. These are not present in beds dated to earlier than 6750 B.P. (Rafter, 1956). Portion of a two-rooted tooth found in the lowest layer during the excavation of Devon Downs rock-shelter (Ngautngaut), on the Murray River, in South Australia (Hale and Tindale, 1930:203), and positively identified by the late R. A. Stirton as *Canis*, is from a bed below one dated to 5180 B.P. (GaK 1024). D. J. Mulvaney reported a tolerably complete skeleton of a dingo from Fromm Landing site as having died no earlier than 3170 B.P. (N.P.L. 28 and 29). We can perhaps be assured that the introduction of the dingo was a man-associated event of the earlier half of post-Pleistocene time. At that time, archaeological deposits assure us, man was everywhere spread across Australia.

Once introduced, the dingo, reverting to the feral state, would have spread out from the point of introduction at a rate that may have enabled it to span the continent within about one hundred years, thus far outstripping any likely rates of communication between the aboriginal peoples already spread across the country. My friend John H. Calaby, noted Australian mammalogist, confirms that this probably would have happened. The European fox, introduced near Melbourne at the opposite side of Australia, spread through the center of the continent and appeared on the coast of Arnhem Land within ninety-five years. It was there given a native name as a new and mysterious animal. Calaby (pers. comm.) points out that the dingo and the fox have similar life cycles and foods, which would strongly support a theory of the rapid spread of the dingo.

It would thus happen that each separate community had the necessity of independently selecting a name for the stranger. Having gathered the names given to the dingo from many different present-day tribespeople, it has become apparent that a large number of words with independent roots have been utilized. Comparable suites of words for eagle, emu, crow, fire, water, and others were gathered. They could have had ancestries going back to the moment of first landing in Australia, and some even beyond. It was reasoned that, depending on whether change was rapid or slow and whether migrations were great as to distances covered, there should be contrasts between the distributional and other patterns of the words for dingo and the others.

It was not surprising to learn that there are marked differences in the numbers of apparent roots involved; that the potentially older words and roots tended more often to be strung out along lines with differing trends north and south and east and west in different parts of the continent with some that appear to be closely related, separated by much of the diameter of the continent; that the suite of words applied to the dingo, except in the Western Desert and its peripheries show a great diversity of origin; that they still show remarkably little evidence of migration trends by occurring in relatively compact, almost tribe-sized areas as if their prototypes were coined in the general areas where they still are used today.

This is a preliminary statement about a study being actively pursued. Would it be too bold to assume that the tribal patterns that are seen today are in fact old, sufficiently so to reflect still a period of relatively fixed bounds extending back for some thousands of years? Were the present patterns fixed after the onset of post-Pleistocene time and have they remained so until modern times? Watching for straws in the wind, I recall that the eagle and crow myth of Mount Gambier in the southeast of South Australia dramatizes the campfires of these Beings as linked with either the primary volcanic eruption of this volcano in 4710 B.P. (Rafter, N.Z.) or the minor recurrence of 1410 B.P. (ANU-12). The context of the story seems to require the earlier date. The implement types of the archaeological Mudukian culture date back to that earlier time. In the Hillston area of New South Wales there is a story of the giant kangaroo which could be old and there is a story of the capture of the giant bird, presumably *Genyornis,* of which the latest known remains (eggshells) belong in the period around 6570 B.P. (Rafter, 1956), at Lake Menindee, New South Wales. Rock carvings of the tracks of this bird, registering its possession of large scratching claws, shows that there is some foundation for the survival of this bird farther west into the period of late rock-carving styles (see Hall et al., 1951; Tindale, 1951).

Continuities of the order of five thousand years and more may not be as unreasonable as might appear at first sight. When we look into the details of the dingo story we find many leads of interest. For example, ['kadl] → ['kadleira] is the Potaruwutj term for the marine doglike fur seal *Otaria.* This is closely linked with their word for dingo ['kal]. Is the word for seal derived from the word for wild dog and coined when the Potaruwutj arrived near the shore of South Australia in post-dog-arrival time, or was the word for dog coined by an old established people confronted with a strange new animal that reminded them of the fur seal?

Another interesting sidelight is the intimate relationship between the Western Desert name for the dog ['papa] and the widespread term for water. The term as used for water has a very wide distribution in Australia, appearing in the forms ['papa], ['baba], ['paba], ['naba], ['napa], ['gaba], ['gabi], ['kapi], ['api], ['awi], ['kawi],

['ke:p], and so on. As applied to the dog, it is strictly a Western Desert and northwestern Australian term. The association was probably brought about by the ability of dingoes to smell out and dig for water. Perhaps when first encountered by the aborigines, it was so engaged. The animal helps in keeping waters open in all parts of the desert, and one of the unexpected effects of the poisoning of dingoes has been the diminishing chances of survival of some birds that depend on desert waters normally locked in the sand of stream beds and opened up by dingoes.

Another interesting fact is that among the Bentinck Islanders, the Kaiadilt, one of their stories recalls that it was a fabulous Being who first found water for their ancestors on the eastern side of Berumoi at the northern tip of their island. There are no dogs on the island and no name for the animal survives, yet when translated into English the Being's name means "he who walks behind." The descriptive term suggests that the early forebears of the Kaiadilt owed the discovery of their important spring to the activities of a dog scratching in the sand.

One of the ways in which a name could be selected for a new animal is described by T. Honery (1878) for the Baranbinja tribe on the Darling River, north of Bourke, New South Wales. Confronted with a strange animal, the horse, which appeared in their country from some white settlement farther east, they applied the name for dog ['miru] which they had heard of as used in the language of another tribe living on the upper Darling.

Before leaving the subject it may be of significance that a similar necessity of a tribe by tribe invention of new terms happened in the case of the smallpox disease that swept so quickly over Australia in the early years of the nineteenth century as to be almost a simultaneous historical event. Curr (1888:380) when recording a term *bila bunin* for this disease commented: "The reader will remark that the name for this disease differs in every tribe in which we have heard it."

Discussion and Comments on Tribes

In this section I give notes and comments on the tribes together with some criticisms of past work. The data is arranged in the same order of states as the main catalog.

QUEENSLAND TRIBES

In mapping the tribes on Cape York peninsula much reliance has been placed on the detailed work of the late Ursula H. McConnel. She observed for many years the distribution of the several peoples of the area.

The low coastal country east of the Gulf of Carpentaria supports relatively sedentary populations. The people were able, or were compelled by their environment, to confine their movements to rather small areas. They depended on the yield of fish traps and on the constantly renewable resources to be found along the mangrove-choked inlets and the swampy terrain of the slow-flowing streams coming from the eastern highlands. There was little chance to roam very far. The special significance of such "small tribes" is brought out in chapter 8, in the discussion of these tribes as found on Cape York and elsewhere in Australia.

In 1939 R. L. Sharp listed tribes in the northeastern part of Queensland without very definite localizations beyond numbers on a sketch map, the scale of which was too small to ensure correct placings. For most of the tribes he listed from south of the Nassau River, we had independent field data as to boundaries. Some mistakes were made which were corrected during fieldwork in 1960 and 1963.

In 1940 McConnel published an excellent map and data for some Cape York areas and extended her report to the coastal strip between Cooktown and Cairns. For most of the Cairns area tribes, independent information had been obtained by us during the several months of the Harvard and Adelaide Universities Anthropological Expedition during 1938 and 1939. Since 1940 some work has been done by me with the survivors of Cape York tribes, especially with those who range along the Gulf of Carpentaria coast from Mitchell River to Normanton and Burketown, Mornington and Bentinck Islands, and the vicinity of Westmoreland.

Fieldwork on Bentinck Island in 1960 and 1963 revealed afresh the importance of shoreline economies where permanent fish-garnering structures encouraged population densities far beyond those possible in the territory of an ordinary Australian hunting tribe. This led to the reexamination of data on the effects on population of the presence in some areas of Australia of extensive areas of natural "grains," among the Kamilaroi, Wadjari, and other tribes. The results are set out in chapter 8.

The Kaiadilt of Bentinck Island proved to have a very high incidence of B-type blood (43%) virtually unknown elsewhere in Australia (Simmons, Tindale and Birdsell, 1962), except among the Karawa of the Westmoreland area and the Tagalag (Simmons, Graydon and Tindale, 1964). They also have a high incidence of blond hair in childhood, and otherwise appear rather different physically from the Lardiil of adjoining Mornington Island. Culturally they are exceptional in practicing the rite of circumcision but allowing women to participate in all phases of the operation. They had no classificatory terms in their social organization. They regularly used a type of crude bifacially trimmed fist ax called ['mariwu], which closely resembles some of those used elsewhere throughout the Lower Palaeolithic. They also use trimmed discoidal pieces of *Melo diadema* shell as knives, chipping the cutting edge by biting with the teeth, using a piece of bark as buffer.

The Mornington Islanders (Lardiil), however, have a culture resembling in most aspects that of the adjoining mainlanders. It was possible to gather much detail of infratribal organization which I will not elaborate upon in this work.

In the coastal region of the southern part of the Gulf of Carpentaria there are great contrasts between the life and economies of the inhabitants of the coastal mangrove and saline shore flats and the ways of the scrub covered upland dwellers. The open grassed plains with meandering streams coming from the far south provide a third environment. The grasslands in particular may be an artifact of the fire-stick-wielding users of the land. The aborigines here had terms recognizing the distinctions. These were first recorded by W. E. Armit (in Curr, 1886, 2:303):

Djinumar:a	People of the saltwater
Djargir:a	People of the freshwater
Gu:ran	People of the scrublands.

These are not tribal names and therefore do not appear

on the map. When flying over the country, the contrast between the 20 to 50 mile-wide belt (30 to 80 km.) of mangroves and grasslands is very striking. The Kareldi and Janggal territories along the shore are very different from the grasslands of the Mingin and the scrub covered territories of the Lardiil, the Ngoborindi, and vast areas of the Maikudunu country. It seems clear that these differences, recognized by the aborigines themselves, have been prime factors in the determination and maintenance of many tribal boundaries. It will be noticed also that in this area the dominance of the streams and rivers in their middle courses has determined a general elongation of the shapes of tribal territories in a north-south direction.

The division between circumcisers and noncircumcisers passes south from the Gulf of Carpentaria and has had an influence on tribal alignments. An Araba man from east of Normanton, who, of course, was not circumcised, gave me an insight on the rite as viewed from the east. Those who refrained from the rite were good people. Good people included all those who lived east of the Leichhardt River. A few Mingin, including all those who lived west of the mouth of the Leichhardt and at Floraville, had been subjected to the operation. "They were cut only if they lived over the boundary."

His list of noncircumcisers included the Maithakari, the Ngaun, the Maikulan at Canobie and east of there, also the Maijabi south of Donor Hills. It surprisingly included the Maikudunu, upstream from Augustus Downs. Earlier inquiries, published in the 1940 work on tribes, had indicated these people were circumcisers who lived on the very border of the spread of the custom.

Other people listed as good were the Walangama between Normanton and Croydon, the Kukatja (also called Kukatji) at Inverleigh, and the Kalibamu who once lived to the west, on the coast side of Inverleigh, but are now all dead. His own tribe, the Araba, living east of Normanton were good as also the Kareldi, also known as the Kotanda at Karumba. The term Karundi which appears in earlier records he considered as an incorrect way of saying Kareldi. The Kunggara, north of Karumba, along the coast were also good people. Despite use of this phrase he indicated that when he was a boy (he was estimated at the time to be eighty-nine years of age) there was enmity among the three tribes near Normanton. He was born on the Mitchell River side of the Staaten River on the northern boundary of Araba territory. The Araba were an inland people. At the time of his earliest recollections his people came across to Normanton and had a camp on the west bank of the Norman River near the present day punt crossing, the very place where he now was living. At that time Kunggara people had a camp on the east bank near the crossing while the Kukatja had a third camp on the western side of the town. The three tribal groups were at loggerheads and men killed one another; the Queensland police shot at all three groups to quiet them.

Because of the particular interest that developed in connection with the presence of B-type blood among the Karawa, whose territory is in the rugged country north of the Barkly tableland, as many as possible of the remaining Karawa men were interviewed. They came into the Westmoreland Station area as soon as friendly relations were established with the incoming white men. They had traded stone for implements to the east and Lardiil men said that young girls of marriageable age had been sent in return for parcels of stone. The Lardiil did not know where their girls lived afterward. Recently my friend Tom McCourt found the mine area from which the large quartzite blades, locally called ['kulunja], were derived. It is about 15 miles west of Wollogorang, on a creek southwest of the abandoned Redbank Copper Mine. Among the people farther east, these blades are called ['babakana].

The Karawa have no explanation for their tribal name. It may be of interest that among the Ingura people of Groote Eylandt there is a term ['karawara] which they apply to the interior of their island. It is sometimes hazardous to consider long-distance indications; however, it may be proper to speculate that the term Karawa may have once meant "uplanders" or "hills people."

There may be some areas in the Normanton vicinity still subject to errors in the determination of tribal boundaries. White occupation came early and for a while was very active during the mining booms, after which there was a long recession. In the process many tribal groups were disturbed and movements took place, many forced by the attentions of the native police. In attempting in 1940 to piece together the data, I added some blunders to the earlier confusion. After checking in the field, I now hope that the lines on the map reflect the tribal limits as they were immediately prior to the disturbances that had begun over a century before. Where massive shifts are known to have occurred in more recent times, they are mentioned in the catalog. One early trend was for each tribe to establish an independent travel route toward Normanton and Croydon.

For northern Queensland the earliest comprehensive map of tribal distributions is probably that accompanying the "Report on the North Queensland aborigines" by W. E. Parry-Okeden, published as a Queensland Parliamentary document in 1897. This report was unknown to me when I made my earlier study. Although

Parry-Okeden indicates (p. 17) that he personally had been unable to check all the data on his map, there is a considerable measure of agreement with later and more exhaustive studies. Some readings of names supplied to him in rather illegible handwriting are peculiar and the spellings of names by some of his men in the field are strange, but most of his larger "Groups" can be readily identified with the known tribes discussed in this work. A special study was made of the hordal groupings in the Cairns rain forest area for another work, and it was found that much reliance could be placed on the data, once the difficulties of identification of names were overcome. The population figures given and the general distributions shown prove useful in providing a late-nineteenth-century base for the present work. The western portion of the map appears to have been in part the work of W. E. Roth whose pioneer studies on the aborigines of northwestern Queensland, then still in manuscript form, were mentioned in laudatory terms in the report.

Some of the vocabularies and place names provided by Queensland police officers need careful checking. At times they relied on their own native police assistants brought from far afield. Thus H. S. Dutton (1904) furnished a list, ostensibly from the Gilbert River district without a single instance of agreement with the lengthy Walangama vocabulary gathered in 1938 for this study. It matched closely, however, with one from a Jangga man whose territory was 600 miles (950 km.) to the southeast on the Burdekin River.

The term Irukandji for the people on the coast near Redlynch in the area around Cairns has been in dispute because of their early demise as a tribe. By 1952 remembrance of their existence had almost died out and a mixed Tjapukai and Mamu group, from higher up the Barron River, and from the south had usurped their territory. They call themselves the Djumbandji. The coastal Irukandji were said to have been a taller people than the rain forest dwellers. In 1964 Jack Doolan questioned several informants, none from the Cairns area, who believed the Irukandji did not exist. They based their ideas on information that ['irukandji] meant "from the north." They suggested that if a Keramai (Giramai) or a Mamu was questioned about the country from which a northern stranger might have come he would simply refer to him as an irukandji, that is, a "northerner." In similar fashion he might refer to a man from the west as ['gambilbara], a rain forest man, or from the east as a [djindigal] (Jindigal).

On the testimony of Ngidja (Ngididja), one of my most valued informants for the Mamu tribe, four separate hordes were present in that tribe. They all shared one language and when there was no enmity they intermarried. Each had its own territory within the whole Mamu country. Names of the hordes were Tulkubara (Dulgabara), Mandubara, Djiribara, and Wardibara.

The Tulkubara were at Jordan Creek, the Mandubara on the South Johnstone River, the Djiribara near Mourilyan, while the Wardibara group lived in the dense rain forests along the North Johnstone River and in its gorges deep in the main range. When attacked, the Wardibara retreated into these fastnesses and camped in very inaccessible places where they could not readily be surrounded. When assailed, some men would stand and hold their ground while others would roll and toss boulders down steep slopes onto their attackers. Although said to be of even smaller stature than members of other hordes, the Wardibara had a reputation that discouraged molestation.

The Djirubal people of the highest parts of the Atherton tableland lived in the heart of the plateau rain forests. They had general names for themselves and for others. Thus their word for the dense rain forests was ['kambil], and was ['wapo] for the scrublands fringing the forest after its firing. They grouped themselves and all the other Atherton tableland tribes to the west, including the Barbaram, Djankun, and Muluridji, as ['kambilbara]. A similar expression was ['kambiljara], meaning "those who go into the rain forests" where ['jara] is a verb meaning "to go" (see fig. 27).

The seacoast people are called by the Djirubal the Malanbara where ['malən] means seacoast. Wanjuru and Mamu folk are ['Malanbara] (sometimes spoken as ['Malambara]). The same people, more especially those living in the lowland rain forests, such as the Idindji, are the Tjapanbara where ['tjapən] has a meaning like "lowland." This term applies only to those living on the lowlands east of the scarp of the Atherton plateau.

Coastal south Queensland, including the area around Brisbane, is one of the larger areas of Australian rain forest with tropical forest on the lowlands near the coast and northern outliers of the antarctic cold rain forest at higher altitudes. It was well watered with flowing rivers and was relatively densely populated despite the heavy forest cover.

The aborigines considered themselves as divided into the "fishing people" who lived along the waterways and extensive beaches and frequented the offshore islands, and the "mountain people" who lived in and on the products of the rain forests.

William Schmidt, who was the first to make a journey to the Bunya Mountains in June 1842 noted the enmity between the fishing and the mountain tribespeople. Simpson (1844:301), on the word of a white man named Davis who had lived with the aborigines as one of them

for fourteen years, indicated that along the Mary River people laid claim to particular tracts of country, allotting the produce of certain portions to the individual families composing the tribe. Although much general literature relates to the people of this area, there is still more that is likely to remain obscure. Since the notes I published in 1940 were developed, the intensive work of the late L. P. Winterbotham, in particular with Gaiarbau, a survivor of one of the rain forest tribes just north of Brisbane, has thrown considerable light on details of tribal distribution in the area. Through Winterbotham I was able to put numerous questions to Gaiarbau and while some of the names he preferred are different from those given by other aboriginals and in the earlier literature, a much clearer picture has now emerged of the tribes of the southeastern corner of Queensland. This suggests that some of the rain forested areas sheltered small ethnic groups whose remote ancestry may have been Barrinean, whereas in the open forested areas and along the coast people closer to the classic Murrayian type had their homes. In 1956 I collated and edited Winterbotham's

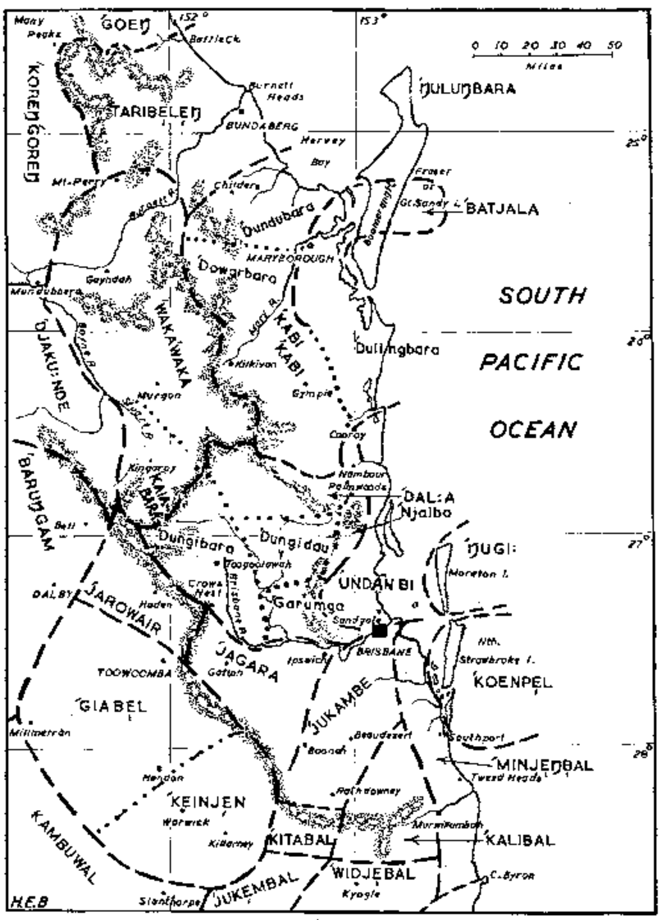


Fig. 36. Tribal details in the vicinity of Brisbane, Queensland.

material and through him asked numerous questions of his informants. It is to be hoped that his notes eventually will be published.

On the accompanying sketch map (fig. 36) I attempt to coordinate all the information now available. On it I have shown some of the hordelike terms that were not used on the main map. Much of Gaiarbau's information was limited to his own tribal area with material of perhaps lesser value from areas farther away. He did confirm the general positions of boundary lines in the rain forested areas immediately north of Brisbane, but his nomenclature differed from what I had given in my 1940 work. I had wrongly assigned the term Dalla to the coastal area east of its true position. This term was the best name for a group of five hordes or closely related small tribes whose territories were on the headwaters of the Mary and Brisbane rivers and extended along the densely forested mountains to near Brisbane. A second name for these people was Ngoera. They usually referred to themselves by their horde-style names. These usually terminated in the suffix -bara. Each of the five had a slightly different dialect and our informant suggested they were distinct peoples, each entering the rain forests from a different marginal area. The list set out in the catalog of tribes under the heading "Dalla" suggests the most likely interpretation of the facts. In 1938 an aged informant of mine, Kabo by name, told me that Dalla was the name of his language and that his own horde or tribe was the Dalambara. This information fits well into Gaiarbau's picture. The coastal people to the east called the Dalla collectively the Jarbu, which merely means "inlanders."

The northern parts of Dalla territory and adjoining Kabikabi areas were visited every three years by the peoples of several distant tribes who sought the harvests of ['banja] or bunya pine seeds in the Blackall Range. At such times the Dalla were unwilling hosts of the strangers and kept away from "trouble" by taking refuge in the rain forests.

The coastal area to the east of the Dalla was the territory of the Undanbi (Undambi), a name based on their word ['dan], meaning man. The Undanbi had some links with the Kabikabi to the north as well as with the coastal tribes further south. They were said to be big, heavily built people whereas the Dalla were small people.

Gaiarbau supplied some other terms for groups in the Kabikabi area. These had attached the suffix [-bara]. They are shown in figure 36 but are omitted from the main map. At first it appeared as if the Dundubara of the Isis and Burrum rivers, the Dowarbara of Munna Creek, and the Dulingbara of Noosa River should be accepted

as having full tribal status, and if further data is forthcoming this may well be the case. New is the suggestion that the Dulingbara, either a separate tribe, a horde of the Kabikabi, or of the Batjala, claimed possession of the southern third of Fraser Island. The Batjala are thus credited as holding only the middle third of the island, but having extensions of their territory onto the mainland at Tinina (or Tinane) Creek with rights northward along the coastal strip to Pialba. From Gaiarbau and other sources it seems clear that the northern end of Fraser Island was held by the Ngulungbara which he regarded as a separate tribe, despite the -bara suffix of the name. The map shows this view.

Some of the early confusion in the literature on the tribes in the southeastern part of Queensland was engendered by the multiplicity of general terms. One often used was Dippil, applied to several tribes between Brisbane and Maryborough. Mathews (1898 and 1907), seeking supratribal groupings, called these tribes collectively the "Dippil Nation" and cited the Brisbane horde of the Undanbi, which he called "Turrubul" to demonstrate the marriage system present among them. As in other areas the "nation" concept is untenable except as satisfying a classificatory demand by those unwilling to accept the idea of nonnational units.

West of the Dividing Range in southern Queensland there is another general term Waapa, ['Wa:pa] (given as Waabar, Wawpa, etc.). It is applied to the several tribes in the inland area west and southwest of Brisbane by the Darling Downs tribespeople who go north to feast periodically in the ['banja] or bunya pine seeding years. I make some references to the term in the catalog under the heading "Kaiabara." It is of interest that a similar term, ['wapo], is applied to the scrubland fringes of the rain forests on the Atherton tableland. Mathews, while living at Goondiwindi on the Darling Downs, first approached this area from the west about 1876 and met people at Warwick whom he called by this name in the form Wawpa (Wawpah). It is possible this meeting was with Keinjan tribespeople. By 1907 he had come to a conclusion that "branches of the Wawpa tribe all speaking the Wawpa language or dialects of it, reached away northerly as far perhaps as Dalby." As a general term, it has been applied to the Kaiabara, Wakawaka, Djakunda, and Wulili.

The term Waapa used for a community of tribes was possibly an outcome of the periodic assemblies of distant people which took place to gather the harvests of seed of the bunya pine (*Araucaria bidwilli*) to which there is more detailed reference below. Darling Downs tribespeople who participated in the mass invasion of the pine areas seemingly did not differentiate between the several people with whom they shared this periodic bounty of nature. This brings up the important point, not often stressed, that there are two main areas, many miles apart, occupied by the pines visited during the great harvests which developed at intervals of three years. The area traditionally discussed is in the coastal Blackall Range north of Brisbane. John Archer visited this area in December 1843 in company with explorer Ludwig Leichhardt, and Daniel Bunce (1857) gave descriptions of it. The other area is in the mountains on the Dividing Range north of Dalby. Tribes visiting the latter forests included the Jiman, Mandandanji, Barunggam, and Bigambul; some northern Kamilaroi and Weraerai also made the journey to the Dalby area. The host tribes, western hordes of the Wakawaka and especially the Djakunda, tried to keep to themselves during these invasions of their territory which were occasions for ceremonies, easy living, and violent discord among their visitors over a period of several months.

The Bunya Mountain hosts in the Blackall Range were some hordes of the Kabikabi and people of the small rain forest tribes, which in this work are grouped under the name of Dalla (see discussion in earlier paragraphs). Their visitors included the coastal hordes of the Kabikabi; some of the Wakawaka; the Undanbi from the coastlands to the east; the offshore islanders, Ngugi, Nunukul, and Koenpal; the Jagara and Jukambe of the Brisbane area; and some of the several [-bal] peoples from the mountains of northern New South Wales, who were sometimes lumped together, in the view of the hosts, as the Jukambal, name of one of the most distant groups to make the journey.

The bunya pine yields some [banja] seed cones every year, sufficient as a rule for the local inhabitants but the third-year harvest was the important one. Each tribe claimed rights to the fruit of certain trees, and individuals also had claims to private ownership. In the lean years one group occasionally invited a friendly "tribe" to spend a month or two partaking of the banja, but exacted the condition that they did not kill game animals. It is unfortunate that the full story of such arrangements and the social results were never recorded.

During the great gatherings people came from as far away as the New England plateau, the Clarence and Richmond rivers, Fraser Island, and the Dawson River. Their ['burun] initiation ceremonies were elaborate and were shared in common over wide areas. Languages were often distinct but there was communication. The banja was nutritious but in 1844 Archer reported that young people generally returned to their own territories "with boils all over the body." The ripe kernels, ['jenggi], generally were roasted but eaten raw when unripe.

Quantities were pounded into a meal, ['manu], and baked in the ashes as a cake. Large quantities of the kernels were stored by burying. When uncovered after a lapse of time they had the unpleasant odor of "decayed fowl."

Mrs. K. Emmerson of Chinchilla in letters to me in 1962 confirmed that the Jiman and other people from west of the Dividing Range visited the mountains above Dalby for banja feasts. She also mentioned that a very old white man, then only recently deceased, had once seen the body of a member of the tribe (presumably the Barunggam of the Chinchilla area); it had been brought back from the mountains north of Dalby after banja feasting. She made it clear that it had not been brought away from the Blackall Range.

Meston (1892 MS; 1905) listed all the tribes known to him as attending the banja harvests but failed to differentiate between those that visited the mountains near the coast and those that visited the groves on the main divide. The tribal names he used, when adjusted to the terminology favored in this work, show close agreement. His population figures are not so believable. He estimated that as many as 20,000 persons assembled for the harvests. Even though members of some fifteen or more tribes were involved, such a figure seems unrealistic. His list, however, suggests that in this part of eastern Australia there was a widespread similarity in language structure and some mixing but not enough to break down the tribal structure of the several communities that participated on a triennial basis. It may be of interest to note that botanists have discovered a distant northern outlier of the banya pine forests on the upper reaches of the North Johnstone River on the Atherton tableland, where Mamu aborigines must have gathered the seeds.

Returning after this long digression to the subject of collective terms, Winterbotham obtained for me information that coastal tribes near Brisbane regarded themselves collectively as Baranuba, the meaning not explained, while the inland Dalla called them Mwoirnewar or "saltwater people." The latter term embraced the Kabikabi, Undanbi, and Dulingbara of the Wide Bay area. The Darling Downs people in the west referred to the same three groups as Bargumar or "coastal people." They used this term when some of them came inland over the Dividing Range to engage in ceremonial combat. As already mentioned, Darling Downs people differentiated the more northern tribes as ['Wa:pa]. They also had a second term linking the same four tribes—Wulili, Djakunda, Kaiabara, and Wakawaka—as the ['Owari].

In the vicinity of the Brisbane River, the Jukambe, the Kitabal of the Mount Lindsay heights, the Jagara (Jagarabal), and perhaps others were collectively called the Biriin ['Biri:n]. In a northeasterly direction the Dalla loosely grouped the Batjala of Fraser Island, the Ngulungbara, and the Dundubara mentioned earlier, as Dundubara peoples.

TORRES STRAIT ISLAND PEOPLE

The Papuan-speaking and physically different peoples of the islands in Torres Strait have not been included in the detailed part of this survey of Australian tribes.

The most northerly Australian people listed are the Kaurareg of the Prince of Wales Island and adjoining areas in the most southern part of the strait. They and the Djagaraga are true Australians with an admixture of the Torres Strait ethnic strain which has penetrated in increasingly diluted form down a part of Cape York Peninsula as accompaniment to the cultural influences that can be seen extending south for several hundred miles along the coasts. In the main the Djagaraga I have seen and heard are Australian in both physical form and language.

The true Torres Strait Island peoples, speaking languages related to those of the southern mainland of New Guinea, are not organized on the tribal basis seen so often on the Australian mainland. Each unit apparently bears the name of the island upon which it is based with generally a suffix appended. Thus Mulgrave Island is Badu and its inhabitants are Badulega or Baduleiga. On large islands such as Banks there is a highland portion, Mua or Mura, and a lowland portion; the people of the two areas are the Muralaig and the Italaig.

The form of the Australian language-speaking Kaurareg of Prince of Wales Island is reminiscent of this geographically determined nomenclature; indeed it seems very probable that the suffix [-reg] or [-rega] has a similar significance to [-laiga] or [-lega] farther north. A somewhat similar type of nomenclature, linked with local groups named after places and marked by the suffix [-bara] or [-bura], appears in parts of coastal Queensland and New South Wales.

Those who are interested in the Torres Strait islanders should refer to the detailed reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Strait, 1904 et seq. Great changes have taken place in the past half century in that area. One event that had an effect on the tribal situation in Australia is the formation of Bamaga Settlement near Red Island Point, 28 miles (45 km.) south of Cape York, on the Queensland mainland. It cares for the inhabitants of Saibai Island which is sinking in the sea and has had to be abandoned.

NEW SOUTH WALES TRIBES

Detailed studies, bearing on tribal organization and distribution, are few for New South Wales. Some supposedly authoritative nineteenth-century works are particularly poor, especially that of John Fraser (1892).

In the 1930s during the Harvard-Adelaide Universities Anthropological Expedition, efforts were made to meet all the remaining full-blooded aborigines. There were opportunities to talk with some aged men and women whose memories went back to such events as the bora ceremonies at which they had been initiated and, in the west, to times when as children they were still living on and fed within their own tribal territories. The names of most of the tribes were heard as spoken by aborigines; in a few cases, however, only mixblood survivors or members of adjoining tribes spoke these names. In the main this provided data for critical evaluation of earlier sources of information.

The name Eora is accepted for the tribal group around Port Jackson, instead of the hordal term Kamaraigal used in my 1940 work. David Collins (1798–1802) supplied a meaning of "black men" for Eora and wrote the term with a capital letter. John Hunter (1793:408), however, was the first to mention the word, giving it a meaning of "men or people." On a later page of his vocabulary, he gave "yo-ra" with meaning of "a number of people." The suffix -gal attached to certain locality names in the Sydney area was accepted by Hunter and later by Collins as indicating areas of residence of "tribes." In the nomenclature of this work, they are names of hordes. While discussing the differences between Port Jackson people collectively and those of the Hawkesbury River who spoke a different dialect, Hunter, by inference recognized the existence of the larger groupings called tribes in this study.

The boundary between the Eora and the Daruk, who lived northwest of Sydney, was first established by observations during Governor Arthur Phillip's explorations in April 1791. Having ventured beyond the hordal territory of the Bidjigal, somewhat north of Castle Hill, his party was preparing to camp when his aboriginal companions came upon a young man and a boy who were of another tribe and spoke a different language or dialect. Subsequently, on the Hawkesbury River a few miles farther north, the governor met the same man and others of his horde, the Buruberongal. They were in possession of several canoes. Their camp was on the northern bank of the river but there were indications of their presence farther south. Phillip's native helpers who had discovered a camp made by a hunter in the bush south of the river wished to destroy it on the excuse that it belonged to an enemy. Their own evident lack of security seemed to imply that they were very close to their own tribal boundary. Information on Eora hordes is incomplete. Table 3 shows what can be gleaned by collation of the principal sources.

A point of interest for the archaeologist of the future is the statement of Collins that the Eora aborigines around Port Jackson made much use of rock-shelters. Occupational debris at the mouths of these caves were, at an early date, noticed to be rich in phosphates and proved a useful source of manure for the gardens of early settlers and there were shells for lime burning. Thus many of these habitations were destroyed.

Tribes living along the New South Wales coasts appear to have been relatively sedentary, having little communication with peoples over the inland ranges, and they could not understand the speech of folk living less than 100 miles (160 km.) away. An early account by Clement Hodgkinson (1845:53) of conditions in 1842 shows that the natives of Bellinger River, presumably the Kumbainggiri, had very stationary habits. There was a local abundance of food and the broken intervening country was such as to discourage travel. Hence, for a considerable time, they heard nothing about the white men who had taken up holdings in the country of the Ngaku people on the Macleay River only 40 miles (60 km.) to the south. From the figures cited by Hodgkinson, it would appear that in such rugged country only about one half of the available area was used by the people of these tribes. The rest represented little-used belts separating more favorable locations. He estimates each of his tribes had a complement of eighty to one hundred men, exclusive of women and children. Thus their populations may have approached the mean as estimated by us for Australian tribes. He further indicates that the larger group was more generally spread out into smaller parties of eight to ten men with their women and children. These detached groups were said to roam over every part of the country within the prescribed limits of the main "tribe" to which they belonged.

For the tribes of New South Wales, a low level of understanding was attained in a publication by Fraser. He listed only fourteen names of what purported to be tribes. Examination of his map shows that his "tribes" bore little relationship to those now recognized and were closer to the so-called nations that some nineteenth-century-writers pretended to find. Five, possibly six or more of his names were artifacts, admittedly having been coined by himself to supply what he considered to be a lack. While they might possibly serve to denote some of the language divisions in place of those devised by

modern scholarship, they are not aboriginal concepts and are not indicative of the tribal units accepted in this study. Depending in part, as he says, "on ten years thought" rather than data from aboriginal sources, his work is most unsatisfactory and is unquestionably the most inaccurate and garbled account ever published about the aborigines. Only for a small area of the south coast of New South Wales is there any very significant information. Even there, he arbitrarily groups the tribes that he calls subtribes under terms of his own devising.

Each of Fraser's groupings embraces more than one tribal area except that shown for his "Kamilari" [*sic*], which fails to include the area north of the Gwydir River known to have been occupied by the Kamilaroi tribe. To his "Walarai" he gives territory of five tribes as recognized today, namely that of the Ualarai plus the Weraerai, the above-mentioned northern portion of the Kamilaroi, the Morowari territory, and a small portion of the Koamu area north of Angledool. His "Yunggai" (coined term) includes the Jukambal, the Kwiambal, and the Anaiwan. The "Yakkajari" (coined) includes the Kambuwal and a small portion of the Bigambul (his Pikambal) territory that extends into New South Wales. "Paikal-yung" embraced some ten tribal units. It was not known to any of my informants and may also be an artifact. His "Wachi-garu" (coined) appears to embrace four units, Banbai, Kumbainggiri, Ngaku, and a portion of the territory of the Dainggati. The balance of Dainggati to the south, plus twelve other tribal territories extending as far as the northern half of Gandangara country were lumped as the "Kuring-gai." This regional term appears not to have been listed by any other writer on tribes. His "Murrin-jari" (coined) included six tribal areas plus the southern portion of the area occupied by the Gandangara. The "Garego" term embraces three tribal areas, Ngarigo, Walgalu, and Jaitmathang. Fraser's term is recognizably derived from one of the above tribes, but if it is aboriginal either Fraser or the original auditor of the word must have been tone deaf to the initial ng sound.

Fraser's "Wira-dhari" boundary disagrees with other information, especially in the west, to the north includes both the Kawambarai and the Wongaibon, and extends into Victoria to embrace the territories of the Barapar-

TABLE 3

HORDES OF THE EORA TRIBE OF PORT JACKSON AND VICINITY

Accepted name	*Earlier versions*	*Range or territory*
Kameragal	Kameraigal Cameragal Camerra Cammeragal Cam-mer-ray-gal Gommerigal	North shore of Port Jackson including Manly Beach
Wan:egal	Wanne Wangol Wongal Wanuwangul	Long Cove to Rose Hill
Kadigal	Cadigal Cadi Caddiegal	South side of Port Jackson from South Head to Long Cove
Wal:umedegal	Wallume-de-gal Wallumede Walumetta	Milson Point and North Shore opposite Sydney Cove (called Warrane)
Bu:ramedigal	Boora medi-gal Par-ra-mata	Parramatta
Bidjigal	Bidjigal Bejigal	Castle Hill area
Norongeragal	Norongera-gal	No locality information
Borogegal	Borogegal Burrogy	Bradley Head
Karegal	Caregal	Broken Bay or southern vicinity
Gweagal	Gwea-gal	Southern shore of Botany Bay

apa, Jotijota, Kwatkwat, as well as the Jeithi of the area southwest of Wagga Wagga. The area ascribed to his "Ba-kanji" includes the western parts of the Wongaibon, Ngemba, and Wiradjuri areas, together with nine others, including the southeastern two thirds of Parundji, the rest being associated with a term "Kornu," meaning man, which belongs among the Kula and Barkindji but is displaced far to the northwest of its home. A question mark suggests that Fraser was lacking in data from the western part of the state.

The advent of R. H. Mathews with far-reaching and dedicated fieldwork in the 1890s helped to clarify the tribal picture. Credit should be given also to the many contributors to the pages of the *Australasian Anthropological Journal* and its successor, *Science of Man*. Although belittled by some, its editor, Alan Carroll, should be given credit for efforts over nearly two decades in placing on record the multitude of details necessary for the recovery of a good picture of tribal distributions.

John MacPherson (1904) published a sketch map of tribes in the New England area. This was based on statements of aborigines in the region between Tenterfield, Glen Innes, and Inverell. It is most useful for that area, but the more distant tribes are placed only in the general direction of where they are situated. Names of distant peoples are those current among his informants. He shows two Kamilaroi groups, evidently being misled by the very large area occupied by the Kamilaroi, into searching for differences.

MacPherson's contribution has to be interpreted in the light of his *g* being *dj*, and his *i* is the diphthong *ai*. Some of his names for remote tribes may have been written down on different occasions, using different spellings and subsequently not recognized as belonging to the one tribe. Thus his Beegumbul, Wigal-wollumbul, and Ween'gul-lam'bul all seem to be attempts at the one name. All are placed within the known bounds of the Bigambul tribe as originally noted by William Ridley in 1861, and since adequately confirmed by fieldwork. Another such recording problem caused him to place the Anaiwan tribe on his map in two places as "Inuwon" and again as "Enneewin." His "Yookumbul" tribe is shown around Inverell. Other data indicate their area was east of Tenterfield, and there is no explanation unless his information came from Jukambal aborigines living away from their original territory.

No fewer than twenty-six observers between 1846 and the present time have heard the tribal term Wiradjuri with the first vowel as an *i*, yet R. M. Berndt (1947) proposed Wuradjeri, or in his system, Wuradẓəri. He retains the *u* in his later writings. I have myself heard the tribal term from the lips of several aborigines. The more frequent pronunciation is ['Wiradjuri] and less frequently a displacement of the stress with an interdental as [Wi'raduri]. He also recorded the well-known name Kamilaroi as if it were ['Kɔminroi] but has not persisted with this in a 1964 work. The tribal name is of course structured on the word ['kamil], which means "no."

W. S. Parkes reported to me an interesting conversation he had had with an aged Wiradjuri living at Brungle Reserve in 1948. This man said that the Wiradjuri spoke of their country as a "line" rather than as an enclosed area. Parkes, quoting from memory, detailed the "line" as passing through Brungle, Gobarlong, Jugiong, Harden, Cowra, Orange, Dubbo, Condobolin, Hillston, Hay, Darling Point (south of Griffith), Wagga Wagga, Tarcutta, Adelong, and returning to Brungle. Tumut was on the "line" of an adjoining tribe for which he gave the name Gurmal. Gurmal as ['Guramal] is the Wiradjuri name for the Ngarigo; it is based on their term ['gurai], meaning "hostile people." Parkes also indicated that the area south of Wagga Wagga was not Wiradjuri country. Other information has confirmed this and the tribal name Jeithi is shown as belonging to the region north of the Murray River and south and southwest of the Wagga Wagga area.

Information about western tribes in New South Wales can still be gleaned. Thus an aboriginal named Clayton of the Balranald district gave an address during the celebrations attending the centenary of the journey of Sturt down the Murray River, in which he mentioned by name several tribes. His pronunciations were clear and are worth recording accurately in phonetic script form ['Jiṭə'jiṭə] with a variation to an aspirated ['Hiṭə'hiṭə]; ['Wari'wari] he equated with ['Wati'waṭi], the usual and preferred form in this work; [Wo'ŋaibon] which he mentioned as a tribe north of his country.

There are very few tribal terms in New South Wales which cannot be reconciled with other data. One is the "Woolka-Kilpara tribe," a name that is associated with specimen E11936 in the Australian Museum from the Newfoundland Holding, Darling River. Two others, one mentioned by Mathews (1898:68 [Gr. 6468]), are "Wannungine" and "Warrangine." At present they are listed as possible horde name or names within the Worimi. One or the other may be a misprint and perhaps they should be associated with the Awabakal.

It is of some interest that J. M. Holmes (1944) developed a study showing regional boundaries in the Murray valley between Bombala and west of Mildura. The same geographical factors may have had strong effects in determining these lines for there is a remarkable degree of correspondence between ancient tribal boundaries and those seen by a modern geographer.

As indicated in the Catalog of Tribes, the conclusion was reached that the Nanja horde was part of the Danggali tribe. No study of tribes would be complete without some reference to this group. Thomas H. Goodwin (*in* Smyth, 1878, 2:75) recorded an early episode of what he regarded as a breakaway group of the Maraura tribe in the country between the western anabranch of the lower Darling River and the border of South Australia. Writing from Yelta in August 1863, he said: "A few months ago an elderly woman and two lads were met with on the upper part of the Ana branch who had come in from the 'scrub' and had never before seen a white man. The language they speak is evidently a dialect of *Marowra,* but it is so different that the other blacks can understand very little of what they say. . . . The supposition is (and the older blacks have an indistinct recollection of the circumstance) that a man, having stolen his wife, escaped with her into the scrub where they have remained ever since: when the water has dried up, getting it from Mallee, or native wells, one of which has been recently discovered. . . . The man is supposed to be dead and the woman with her two sons have made their way to the creek."

Goodwin suggested that differences from current usage in the Maraura language had developed during their isolation. Unfortunately, he did not list any vocabulary. It seems that aborigines from this mallee country were not seen again until 1884 when a group of them were surprised by a white youth while they were bathing in a waterhole at Dinner Creek on the road from Oak Vale to Popiltah Lake. Their tracks had been seen two years previously in the same area.

In late 1891 or 1892 an aboriginal of the Maraura tribe and a mixblood from Popiltah Lake met a large group of the Nanja and pursuaded them to come in to Avoca Station. At that time there were about thirty members in the horde; the oldest man was named Nanja. A photograph taken shortly after their appearance shows twenty-five of them at Urntah, excluding Nanja who was not in the picture. Thus the horde comprised at least twenty-six persons, of whom six were adult males, eight were females, and twelve were children. At first they camped on Urntah Waterhole and were sometimes called the Scotia blacks. The younger men eventually were employed as stockmen on Popiltah Station. It appeared that Nanja, who was given the white name of Harry, was related to the Maraura, but had quarreled with them as a young man about the year 1864, had killed a man, and had fled into Danggali territory. He was taken to Adelaide and appeared at the Adelaide Exhibition of that year and was photographed with two of his daughters who had grown to be very big women on their civilized diet. Nanja died shortly after and little was mentioned about the survivors in later years. One of the younger sons, Billy, was killed in an accident on the paddle steamer *Gem* in 1905 by becoming tangled up in the moving machinery.

C. Richards (1901) published a study of the Nanja horde with details of ages of forty-two persons of whom seven were then dead. This showed an increase of five after 1891–1892. His system of transcription was complex, but he indicated they were of the Dthang'gha or "upland" people who lived west of the Darling River. He placed them in his " 'Marraa'warree Nation." This tends to support the conclusion arrived at independently that they were Danggali, since his paper was discovered only after other facts had led to that assessment. In the terminologies current along the Murray River, they were the ['Ja:ko'ja:ko], a name based on their word for "no" ['ja:ko], whereas the Maraura word for "no" ['i:la] would have implied ['I:la'i:la].

The time factor indicates that when Nanja retreated into the mallee desert there were already others living there. Thus in 1955 J. D. Kelly, then living at Hallett, recalled for me how, when he was a youth about the year 1900, two groups of aged aborigines of the area east of Mount Bryan, named respectively the ['Nanjara] and the ['Nju:wiki] were camped on Njuwiki Creek, a stream that flows across the plains to the Murray River near Morgan. During an unusually severe drought the Njuwiki waterhole dried up and the aged aborigines became very weak. Police took the Nanjara people to another camp near Mount Bryan where they seemed to lose heart, and all died. The other group went back east toward the Murray River. From this it appears that more than one horde of the Danggali wandered originally in the mallee desert east of the northern Mount Lofty Ranges. This account suggests one way in which hordes may be established, as well as illustrating the sometimes precarious, even ephemeral, nature of existence possible for such marginal groups, especially when confronted with less favorable phases of the general climate.

Robert McKinley, an aged F_1 mixblood of Maraura descent with whom I worked, gave some information that helps us in understanding the ways of the Maraura and the people to the west. Incidentally he preferred the pronunciation of ['Mare'awura] for the tribal name. The territory of his people extended just over the border into South Australia on the northern side of the Murray River, no farther than Paringa. Their best camping places were around Lake Victoria. They were the people who challenged the overlanders driving sheep and cattle to South Australia in the 1830s. In their traditions they had migrated south down the Darling River and were an

aggressive people. They intermarried with the nearer hordes of surrounding tribes on both sides of the river, but they refused to allow their women to be taken too far away. He estimated that this would mean no more than 20 to 30 miles (30 to 50 km.) from their own people. A river man who had a sister could receive a bush woman in exchange for her. If he had none to offer in his own family, one of his kinsfolk would provide one for him. Nevertheless, there was a serious shortage of wives and parties of Maraura young men, nine or ten at a time would travel secretly for 100 miles (160 km.) and more, pounce on women, young and old, of a tribe of strangers, and carry them off. Sometimes older married women who made too much trouble, particularly when they had left children behind, were allowed after a while to return home, but the younger ones were kept. They would not take women from groups near at hand, up to say 20 and 30 miles away because they were personally known and the young men could be held to account—only strange people were robbed in this manner. They had been known to go from the vicinity of Mildura as far west as Swan Reach, a distance of 150 miles (250 km.) to steal their women.

From these observations, it seems that the mallee desert west of the lower Darling River was sparsely occupied by Danggali people who lived on the scant water supplies provided by *Eucalyptus oleosa* and *Hakea* roots, except when droughts forced them into major waters. The matrilineal moiety system of kinship classification was flexible enough to enable males of one tribal area on occasion to transfer their activities to the tribal area of their wife or wives. Some notes given for the Ngarkat tribe in a later section of this chapter may help in the understanding of the lifestyles of more than one tribe of these mallee desert dwellers.

VICTORIA TRIBES

Several tribes living in Victoria escaped notice in my 1940 work and an extinct group seems to have been unnoticed since the early days of the state. Thus E. B. Addis (*in* Great Britain. Parliamentary papers relative to the Australian aborigines, London, 1844:283) reported two instances of the robbing of outstations by a "tribe of which little has hitherto been known further than that the natives here [the Wathaurung of Geelong] call them the 'wild blacks,' and that they inhabit the coast range of forest towards Cape Otway." The Otway peninsula and its high plateau, with its dense covering of cold rain forest of giant eucalypts and southern beech (*Nothofagus*) seem to have been a refuge for a people who "robbed an outstation of food and blankets, but did not use any savage violence." They were not noticed again, save by James Dawson (1881:2) who mentioned that the Cape Otway language was called Katubanut, literally the "King Parrot language" by his informants on the west side of that area. The aborigines called the dense forests between the mouth of the Hopkins River and Cape Otway ['jarowaitj] or in his orthography "Yarro waetch." There are remains of camps of recent archaeological date on the east side of the mouth of the Gellibrand River and at Apollo Bay. This was probably the area of refuge for the people mentioned by Addis. Similar country extends north to beyond Lorne.

The Ngurelban tribe was not listed in the 1940 work. Its people occupied the country along the Campaspie River and westward toward Cohuna. F. Tuckfield (1844) first encountered about sixty members of the tribe at the Murray-Campaspie junction during April 1842 and traveled west with them for two days to somewhere in the vicinity of Gunbower, where the aborigines turned aside. Very little has come down about them save their name and a short list of words. Five hordes were listed and mapped by E. M. Curr (1887:566), but one of these, the Natarakbulok (Netterackbulluk, Natratboolok) on the Goulburn River near Yea, is better regarded, probably, as a horde of the Taungurong tribe.

The Jupagalk, along the Avoca River, reported by A. W. Howitt (1904) also were omitted in error from the 1940 study. Their territory is centered on Birchip.

The triangle between Melbourne, Echuca, and Albury remains one of the problem areas from which it can only be gathered that there may have been five valid tribal groupings. The dominant tribe of the area was the Pangerang, more correctly perhaps Panggerang, divided into either eight or ten hordes. No two authors agree as to the names of all the tribes and hordes. It seems clear that the tribe at Melbourne and along the Yarra was the Wurundjeri, also with almost equal validity called the Woiworung. North of them was the Taungurong, more accurately probably Taunggurong, with four named hordes in the valley of the Goulburn River. Unfortunately, Howitt and R. Brough Smyth differ as to the placing of the hordes. Howitt's Butherabaluk are north in the Mangalore area while Brough Smyth locates his Bootherboolok, obviously the same name, near Taggerty.

Hordes of the Pangerang were scattered from the lower reaches of the Ovens and Buffalo rivers nearly to Echuca. The three hordes that lived along the southern bank of the Murray River between Bundalong and the vicinity of Barmah, although related to the Pangerang, are regarded as members of a separate tribe under the name Kwatkwat, based, as are names of many of the downriver tribes, on the reduplicated term for "no." Ten hordes were listed for the Pangerang by Curr; however the two

north of the Murray River seem to have belonged to other tribes. As already stated, there is good evidence for the former existence of the Ngurelban. Their name suggests a relationship with the main body of Pangerang people. There were several hordes. Color plates 43 to 46 illustrate some aspects of Pangerang life.

According to information given before a committee of the Legislative Council of Victoria in 1858, the five tribes in the vicinity of Melbourne, those listed in this work as the Taungurong, Wurundjeri, Bunurong, Wathaurung, and Kurung, developed under the influence of a patrilineal dual system of social organization. They had well-developed arrangements for intergroup marriage, seemingly crossing the bounds of the units called tribes in other areas. Unless further documentation is discovered it now seems late to learn whether it is correct to regard the members of these five units as belonging to groups other than tribal ones. Differences of language seem to justify their separation, and in the present work they are listed as tribes. Some intertribal marriage occurs in most parts of Australia (Tindale, 1953) and the chances of such marriages may have increased in numbers after the decimation that occurred during the smallpox pandemic of the 1820s and the disruptions introduced by contact with Europeans. That patrilineal clans exchanged wives across tribal boundaries in southern Australia is clear. This pattern of marriage was present near the mouth of the Murray River, where some Jarildekald clans exchanged women with the Tanganekald.

For Victorian tribes, early references are marred by the strange variations in spelling present in the printed reports. As many as three versions appear in a single work. Some are doubtless due to careless proofreading of strange words, others to badly written manuscripts. A flagrant example is the name given to a local group of the Jaara (Lewuru) tribe as it appears in the reports of E. S. Parker. We see Kalkalgoondeel, Galgajoondeel, and Talgalgoondeel, all three seemingly misreadings of a local group name whose proper form was Kalkalgu:ndi:tj. The tribal name Wathaurung in one report is disguised as Witswrong and Wadawio; elsewhere the same author had ostensibly written Witouro and Witowro.

Cumbersome methods of transcription lead to strange looking versions. Where the author has defined his system, as did Dawson (1881), conversion to more suitable systems is not difficult for general use, and this course has been adopted in the present work rather that perpetuating spellings for the sake of tradition. It has been possible to make use of several manuscript sources preserved in the archival holdings of the public library of Victoria. The best of these were the detailed works by W. Thomas listed as Thomas 1839 MS and 1862 MS. Some of Thomas's vocabularies require close study and interpretation. For example, he writes of a term "woordy-garrong-willam" in the language spoken near Melbourne and gives a meaning of "tribe." Closer inspection suggests this is merely a phrase with the general significance of a cluster of camps ['wil:am], since he also lists "woordy-gurroong" (a single vowel different) as meaning "a swarm of bees." He notes a similar phrase from the language at Bacchus Marsh "woordy-gurrong-gooly" which suggests a group or cluster of men ['kuli]. Unfortunately, these phrases do not supply us with an aboriginal word directly applicable to the Victorian tribal situation. This manuscript records another term for tribe in the speech of the Wannon area (he calls it Wonnin) of western Victoria, as "Merring-ga-merring-gill." In that area the words used for "man" in a plural sense is the same as for "tribe," for example ['kuli] among the Tjapwurong and ['ma:r] among the Gunditjmara of Lake Condah. Thomas's word has some relationship with "man," since we note that farther west, along the Murray River, among the Erawirung people, ['meri] means man. When more systematic studies are made much may yet be learned about the thoughts of aboriginals about themselves.

In chapter 1 attention was drawn to the presence in Australia of a widespread and presumably rather old word ['taurai], in other places appearing as ['dar], conveying the idea of territorial possession and an aura of meanings surrounding that idea. It is of interest that in southeastern Australia more than one tribe embodies this root very obviously in their tribal name, perhaps hinting that such names are of long standing. A list will perhaps demonstrate this and a further list of lesser value may suggest further possible links with some such type of name:

'Ţ̌aua or 'Ť̌auraira
'Ťauŋguroŋ
'Wařauruŋ
'Bəratauoluŋ

The list of less certain terms would include:

'Tařuŋaluŋ
'Krauətuŋaluŋ
'Djilamařaŋ
'J̦aitmathaŋ
'Ťuŋgut (the alternative name for Tatitati)
'Bidəwəl

In view of the indications given earlier that the term ['taurai] is often linked with the idea of the clan, it may be that when the names were first used the present very

obviously tribal units were actually only a series of clans that later expanded to tribal size. Unfortunately, it probably will always be a matter of dispute for lack of sufficient data.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA TRIBES

The Adelaide Register of July 5, 1927, briefly summarized my first address on the "Native Tribes of South Australia" at a meeting of the newly formed Anthropological Society of South Australia. Names of twenty-five groups were recognized. At that time the aborigines of the northwestern parts of the state were not in touch with us, the invaders of their country, and much of the area was still unvisited. By 1940 one or more members of all but one tribe had been interrogated, usually in the field. Members of the Nauo, however, had become extinct in the late nineteenth century, leaving earlier writers, G. F. Angas, and C. W. Schürmann, and aborigines of adjoining tribes as the best authorities.

After World War II, the establishment of the Woomera research facilities for study of modern weapons necessitated far-reaching patrols into the otherwise highly inaccessible parts of the Western Desert with its vast areas of parallel sand dunes. Only one new tribe, the Nakako, was discovered, entering for a short distance into South Australia from the west (Tindale, 1965). It was possible by 1966, to ascertain accurate boundaries for the Pitjandjara and other tribes by personal visits with the people whose horde territories lay along the bounds.

The aboriginal tribe that formerly occupied the area that is now the city of Adelaide was the Kaurna. Their territory extended from the Redhill district south to Cape Jervis on the eastern shore of the Gulf St. Vincent. The word ['war:a] in their language, and in the languages of some adjoining tribes, meant "speech," hence they spoke ['Kaurna'war:a]. By a play on language this name became in the Ramindjeri language of Encounter Bay ['Kunawar:a], a derogatory term for their feared and hated northern neighbors, since ['kuna] has the meaning of "dung." The Kaurna seem to have lived on the Adelaide plains for a long period of time in the past. They had links with northern tribespeople through their mutual sharing in the rites of circumcision, but very few with the Ramindjeri of the south and the tribes east of the Mount Lofty Ranges, who shunned them as dangerous people and feared their intrusion.

In 1931 the term Kaurna was checked and approved by Ivaritji (Ibaritji) the last fullblood survivor of the tribe. She was able to confirm from her childhood knowledge that there were separate small groups of Kaurna who spent most of their time, some in the south, others in the north, and still others on the Adelaide plain. Their most consistent movements were toward the seashore in summer and inland at the beginning of winter to find better shelter and better sources of firewood. They traveled and met together in larger communities for ceremonies and dances, especially in mild weather and at full moon. Women were not allowed to take active part in the initiation ceremonies for their young men. They were permitted to hear some parts of the activities and singing of special songs while kept under cover of opossum skin rugs. They felt pride that their men practiced circumcision.

First observers in South Australia did not use the terminologies we employ today. Thus W. A. Cawthorne (1844) spoke of Kaurna hordes on the plains near Adelaide as existing "in separate bodies as wandering tribes [our hordes], acknowledging no head, and of course with no subordination, excepting the respect due to age, which is paramount and honored in proportion. There was no bond to unite them beyond that of mutual security as a tribe and no law to defend themselves individually but their own powers." So far as it went this was a good statement save that he overlooked the power inherent in the opinion of others within the tribe. No one, at that time, had detected the strong bonds and responsibilities placed on aborigines by reason of their kinship systems and the marriage restrictions they entailed. In fact Cawthorne went on to say "neither order nor system regulates their affairs, whether warlike or domestic. In their social intercourse it was similar." The Kaurna did have an elaborate kinship system with a division into moieties, named as Kararu and Mat:ari, and descent in the female line. Details will be published elsewhere.

There was little communication between aborigines east of the Mount Lofty Ranges and the west. This continues even today among the civilized descendants. Original fears were engendered in part by the supposed terrors of circumcision, the western rite of initiation.

Looking into the past, the trends of migration of the lower Murray peoples were from the north, following down the river. A possible exception may have been the Ramindjeri. Compressed into the toe of Fleurieu peninsula with the center of their territory at Ramong (Encounter Bay), they appear to have been not only sedentary but also hemmed in by later comers in the Tanganekald and Jarildekald, whose traditions and myths suggest movements from the northeast through the Wimmera and down the Murray River respectively. Ngurunderi the great Jarildekald ancestor patiently followed, and is claimed to have created, successive reaches of the deeply entrenched Murray River by casts of his spear. There is a slight clue that the Ramindjeri originally may have had links with the Western Desert.

Their word ['pira:riar], first recorded by Heinrich A. E. Meyer (1843:92), has the meaning of "desert country." Among Western Desert peoples generally, as far to the west as the Njangamarda, pira has the meaning of a line or chain of watering places or waterholes constituting a feasible track about a hordal territory. As said elsewhere in this work, waterholes in the desert "run in line," and to quote an aboriginal phrase "a line is a pira." The word may be old and close study of it and others, such as the cardinal points referred to in another context elsewhere in this work, may throw some light on movements of the Australian peoples in past times.

My Maraura informant, Robert McKinley, mentioned in the notes on New South Wales tribes, lived at Manunka, near Swan Reach after fleeing from his own territory as a young man. He became friendly with the Ngarkat people who lived in the Murray Mallee which is a vast area of rather dry karst country with sand dunes clothed in forests of several species of *Eucalyptus*, collectively known as mallees. In the southern parts there is more rain but the water does not lie on the surface for long and there are no watercourses. Most of tribe's water came from the surface roots of the water mallee and of a species of *Hakea*. Because they soon exhausted the immediate potentialities of water in any one place, they had few defined camping places and a poor series of names for places in their country. My informant knew them by their Maraura name Ngeruketi. At times they came in to the Murray River along certain traditional tracks to take refuge from great heat, to exchange women, and to trade such objects as stone axes which they obtained from the Wimmera area at the eastern border of their country. They left again after a few weeks. Their mode of living was "different. They lived on the eggs of mallee fowl, kangaroos and small animals" whereas the river people "ate ducks, shellfish and fish." The Ngarkat people could tell by the stars when different plants were ready for harvesting and they made long journeys to get the food. Water was from mallee roots during these journeys. "They had a big country." To communicate they used smoke signals and "could almost tell what the smoke meant." By this he suggested that the inferential content might be far greater than would appear from its simplicity. Thus a single smoke told of a death. Many smokes (four) meant "Come along." A reply of two smokes meant "We are coming." A calm day was chosen for the signals so that smoke went straight up; often early morning was the best time. They had to keep in touch because of the constant shiftings of their camps.

From another informant of the Nganguruku tribe, I learned that a Ngarkat refuge camp during very hot dry weather was at Devon Downs rock-shelter, native name, Ngautngaut ['ŋaut'ŋaut]. The visitors descended the cliff by a narrow track just south of the shelter. At night they went east into the mallee scrub to make their camps. River people did not allow them to descend anywhere else in case they should disturb game that came down the gentler slopes to drink at the water's edge. The same informant said that within his own tribe some hordes possessed only mallee scrub territories along the Marne River on the western bank of the Murray. Such people came in to the river to camp only during the heat of the day and to fetch water, using certain well recognized tracks. For their night camps they carried water into the mallee scrub for distances of from 2 to 5 miles (3 to 8 km.) to the rim of the uppermost terrace of the Murray valley.

The Portaulun tribespeople (the Portauluni) of the north shore of Lake Alexandrina called all strangers, especially those whose language was difficult or impossible to understand, by the term ['milipulən]. Several of the upriver tribes were included in this term as well as the Meintangk of the Kingston area in the southeast of the state. Some earlier writers interpreted this to be a valid tribal name.

It is of interest that some parts of the vocabulary of the Lake Alexandrina area published by George Taplin (1879), as Narrinyeri was learned from Ngunaitponi, a Portaulun man, the rest being from Jarildekald sources. My informant Karloan said that to him some of the Portaulun words were quite strange as if they had been spoken by milipulun. Attempts were made to differentiate many of these words and an independent vocabulary of Tanganekald was developed with Milerum to enable a detailed study of the Tanganekald and other tribes in that area. Milerum as a youth was the son of a member of the last clan of the Tanganekald to abandon their traditional territory and cast their lot with the white invaders of South Australia.

The term ['Narinjeri] (Narrinyeri, Ngarinjeri, etc.) was selected by Taplin (1874:1) as a general name for the people with whom he worked around Lake Alexandrina. It embraced those with whom the people at the mouth of the Murray River could communicate and excluded strangers, including those from upriver and those living over the Mount Lofty Ranges. While the Kaurna of Adelaide took pride in the fact that they were real men because they practiced rites associated with circumcision, the Lake Alexandrina people were equally certain that *they* were real men.

The Pangkala people of Eyre Peninsula had a similar plural possessive term, Ngarinjelburu, in which the word "men" or "people" was understood. This term could be used in the dual form Ngarinjuru. Both terms in the proper circumstances served to differentiate the people of

Eyre Peninsula from those in the Flinders Ranges and those in the east whom they spoke of as Jatanmata ['Jatamat:a], where ['jata] was given as meaning "north-east country" and ['mat:a] was their term for what we understand as a tribe.

At the time of first white settlement in 1836, the coastal tribes of Eyre Peninsula were on the defensive against people moving south from the Lake Eyre region and southeast from the Western Desert, the most insistent being the Pangkala and the Kokata. The Ngadjuri felt the same pressures from starving people and embodied stories about them in their mythology. In one case (Tindale, 1937) it was possible to link the story with an eclipse and to show that either it had originated then or received its latest setting in 1793. The story is of sufficient interest to be quoted as follows:

> There came from the north-west an old woman and her two dogs, one red in color and the other black. She came from an unknown place to which the Ngadjuri believed that human beings could not return. She arrived at ['Buðajerta] (Mount Patawerta, Flinders Range: in the language of the Ngadjuri tribe the name means "snow country," recalling the fact that snow sometimes lies on the mountain during the winter.) As the old woman and her dogs, that had the attributes of men, travelled towards the country of the Ngadjuri, the two savage animals killed any people they encountered and the old woman assisted in the eating of the victims. By means of smoke signals and messengers, news travelled ahead of them, and the people consequently were able, for the most part, to keep out of their way. They did not care to meet this old woman and her two dogs. The cannibal woman approached ['Karu:na] (one of the main camping grounds near Blinman). There was plenty of water and game there. The ['Ganja'mata] people said, "What is the use of running away and leaving our country? (Ganjamata is the Ngadjuri name meaning "Hills-people," used for the people otherwise known as the [Wailpi]. Wailpi is their own local name, and ['Anji'matana] the Kujani name for the tribe [see Hale and Tindale, 1925]). The Wailpi said: "We must make a stand, and try to kill them." They selected two of their men, ['Kudnu], the jew lizard, and his brother, ['Wulkinara], and told them to encounter the old woman and her dogs. Taking only their boomerangs with them, the two men went out to meet the savage trio. When they approached, Wulkinara told his brother Kudnu to climb into a tree, while he hid behind a neighbouring bush. Then Wulkinara said, "Make a noise and attract the attention of the old woman and her dogs." The dogs did not hear. Wulkinara thereupon whispered, "Call out louder." The red dog looked up when it heard the noise made by Kudnu and came straight towards the tree. When it saw Kudnu it made a leap at him. Thereupon Wulkinara stepped out from his hiding place, a boomerang held in his right hand, and threw it at the red dog and cut it in halves. Again Kudnu made a noise. This time the black dog heard him and came directly towards his hiding place. Wulkinara again stepped out with a boomerang in his left hand, threw it, cutting the black dog also in two. They then killed and burned the old woman.
>
> At the place where the red dog's blood was spilled there was formed a red ochre deposit. (This ochre is situated at Parachilna Gorge and is much valued, not only for its supposed medicinal properties, but also for use in initiation ceremonies. It is reported to contain mercury.) The blood of the black dog formed a deposit of black wad, which is used by Ngadjuri men principally for decorating their bodies during dances, but it is also placed on the bodies of young men who are undergoing initiation. It serves to indicate that their period of initiation is nearing a conclusion.
>
> One serious result of the killing of the two dogs, and of the old woman, was that the sun, which had never previously set, went down in the west. Then the frightened tribespeople began crying and wailing. Their efforts to make the sun rise again were unavailing. Kudnu was asleep while they were trying to make the sun rise. Tired with their attempts to make the sun come up again, the people fell asleep. While they slept Kudnu wakened and threw a returning boomerang towards the north; it flew around in a circle without achieving his intention. He threw another towards the west, also without result. He then threw a third to the south. He heard it going around and finally settle upon the ground. Then he threw a fourth boomerang towards the east. He heard it going around in a circle, and as it came towards him, from the east, he could see that the sky was lighting up, and that day was breaking. He shouted to his tribesfolk, "Come! Get up and see the sun rise again."
>
> They surrounded him; hugged him with delight, and presented him with their rugs, spears, clubs, and boomerangs, as token of this achievement.
>
> Ngadjuri people see, marked as a design on the back of the jew lizard, the forms of rugs, spears, and clubs. On each side of its jaws are supposed to be depicted two boomerangs.

The above story tells of the defense of their territory by a group of people long resident in their tribal area. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that their territory almost exactly matches, on the east, south, and west, the limits of distribution of the *Eucalyptus odorata* (peppermint gum) association of botanists. This fact the men of the Kaurna tribe had recognized when they named their Ngadjuri neighbors ['Wir:ameju], the "peppermint gum forest people." As many instances in this work will show, such coincidences of tribal boundaries to local ecology are not uncommon and imply that a given group of people may achieve stability by becoming the most efficient users of a given area and understanding of its potentialities.

The late G. F. Dodwell, former government astronomer of South Australia informed me that the most recent eclipse of the sun to have passed over the Ngadjuri tribal area and over Parachilna Gorge was on March 13, 1793, in the late afternoon. Any earlier such eclipse occurred before the year 1600. It is possible that the story either touches on historical happenings of that date or was given a fresh setting at that time.

Reverting to Eyre Peninsula peoples, there are some indications that Wirangu and Nauo were two very old

languages and that their users may have shifted west earlier from the Flinders Range area. A small piece of evidence may support this. It is based on the modern demand for meanings for the aboriginal names which were placed on their maps by the early surveyors of South Australia. Normally they are descriptive. Thus Ediowie, for example, is based on an original aboriginal watering place much frequented by ['iδi] or Australian finches, hence ['Iδiawi] is both understandable and correct. In the general environs of Adelaide and north, however, there are some names that have no clear significance, although they are obviously old names. It has been our experience that in such cases real and accurately descriptive meanings appear in the languages of the west. While more than one explanation is possible, this could be an indication of westward movements with a drift slow enough so that newcomers, on occasion, preserved the older nomenclature of the country they took over. It will be sufficient here to draw attention to potentialities of a detailed study.

People of the Nauo tribe vanished earlier than most tribal groups in South Australia. The lawless white men of presettlement days on Kangaroo Island (Tindale, 1937) raided them in the early 1800s. At least one Nauo woman survived on that island for many years. She was seen in company of a white sealer, along with Tasmanian women, at King George Sound and sketched in 1820 (Louis C. D. de Freycinet, 1829–1834). After settlement in 1836, there was trouble and several settlers were killed in the Port Lincoln area. At the Green Patch homestead there are still preserved heavy hand-thrown solid barbed spears obtained after one such attack. Slaughter of aborigines is alleged and there are rumors of a massacre in 1846 at Waterloo Bay, near Elliston. Following the killing of a shepherd named Hamp, and the wife of another immediately afterward, it is claimed that 160 well-armed men drove a large group of aborigines, said to have numbered 260, over a cliff into the sea. According to this entirely unconfirmed report, only two aborigines survived. Nauo aborigines remained in the district for many years after that. A doctor E. J. C. Hamp, writing in the *Adelaide Advertiser* of October 18, 1937, suggested that the massacre never took place. One story has substance. A man named Thorne chased aborigines near Lake Newland after they had been detected stealing flour and a gun. The court record shows that Thorne fired at them after they threatened him with spears. An aboriginal and two women were caught and later convicted for stealing. There is only a casual reference to the fact that "two or three natives lost their lives in the affair."

In this work I have drawn attention repeatedly to traps surrounding the acceptance as tribal names of those derived from cardinal points of the compass. It should be noticed therefore that the Antakirinja of the country along the Alberga and Hamilton rivers in the northern part of South Australia regard this as their proper name and no more valid term has been detected. Among the Wongkanguru people who live to the east, the term ['andakirila] is stated to mean "western." This could mean that the basic meaning is "west." Perhaps it is as likely that the term signifies "direction of the Andakiri." This seems to receive some support from the Antakirinja themselves, among whom the suffix [-nja] has the meaning of "name," hence their name has the form "those whose name is Antakiri."

In the area around Boundary Dam on the border of the state near Western Australia, Daisy Bates (1918) obtained a series of names purporting to be tribal which do not fit into any category familiar to me. Bates's collection is a very mixed bag. In one series the definitive part of the name means "man," "woman," or "child" and is combined with a term "wongga" meaning "speech" or "language." In a second series the word for language is modified by "yes," a word meaning "forbidden," or by a compass direction. Some of these may be alternatives for valid tribal names in the area between the Musgrave Ranges and Kalgoorlie. Some of them appear to be nicknames and other casual expressions. Their multiplicity does not imply a comparable number of valid tribal units. Some I have found were used by women and by men when speaking to other women and to children. Only one, "Baaduwongga," refers to fully initiated men ['ba:du]. The term for woman varies from one tribe to the next and so can act as a casual tribal marker. The Ngadadjara, the people who say ['minma], are thereby distinguished from the Pitjandjara who say ['koŋka] or ['kuŋka]. In some of Bates's later papers the information on tribes becomes very confused, and on the advice of some of the older aborigines who were living near her former establishment near Ooldea Soak, they have been passed over.

During the early 1940s R. M. and C. H. Berndt worked at Ooldea. They made notes on supposed tribal groups in that area based on unevaluated terms purporting to be tribal. Later they came to conclusions of a theoretical nature which cannot be supported by the data they produced. Their results are discussed elsewhere in chapter 8 because of their supposedly wider application.

Mathews (1900 [Gr. 6449]), who was originally a land surveyor in South Australia, wrote a paper on the tribes in the general area of Lake Torrens and the Gawler Ranges, and attempted to define a "Hillary Nation." He seems to have drawn more heavily on casual informants

in this paper than in most of his others, and he fell into several traps. Thus in proposing "Hillary" as a general name for several supposed tribes west of Lake Torrens (p. 81), he unwittingly adopted, as tribal, two terms, Kakarrura ['karkurera], meaning "east" and Yallingarra, which also, as ['alindjara], means "east." Some of his data came perhaps from Kokata informants who were discussing eastern members of their own tribe. Incidentally, the limits shown for the Kujani at Red Lake, where his Hillary had a supposed boundary, should be ignored since the Kujani people took in the western shore of Lake Torrens as far south as Andamooka. Further, in adopting the name "Ahminnie," he failed to detect that his informant was a person deaf to the sound of initial ng and that this was really the well-known Ngameni tribe. He also extended their territory too far down the Warburton River. Actually they did not go as far as the shores of the dry Lake Eyre. He accepted also the form "Wonkaoora" for the name of the inhabitants north of that lake whose proper name is Wongkanguru, indicating again that his source was a person similarly tone deaf. In other papers Mathews does record initial ng sounds, presumably when he has heard them himself.

NORTHERN TERRITORY TRIBES

Since 1940 any intention by the government of Australia to separate north and central Australia politically seems to have been abandoned and today the whole of the area of Australia from latitude 26 degrees south to the north coast between longitudes 129 degrees and 138 degrees east is called the Northern Territory. In this study, therefore, I catalog all the territory tribes in one list. In the comments below those in the south are mentioned first.

The detailed work over many years of T. G. H. Strehlow has produced very detailed data about the boundaries and character of the several tribes that fall together under the name Aranda. Strehlow was happy to supply data, incorporating his field observations up to the year 1960. He is now sure that the Southern Aranda country touched on Arabana lands at Macumba, which is an Arabana, not Aranda, place name [Ma'kamba]. They met with Wongkanguru tribesmen there. Territorial claims by some Wongkanguru to the Blood Creek area cannot be supported.

A Western Aranda claim to Gilbert Springs is well supported; it takes their western boundary 20 miles (30 km.) or so farther west than previously indicated. Independent field studies show that the western limit lies along Dashwood Creek. The Northern Aranda claim the Burt Plain and their country extends across it almost to the Hann Range, which, they concede, belongs to the Anmatjera. The Eastern Aranda boundary is at Alice Springs and not at Arltunga, as suggested by the earlier reports summarized in the 1940 map. The eastern limit of the tribe is fixed as lying halfway between the Hale and the Hay rivers. Strehlow has drawn attention to newly noticed subtribal divisions within the Aranda. The Central Aranda are on the plains south of Alice Springs; they have an eight-subsection system of social organization. The Southern Aranda, who have a four-section system, fall into two subdivisions, the Southern Aranda of the upper Finke River, extending from the James Range south to Rumbalara, and the Southern Aranda of the lower Finke River whose territory is the floodplain areas of the Hay, Todd, and Finke rivers.

Elsewhere I have already mentioned the desire of Kukatja men of the western MacDonnell Ranges that the derogatory name Loritja or Aluritja, given them by the Aranda, should be abandoned in favor of their own proper name. Anthropologists should be alert to the fact that there are four entirely separate tribes in Australia which use names similar in pronunciation to this one and perhaps all based on the one idea, namely that they are "meat eaters," that is, "hunters" rather than people depending on vegetable foods, hence perhaps a name based on a very old matter of pride.

One of these tribes ranges from Donor Hills to the coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria in Queensland. The Kukatja of the MacDonnell Ranges in central Australia live west of Glen Helen and within the memory of aborigines their territory has remained stable between the Finke River in the east and Haast Bluff and Mount Peculiar in the west. Between them and the Aranda lies one of the greater language breaks. Nevertheless, they share some very complex initiation ceremonies, secret male totemic emblems such as concentrically marked stone and wooden tjurunga ['tjuruŋa] and, with the Northern Aranda, similar eight subsectional systems of social organization.

A third tribe, calling itself Kokata ['Kokaťa] lives in the water short mallee forests that run east and west between latitudes 29 degrees and 31 degrees south in a belt across South Australia, and about 250 miles (400 km.) south of the MacDonnell Ranges. Theirs is a matrilineal moiety system of social organization which they share with peoples extending to the east of their country.

The fourth of these tribes, whose name I write as Kokatja, has its home in the sand desert south of Gregory Salt Sea, a generally dry lake lying over 300 miles (nearly 500 km.) northwest of the Kukatja country of the MacDonnell Ranges. The late Father Worms first reported the Gregory Lake tribe to me under the name

Gogoda and it was so listed in my 1940 study. In February 1953 he sent me a revised opinion saying that they might be better known as the Gogadja. He had met groups of them during exploratory journeys east and south of that lake during 1948 and 1950 and had learned that their territory extended south into the "Great Sand Desert." A few months later I met members of the tribe myself and formed the opinion that unvoiced consonants would be preferable in transcribing their name. In a footnote to a paper he wrote (Worms, 1954:1082), Father Worms expressed the opinion that the MacDonnell Range and Gregory Lake tribes might be the same. Today they are unquestionably discrete tribes with a long period of separation. Perhaps if their prehistory could be traced it might be found that they once occupied the one area but not necessarily the MacDonnell Ranges. A trade route, carrying pearl shells and pressure-flaked blades for use as circumcision knives, directly links them through at least two other tribes. They share wooden but not stone tjurunga with concentric markings (not subrectangular ones, as are found among the Njangamarda), and their eight-subsection systems like all those in a broad belt extending across to the Wakaja of Queensland, are very similar. Such evidence as I have been able to look at implies that it could have been the Kokatja who made the move to their western location. Their language is not as close to Kukatja, a Pitjandjara-like language, as to those from areas farther to the north.

The Jumu were shown on early tribal maps and were mentioned by Carl Strehlow several times. Their country impinged on that of the Kukatja at Haast Bluff, or Ulambaura, known to the Jumu as Paura. Their territory extended west to Ilpili, always on the northern side of the MacDonnell Ranges, as shown on the map. Their language was known as Ngatatara ['Ŋa:tatara] because they said ['ŋata] or ['ŋada] where other people said ['naŋata]. This people were met with and studied at Mount Liebig in 1932. Most of them were measured anthropometrically and photographed by our University of Adelaide Anthropological Expedition of that year and we made 16mm films of them. Unfortunately, an epidemic killed off many of the Jumu a few years later and the others, mainly children, were cared for and adopted by the Kukatja so that very little of their cultural heritage has continued. The Ngalia have since laid claim to their territory which they said was ['mara 'windjul] or "unpossessed country" and their assertions, being undisputed, have been accepted by later coming anthropologists as correct. Unfortunately, Géza Róheim (1933), who worked with some of them, uncritically accepting their language name, wrongly equated it with the tribal name Ngadadjara of the Rawlinson and Warburton Ranges in Western Australia and thus introduced a gross error. The main living areas of the Jumu and the Ngadadjara are over 250 miles (perhaps 350 km.) apart, with two intervening tribal territories and a broad belt of dry salt lakes separating them.

The Pintubi, who live to the west of the Jumu and astride the ready means of access toward the southwest across some poorly watered country, made their first modern contact with the Jumu and the Ngalia in 1932 when they were encountered in the eastern part of their country by T. G. H. Strehlow, then an official patrol officer, and were led to Mount Liebig where they were studied by members of the University of Adelaide Anthropoligical Expedition in August 1932. Their first encounter is shown in the 16mm films we took on that occasion. Extensive anthropometric and other work was done with them and referred to in papers by H. K. Fry, J. B. Cleland, B. G. Maegraith, and others. It was surprising therefore that Donald F. Thomson (1960) should have made claims to the discovery of a new people, his Bindiboo or Bindibu, an obviously untenable claim in view of already published data and the 1940 tribal map. Apparently he met some members of the tribe still living in their country about Lake Mackay. Seemingly, his guides and helpers were Walpiri men, since he employed their name, Bindibu, for them.

As mentioned in earlier discussion, the Pintubi are in friendly contact with neighbors at the several peripheral watering places it was sometimes essential to visit during extra dry times. They had a term ['koara] that broadly meant "friendly folk," which they applied to such people. This term, which in some places has the added connotation of "recently met ones," has been mistaken for a definitive tribal name. Among these people they included the Wenamba who are their southwestern neighbors. This friendship with one of the eastern hordes of the Wenamba was so marked that there was occasion to speak of the Wenamba Pintubi as if they were part of the one tribe. Better acquaintance with the more western hordes has indicated that two separate tribes are involved. The Pintubi also had associations on a ['koara] basis with people to the north whom they called Kolo. These were the Ngardi people whom they encountered at a still unidentified and supposedly important watering place called Manggai ['Maŋgai]. In similar fashion they had contacts with the Ngadadjara of the Rawlinson Ranges. Their name for the latter people, perhaps only a nickname, was Tjurti ['Tjurti]. This was a reflection of the habitual use by the Ngadadjara of the short throwing club ['tjurti] used in hunting fast-moving small animals, such as the mala (*Lagorchestes hirsutus*), and in digging out

small lizards. As is mentioned also in connection with the impoverished hunters of the far western part of the Western Desert, the name had a somewhat derogatory implication, the difference between kangaroo hunters and small game hunters.

The Ngalia tribe was first mentioned by Carl Strehlow and was met and studied at Cockatoo Creek in 1931 by the members of the University of Adelaide Anthropological Expedition in August of that year. The Ngalia had just a short while before been involved in the killing of a white man who, having associated with them and having been identified with their then four-section social organization, attempted to remarry outside the rules. Anthropometric measurements, genealogies, data on their kinship system, and extensive documentary films were made. At Mount Liebig eleven months later many of the same people were encountered again and it was possible to get details of their movements over the intervening time. It indicated that the journeys of newly initiated young men covered many miles. Some mention has been made of this data by me (Tindale, 1946:74–78) and by T. G. H. Strehlow (1965:132n). The full detail awaits recording in the light of the many place names still only tentatively identified. Further work was done with these people during subsequent periods of fieldwork, and many details of their life have been published. The tribal boundaries, as they were before the usurpation of Jumu territory, are well established. C. P. Mountford (1968), however, has asserted that I was in error in my 1940 recording of the southern boundary that, he claimed, extended to Blanche Towers in the MacDonnell Ranges. He overlooked the fact that the tjurunga stored at Winbaruku, of the ['wami] or snake totem, belong to men of the Tapurula and Tjakamara subsections of the Kukatja tribe. This indicates to me that that area does not belong to the Ngalia, whose wanderings, even in the days of decline of the Jumu, went no farther south than Mount Liebig. A phyllitic slate tjurunga from the hoard at the Winbaruku site, obtained through J. A. Heinrich of Hermannsburg, in June 1926, is in the South Australian Museum collection and was one of those taken to Hermannsburg in August 1929 so that I could have its data confirmed by Kukatja men. On that occasion a great part of the South Australian Museum's tjurunga collection was placed on display, so that men, in secrecy, could supply confirmatory details. Presence of a tjurunga hoard is the kind of proof acceptable to aborigines.

The Walpiri were first in contact with white men at Barrow Creek, when they took part in the murder of one of the telegraph operators at what was then the most isolated outpost in Australia. One of the original aborigines, then a young child, lived to become the grand old man and gifted demonstrator of the ways of his people. Through his skills, much of what we know of stone toolmaking in that area has been learned and the late history of his people chronicled. Our 1931 expedition at Cockatoo Creek met and worked with the Walpiri. At that time there was less communication, as Aranda intermediaries were used. Thus the term Ilpirra, their Aranda name, was accepted for them, but shortly afterward better acquaintance with some of them through Anmatjera interpreters led to the recording of the more correct form Walpiri, which was unfortunately placed incorrectly on the 1940 map as Walpari. Walpiri is the term used by older men of the tribe. Beginning with the formation of the native settlement at Yuendumu during World War II, the schoolmaster taught the children an anglicized version of the name which has lately become Walbri, Wailbri, and is also written Wailbrie. Having seen stages in the change from 1931 to the present, I regret the lack of phonetic training that prevents an educated English speaker from recording a word foreign to him with even a modest degree of accuracy. Adoption of the current spelling by a late-coming anthropologist suggests that the erroneous form may be perpetuated even in learned circles.

The Walpiri have one of the largest and perhaps also one of the harshest territories in Australia for the hunter. There are, however, supplies of grass seed to be gathered enabling relatively large populations to live in one area for greater periods of time than in many other places. This does not warrant the assumption, by M. J. Meggitt (1962), that this is the normal mode of living for Australians; on the contrary the phase of dispersal is the usual one. Some special features of the life of the grass-seed-using peoples is given in chapter 8.

In the Daly River area, where I have had no field experience, I have been helped very greatly by W. E. Stanner (1970: MS). He provided a fresh analysis of all the tribal information he has gathered between 1932 and the present, thus adding materially to the critical value of the evidence he had published earlier. I submitted to him other materials, including a map supplied by I. Mackay (1959: MS), also some of my deductions from the detailed studies by J. Falkenberg (1962). In this area and southward toward Port Keats it seems to be sometimes a matter of ethnographer's choice whether the prefix ['murin] or ['mari] is used for tribal names; usually both forms coexist. Where one or the other has been extensively used in the literature it has been indicated as a preferred form. In such cases the other should be considered as a valid alternative.

Stanner informs me that the dispersal of the riverine hordes of the Fitzmaurice River area commenced about

the year 1900. Their curiosity and desire for European products, such as tea, flour, sugar, and tobacco, obtainable at inland cattle stations led ultimately to the almost complete depopulation of the coastline and the concentration of mixed groups in and around white settlements. It is now increasingly difficult to obtain some data for the delineation of their former areas of distribution. Even though Stanner took men back to their former haunts, some problems remain. We are much better off, however, than might have been expected.

One of the more detailed and interesting analyses of Northern Territory tribal structure is that given by Falkenberg. Working from the Port Keats Mission on the west coast of Arnhem Land, he has provided material linking with that of Stanner farther to the north, that of Robinson (1956), as well as brief mentions by earlier writers. To Falkenberg we are particularly indebted for efforts in defining the essential features of tribal life, and for helping in the problem of sorting out names people gave themselves from the ones given by others. His studies of infratribal structure have enabled the elimination of some names of hordal status which had assumed the guise of tribal ones, notably the name Nangor, which belongs to one of the eight hordal territories of the Murinbata. It is a matter of regret that this work appeared in only a small edition and is thus not now readily available. It should be studied by all interested in tribe, horde, and clan structures.

As happens in so many other areas of Australia, Falkenberg notes that the tribal name in the Port Keats area often designates the language. Each tribe tends to possess a specific dialect, but it is made clear that the possession of a language difference is not a necessary marker of tribal status. Changes of various degrees in speech often yield clues to relationships between tribes, but more than one dialect may be present within a single tribe. Thus the Murinbata people of the coastal strip between the Fitzmaurice River and Port Keats distinguish two dialects or variations in mode of speech. The dominant one in the vicinity of the port is the "true Murinbata," where ['bata] = good and ['murim] = speech or language. Two southern hordes, although associated fully with the same people, are said to speak with voices that are softer and their speech is labeled as Murinkura or "water speech." It seemed clear to Falkenberg's informants that both forms of speech were understood by all and that there was only one embracing Murinbata tribal territory. In this case it is perhaps of more than passing interest that there are indications of shifts in tribal territory with growth and expansion southward of Murinbata people. Thus there is still remembrance of the absorption into their tribe of at least one horde of an inland tribe on the Fitzmaurice River which is named as Wumeri by Falkenberg.

A few informants have been met away from their country in the lower Victoria River area. Among them was a Murinbata man who preferred the name Karama for his tribe. He was of the south along the estuarine portion of the Fitzmaurice, and his horde extended only to the next northern river which he called Tjinang, a term that seems merely to mean "river." He did not mention the name Muringura although it is very likely he was one of the people so called, in process of being absorbed into the Murinbata. He knew of the Jilngali farther inland and was well aware of the Kadjerong, his western neighbor people. He evinced no knowledge of tribespeople living to the north.

The people of Melville and Bathurst Island stand apart from general Australians, in part because they are an island people who have been cut off from the main currents of migration perhaps ever since the rise of sea level during the later stages of the Flandrian recession of the Wisconsin Ice Age. Their racial admixture is also considered by some anthropologists to have more of the earlier negrito ethnic strain than survives in other areas of the adjoining mainland. This shows in part through the higher incidence of crisp curly hair. At one time it was considered that the Melville Islanders had no definitive name for themselves, and believing this to be true, a name Tiwi was arbitrarily selected and adopted by several anthropologists. It would be improper in a work of this character to accept an artificial term, even though it has become fashionable among anthropologists, when a proper name, on the authority of the late Father Worms, exists, namely Tunuvivi. This he ascertained from men of an older generation and reported to me when he learned that in 1940 I had accepted the coined term for supposed lack of a real one. Unfortunately, the term Tiwi is well ensconsed, as indicated in the very informative book by Jane C. Goodale (1971) and others. (Mountford, 1958; Hart, 1930; Hart and Pilling, 1960). One other term was given to me by an old-time white resident of the Northern Territory, a Mr. Wilson, whose initials I regret I have not been able to learn. He said that Wongaak was a proper name for the Melville and Bathurst Islanders as a whole, it being their own equivalent for groupings of the same kind as Larakia on the mainland.

Tribes in the vicinity of Darwin became disrupted before adequate inquiries were made. The late T. A. Parkhouse helped me in some of my inquiries. Some uncertainty still exists regarding the status of some units within the area north of a line joining Fog Bay, Mount Bundey, Mount Daniel, and the Liverpool River where

tribes that had not adopted the rite of circumcision were present. This rite has been spreading north and west in postcontact times.

Along the north coast of Arnham Land and on Melville Island, several areas that had been the scenes of early disturbance of the aborigines existed. On Melville Island there was for five years between 1824 and 1829 a British military establishment at Fort Dundas. At Raffles Bay from 1827 and shortly after at Port Essington, there were settlements that later were abandoned. Along the north coast of Arnhem Land there was much interference through the trading and trepang-fishing excursions of Malays from Makassar. G. Windsor Earl (1846) indicated that every Makassar prau carried one or more aborigines among its crew, leading to early intertribal intercourse and changes on a scale not generally found elsewhere on the continent until modern times. Accounts of the Malays have been given by Tindale (1925, 1928), J. C. Jennison (1927), and Warner (1933, 1937). Berndt and Berndt (1954) have added field data on sites and finds of Malayan pottery sherds and have suggested the probability of other, possibly earlier visitors remembered by the aborigines as the Baijini. Slave-gathering raids from Portuguese Timor are believed to have occurred before 1818 (King, 1826), and individuals of probable mixed Malay origin occasionally were reported among them and were first noticed by European voyagers. It is also reported that a few descendants of Australian aborigines, taken back to the Celebes as slaves and as prau hands, have been identified there. D. J. Mulvaney (1969) has summarized additional historical information and carried the possibility of early Indonesian contacts back beyond the middle years of the present millennium. Other contacts are indicated in the possible Tang Dynasty soapstone figurine of Shou Lao which was first reported by Thomas Worsnop (1897) and described with a figure by Tindale (1940). This was found in Darwin.

The Cobourg Peninsula, under the above mentioned alien influences, appears to have suffered tribal disintegration or fragmentation. Berndt and Berndt (1951:163) say that the people there remember they were once more numerous. Six tribal units can be recognized as likely to have preserved their status since the advent of the first whitemen; a seventh became extinct some years ago. Their names are: Wurango, Jaako, Oitbi, Iwaidja, Amarak (Ngamarak), Djalakuru, and Gaari (extinct). The Iwaidja seem to embrace as hordes remnants of the Wongaran, Karik, Ngadalwuli, and Manduwit. The Woreidbug, apparently the same as the Oitbi, were placed by the Berndts, perhaps in error, as a part of the Amarak.

The tribal intricacies of Arnhem Land indicated by W. Lloyd Warner (1930–1931, 1937) and T. T. Webb (1933) began to be clarified by the work of A. E. Capell (1942) and by the Berndts in several papers and books, but many unanswered questions remained, and it is only now through the studies of Nicolas Peterson, Annette Hamilton, and Bernhard Schebeck that these have been resolved. All three have favored me with access to their unpublished data and discussed problems with me. Thus it happens that their information is quoted from manuscript sources. In the case of at least two, their observations have been since published, or are being printed, in slightly abbreviated form. Any errors of analysis are therefore mine.

As indicated under headings of Duwal, Duwala, Dangu, Djangu, and Nango in the catalog of tribes Schebeck has found quite anomalous features in the present organization of the people of northeastern Arnhem Land which seem to account for the difficulties encountered by earlier students. The similarities in terminology alone would have been sufficient to confuse anyone not alerted to the difference between, for example, the interdental *d* of Dangu and Djangu.

Berndt and Berndt (1951) brought together good detail for tribal distributions in parts of western Arnhem Land. There was some poor editing and occasional confusion in the setting out of geographical data. The placing of their Gundjeipmi as "east and west of Oenpelli," for example, is misleading, evidently having been based on an incorrect paraphrasing of "east and west of Liverpool" River in the paper by G. Sweeney (1939). Their Ba'rea (p. 38) is presumably the same as their Barera (p. 33). The use of the alternative term Neinggu instead of Gunwinggu, which they define as the proper tribal term, is apt to be confusing. Some data seem to have been derived indirectly from a Maung informant rather than directly from Gunwinggu. The same tribal unit may be referred to with different phonetic renderings without explanation, thus Baneidja as well as Bani:dja for the tribe referred to here as Puneitja, also both Amarak and Ngamurak. In this case it may be correct to assume the data were gathered by the authors separately since R. M. Berndt tends not to hear initial [ŋ], especially when softly spoken, as shown in other of his papers. In this case the form Amarak is accepted on the basis that three authors have recorded it this way, but their rendering of Ngamarak (as Ngamurak) may have real merit.

I am indebted to Peterson (pers. comm., 1969) for the information that the term Murngin, which Warner arbitrarily applied to the people of northeastern Arnhem Land, was identified by aborigines for him as Murangin ['Muraŋin]. The term belongs in the periphery of the

area and means "shovel-nosed spear folk" and included the Rembarunga people originally identified by aborigines as belonging in this category. All had a reputation for aggressive use of iron-bladed spears such as had been cut from metal water tanks abandoned by white men at Caledon Bay. I learned of such spears and saw some on Groote Eylandt when men of that place came to see our exploration camp at Yetiba. They called them ['lama 'jata] where ['lama] applied to the blade, whether of iron or of the quartzite that was traded from the west. Peterson's information suggests the western Arnhem Land origin of the term Murangin and it may be old in its proper connotation, even if new as an artifact of the same kind as the name Tiwi for the Melville Islanders.

For southern parts of Arnhem Land, it seems that the information I obtained from my Ngandi informant in 1921–1922 was substantially correct, it now being clear that his personal travels and knowledge had extended only as far north as among the Rembarunga.

Through discussions with Greenway, who has studied the people of Groote Eylandt as they are forty-eight years after my own stay among them in 1921–1922, I have been able to check some tribal data. Some of my early aboriginal informants, now elders, recalled my being among them. The tribal term Ingura and the term Ingurawala for their speech favored by the older generation is being replaced, especially among the men of the east coast, by the newer term Wanindiljaugwa, which has developed in postcontact times. In accordance with my policy of trying to obtain the correct names at the period of first contact, I place the term Ingura on the map accompanying this work.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA TRIBES

The most useful name for the aboriginal tribe that occupied the area in the vicinity of Perth at the time of first explorations and the beginning of settlement is probably Whadjuk as reported in my 1940 work. In northwestern Australia in 1953, I met an old man who belonged in the Perth area. In his youth he had been sent north after committing some misdemeanor, and after his discharge from prison had remained in the Hall Creek district where he survived until long after his fellow tribesmen all had passed away. Uneducated, he had retained clear knowledge of some aspects of the culture of his people. Ngepal was of a horde of the tribe that claimed country between Perth and Toodyay. His term for the tribe was Witjari ['Witja:ri]. Both Whadjuk and Witjari are based on forms of the word for "no."

R. M. Lyon (1833) was the earliest work consulted for this area. It would seem that when dealing with the people in the immediate vicinity of Perth Lyon recognized groups on a hordal basis. Under the influence of European preconceived ideas, he called more prominent or active men "chiefs." As he considered groups farther away where he had less information, he recognized the larger units that are called tribes in this work.

Tribes and groupings of tribes in the southwest of Western Australia present many interesting features. J. E. Hammond (1933) treated the several different peoples as "one big tribe." His boundary line for this big tribe corresponded closely with the spread of the [-up] suffix in place names. His boundaries and his vocabularies show that seven tribes, as recognized in this work, were included, namely the Whadjuk, Pindjarup, Kaneang, Wardandi, Pibelmen, Minang, and Koreng. Much of the data he supplied is from firsthand knowledge of Pindjarup people. His "big tribe" has some linguistic merit and in a sense corresponds with the nebulous and very dubious concept of "nation" as conceived by some writers. His "North of Perth tribe" appears to be the Juat and his "South East tribe," the Wudjari. His "East of Perth" tribe seems to embrace all three of the remaining noncircumcising tribes, if we exclude the Njakinjaki who are indicated only in the reference to an "Eastern native."

Charles Darwin refers to "White Cockatoo" tribesmen as visitors to King George Sound and performers of the dances he witnessed during the voyage of the "Beagle." I have not been able to identify this group with certainty; probably they were a northern horde of the Minang.

The spatial arrangement of the tribes in the southwest invites speculation about former tribal movements. The [-up] people seem to have been longest in the area and are compressed into the less desirable dense forested areas with the -ing [-iŋ] group, comprising the Wiilman, Balardong, and Njakinjaki to the northeast. The north and east wings of the -up group are respectively the Whadjuk (Witjari) and the Wudjari. Similarities in these names are sufficiently intriguing to suggest they were once a single tribe and that the Wiilman, an -ing group, moving between them, has separated them to a degree sufficient to ensure that today they are discrete tribes. That movement has been in this direction seems to be registered in the native place names of the country in a line between Collie and Lake Grace. In this belt there are many areas where two forms of the names exist—for example, Nampup and Nyabing for the same place. This does not appear to be the case south and west of this area of supposed tribal shift.

In the southwest the line of change from Thornthwaite's humid to subhumid climate (from BB's to CB's) as drawn by J. Gentilli (1948, fig. 2) matches closely the break between the -up and -ing tribes. This

agreement between climate and language is something of a coincidence but it provokes thought. Cultural evidence suggests that there has been pressure on these people from the north and east coupled with fears of the circumcising tribes pressing from the country east of Merredin. They were in a corner from which there was little chance of retreat. Holding ground thus might tend to come easiest at places where there were relatively sharp transitions in vegetation type, often reflecting differences in climate. In this general area there are changes from grassland to mallee, from mallee to the dense forests of tall trees, such as the karri and jarrah. It probably would be correct to regard the people of the wet forests of the southwest as survivors of a relatively early Australian population.

The Kalamaia, vanguard of the peoples practicing circumcision as a rite of initiation into manhood, have a collective term for all the noncircumcising folk living to their southwest. They are Mudia ['Mudi:a], ['Mudila], or ['Mudilja]. The term is derogatory and has reference to their physical condition. As men they "do not follow the law." They also applied to all such people the term ['Minang] which of course means "southerners" or rather "south" with the "people" understood. They considered they were all speakers of what they called ['Bibulman], although they were to some extent aware that the real Pibelmen lived only in the big tree country a long way away.

The boundary changes evident on the map in the Kalgoorlie and Leonora areas are one of the results of fieldwork in the area among some of the oldest remaining persons of the Kalamaia, Ngadjunmaia, Waljen, and Ngurlu during 1966 and further work in the southwest in 1968. They reflect all that is likely to be available about boundaries in this area.

The change from Ngurlu to Maduwongga territory, a few miles south of Menzies, falls sharply at the transition, only a mile or two wide, between the mulga (*Acacia aneura*) country in the north and the mallee *Eucalyptus* forest where one of the characteristic dominants is the salmon gum (*Eucalyptus salmonophloia*). In similar fashion the eastern boundary of the Tjeraridjal, near Naretha, is strongly emphasized by the change from sclerophyll forests of mallee and gimlet to myall and bulloak which mark the transition to the vast karst treeless plateau of the Nullarbor Plain. Vincent L. Serventy (1961) traversed this country and has described some of the ecological features. These Tjeraridjal had a standby watering area at Queen Victoria Spring, native name ['Mun:u-'runa] and at Kaluru (also called ['Koljoruŋa]), a place that appears to be near Streich Mound, a prominent feature in that very flat country.

The Koara, inhabiting the country between Leonora and Lake Darlot and extending west to beyond Sandstone, received particular study in 1966 and the opinion of the whole group of men of the tribe assembled near Leonora was that this was their true name. They eschewed terms—Konindjara applied by people to the east, and Waula, which merely means "those of the north," applied to them by southern neighbors. In western Wadjari parlance ['konin] means "poor fellow" and has a likely implication that the persons so spoken of were ones seeking refuge from some place in dry country. Among the Pintubi, who speak one of the Western Desert dialects related to the widespread Pitjandjara language (sometimes called Aluritja languages), the term ['koara] has a meaning of "friendly" and may be used in a general sense for people of other tribes with whom they are at ease. Thus at the time this note was made in the mid-1930s, the Pitjandjara who lived south of the Koara, beyond the Lake Amadeus region in the Petermann Ranges, whom they knew as Partutu, were a koara people. Their name for them evidently was also a generalized one since in Western Desert languages dry saltlake areas are called ['partutu], sometimes contracted to ['po:ti].

The Wenamba, also called Tjurti, who live north of the Rawlinson Ranges, and the more distant Ngadadjara, also were koara. In contrast they called people living to their west, beyond the Kintore Range ['wariŋari]. This term has a wide currency through the Western Desert and is used as far away as the Kimberleys. The meanings include "fierce," "savage," and "cannibal." These western people had not been encountered by the Pintubi within living memory but they knew of the existence of waringari in that direction because of smoke fires that had been seen on the horizon. They had long possessed names for them including Kandi, Njamuwankadjara, Karo, and Ilda. At that time these names were unrecognizable. The term Ilda, however, turned up in 1953, during inquiries among the Mandjildjara people whose territory was along the Canning Stock Route, as name of an eastern people and again at Haast Bluff in 1956 among the Pintubi. After the people of Jupiter Creek had been met by Jeremy Long and others in 1961, one of the Pintubi men who had accompanied the expedition used the term at Papunya when talking of them. Thus it was not surprising that personal interrogation of one of the group from Jupiter Creek who had been taken to Papunya Government Station in April 1964 indicated that Ildawongga was the valid name for the last tribe-sized group in Australia to make contact with the outside world.

A search was made for another small tribe whose

territory was in the northern part of the mallee forest belt southwest of Bell Rock Range during a patrol into the Blyth Range area in the company of W. B. MacDougall, native patrol officer at Woomera. The people of the western horde of the Pitjandjara had complained of trespass on their largely abandoned southwestern territory at Kalaiapiti. As outlined in chapter 7 their camps were studied but it was several years later that they were made known as the Nakako. Some results of my encounters with them are on record (Tindale, 1965). Unfortunately for research, the members have dispersed, with at least one family reported in Laverton, Western Australia.

The Ngadadjara were first studied by members of the University of Adelaide Anthropological Expedition at Warupuju in the Warburton Ranges during 1935, when many phases of their lives, including their rites of circumcision and subincision, were recorded by us in the 16mm films that are so widely used in universities as teaching aids. The Ngadadjara were given care, after that date, by the Warburton Range Mission. They retain much of their old way of life, although they are now familiar with places as far away as Laverton and Kalgoorlie. Lately a parallel series of films have been made of their life by a Commonwealth film unit and since 1966 Richard A. Gould has spent much time studying them. John Greenway and I spent further time with them at Laverton in that year. Earlier Birdsell and I during 1939 had seen many of those who had migrated to Mount Margaret and to Laverton. Much unpublished data still remains about these people.

At the Warburton Ranges the 1935 expedition unexpectedly witnessed the arrival of a horde of the Nana ['Naṇ:a] or ['Ŋaṇ:adjara] who, through lack of water, had been driven east from the country at Tjilkali, a place believed to be north of Lake Carnegie, and had made their first important eastward contact in about a generation. A few of the visitors were known to the hordes of the Ngadadjara at the Warburton Ranges, the rest were ngatari or strangers; the dialect possessed sufficient differences to limit communication at first. An intermarriage had occurred at one time, but the bride had been a stolen one. Western limits of this tribe are still only sketchily known.

In the 1940 map a tribe by the name of Wongaii was shown as occupying the country north of the Nullarbor Plain. Better acquaintance with them has shown that they object to the term as applied to themselves and prefer the name Pindiini which appears on the present map.

The Wenamba, often called the Wenamba Pintubi although they seem to remain a separate tribe, live north of the Rawlinson Ranges and have a territory running west into country still not very well known or mapped. Some of their southern neighbors call them Mangawara in allusion to the size and character of the hairdressings in which the men carry some of their possessions. MacDougall was the first white man known to have met any of them. He told me that he was camped alone in a creek bed north of the Rawlinson Ranges one evening when he heard a slight shuffling noise. A small girl of five or so years of age came quietly toward him. Looking up he realized that a man and a woman were watching him from a distance. He spoke to the child about the prickly ground, covered with tjilka seeds, which were forcing her to shuffle and then the man approached showing his hands to be free of spear and spear-thrower. They spoke in a manner different from the Pitjandjara and Ngadadjara, but they understood MacDougall in Pitjandjara. Friendly relations were established and the man went away and fetched his weapons. These had been hidden just behind where he had stood and covered the approach of his child. Pitjandjara and Ngadadjara hunting spears have composite shafts—a wooden blade with a single barb of hardwood lashed on with kangaroo sinews. This Wenamba man had a spear with three solid wooden barbs and the spear itself was decorated.

A. R. Brown (1912, 1913) was the first to put order into the listing of tribes along the coastal area of Western Australia, from Geraldton to Port Hedland, and almost all his terms have been verified by later work. I worked with people of this area in 1953 and C. G. von Brandenstein (1966 MS) has paid attention to tribal boundaries. While his system of notation is different, the results are highly comparable. Aborigines prefer ['Kariara] to Brown's "Kariera." He fell into a trap like others when he recorded by hearsay the existence of Ngadari (i.e., of ngatari or "strangers") near the head of the Fortescue River. He extended the Noala territory in error to the mouth of the Ashburton River, although this area is claimed by the Talandji. His 1913 name "Yajeri" for the Wadjari is probably a misprint since he correctly noted that the basis for the name was their word for "no," ['wadji] or ['wadja] in my notation.

The Wadjari, on further study in 1966, 1968, and 1972, have been revealed as a large tribe covering a considerable area in the grasslands of the upper Murchison, the Roderick, and the Sanford rivers. They were a dominant group and had in historical time usurped areas of country on their western bounds and had been actively proselytizing their rites of circumcision and subincision to the people near the mouth of the Murchison. Their country extended over about 35,000 square miles (91,000 sq. km.). They were the southwesternmost people to extensively exploit native grass seeds and wet-grind them

for the making of forms of bread. In a plant called by them ['bulibuli] which grows on the edges of some claypans in the Cue district, particularly near the Weld Range, they had discovered a seed that could be gathered and stored for months in kangaroo skin bags or containers. The plant has proved to be a new species, *Tecticornia arborea* as now described by Paul Wilson of Perth Herbarium. The Wadjari had a larger than usual population although the statistics are inconclusive. The tribe has been discussed from another point of view in chapter 8. The Wadjari have been invaded from time to time by strangers moving in from the drier lands to the northeast. These they call Bidungu or "rock-hole-using people" and are known as Maliara, or "easterners" at Boolardy and Beringarra stations. Bidungu is not a tribal term and has been applied to several different groups; also as Bedengo.

The general name Kakarakala, which seems to have originated with the Mandi tribespeople who live on the deltaic land at the mouth of the Gascoyne River, is applied to the tribes between North West Cape and Shark Bay. The term has the general meaning of "eastern fires" and is said to include the four tribes, Jinigudira, Baijungu, Maia, and Inggarda. It is not clear whether it also covers the sedentary Mandi population of the mouth of the Gascoyne River. These four tribes had a combined territory covering about 14,500 square miles (37,500 sq. km.) with a population estimated by Gifford (in Curr, 1886, 1:302) of 2,000. This might suggest a round figure of 500 for each of the tribes, with a population density of just over 7 square miles per person (or 19 sq. km.). If the Mandi people had been included in the country, the overall density would probably have been only slightly different since the country in the vicinity of Carnarvon was relatively fertile.

As stated elsewhere in this work, Father Worms provided me with much help and encouragement in the study of tribal matters in northwestern Australia, both for the 1940 study and later. Some of his notes are acknowledged as E. Worms, 1952 MS. In his published paper, (Worms, 1954:1068), he reported versions of some names in the Pilbara region differing both from renderings by earlier workers and from my own 1953 field observations. The version Indjibandji does occur, but aborigines with whom I worked preferred Indjibandi. Worms used a term Balju for the people I call Bailgu in this work. The range of common variation among users of the term embraces Pailko, Bailko, Bailku, Bailgu, Bailgo, and sometimes Balgu, but neither Baldju nor Balju. Brown (1912) heard it as Bailgu and this and Bailko are unquestionably the most preferred forms.

In the Dampier Land Peninsula north of Broome (fig. 37), there seem to have been forces separating the inland tribes from those on the seashores and some compression of tribal territories may be evident. On the coast and offshore islands there are peoples who depend in very large measure on fish and marine products. Some of them possess rafts on which they continually make journeys to offshore reefs and cays. Inland there are other peoples, of whom the Nimanburu are characteristic, dedicated to hunting, digging of *Cyperus* and other corms, grass seed gathering, and even the collection of termites as food. Although the Nimanburu have some shoreline on King Sound, they seem little interested in fishing because their coast is unsuitable for that activity. Even in the oldest time remembered, they had not used rafts. As an informant said "the Nimanburu are not fishermen, they live inside the country, other people live on the coast and only go inside to cross over from one side to the other" that is, to avoid the headlands between bays.

According to another aged informant, the Baada were once very numerous; there were "hundreds of them and all their food came from the sea." They were the only people on the Dampier mainland who used rafts. They were dependent for their watercraft on the Sunday Island dwelling Djaui, who lived on and exploited the marine products of the islands on the west side of the entrance to King Sound. To make contact with their neighbors the Baad launched their rafts at Molambar, near Karrakatta Bay, and rode the tide to Sunday Island by working from reef to reef choosing their times so that the rapidly moving waters generated by the more than 30-foot (9 m.) tide rise and fall would take them to their destination. In trade for rafts and raft poles they offered spears because there was great demand for them, there being a scarcity of suitable woods for spears on the islands. The Djaui were intermediaries, since they obtained wood for their catamarans from the Ongkarango to augment the supplies they gleaned by salvaging sticks drifting out to sea on the tide. The Ongkarango had large supplies in the big mangrove swamps on the eastern shore of King Sound. The principal wood used in raft-making were dead and air-dried poles of a species of mangrove known to the aborigines as ['tjulbu]. Among some inland tribes to the southeast the word ['tjulbu] means bird. It is possible that the name is used for the mangrove tree because its wood "flies" over water. The lightweight poles used are called ['mandjilal]. The tjulbu trees are said to grow only in special places in large swamps. They grow very abundantly on muddy shores of the eastern side of the sound. Mandjilal poles were pulled up by the decaying roots and trimmed off with stones as cutting tools. At the time I could not get direct information as to the type of tool used but did find a crude pyriform

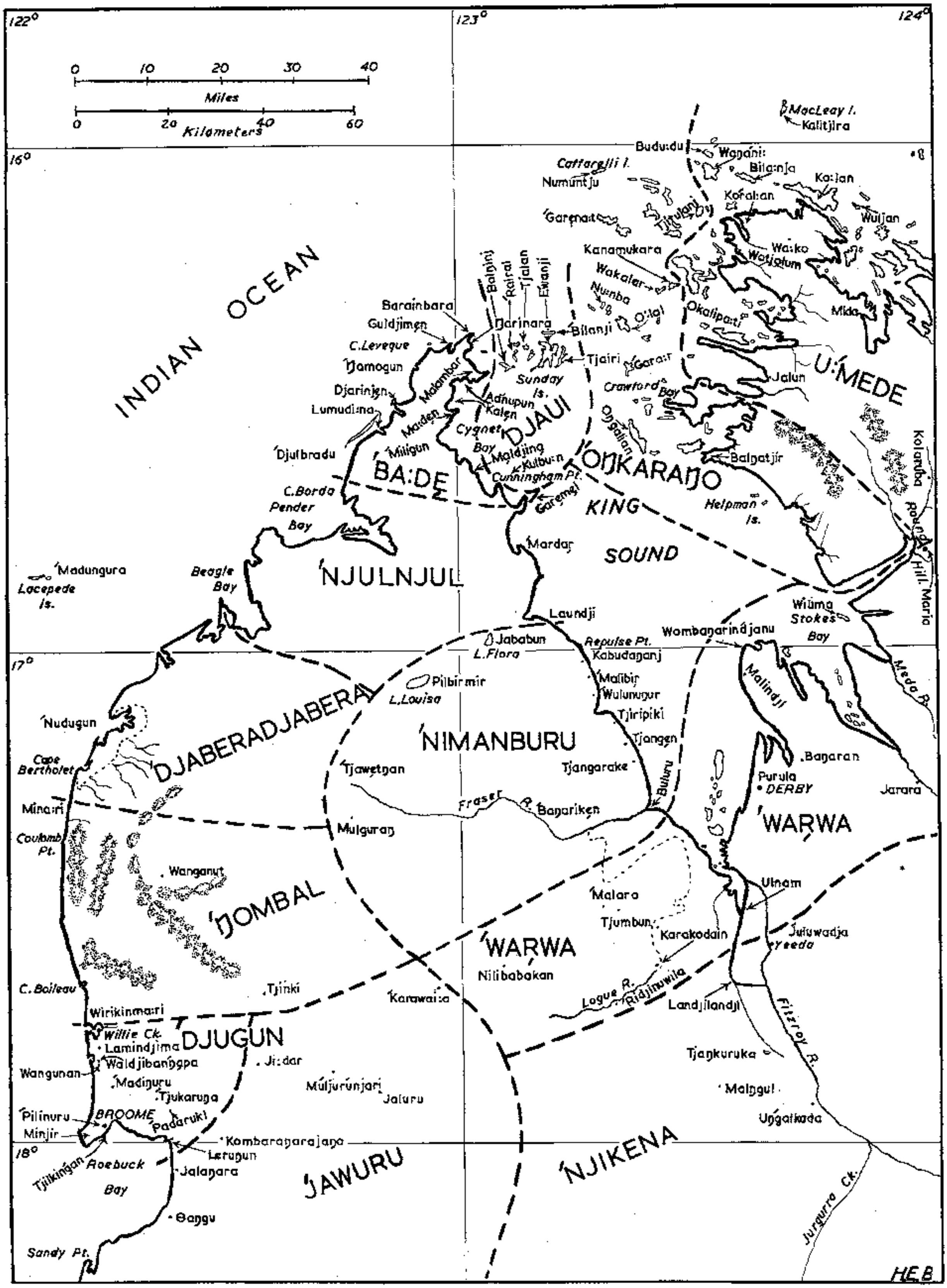


Fig. 37. Dampierland Peninsula, Western Australia, shows details of tribal distribution; includes the raft-using peoples of King Sound.

bifacially chipped stone archaeologically, and in 1960 on Bentinck Island learned that among the Kaiadilt such a primitive-looking fist-axlike tool was used in trimming of poles for rafts on that shore, some 1,700 miles (2,700 km.) to the east. Among the people of King Sound the same tool was used hammerwise to drive sharpened hardwood sticks through the mandjilal to peg them together. Such sticks could be driven through with a minimum of splitting because the wood was soft and pulpy. Among the Ingura tribespeople of Groote Eylandt small rafts of pieces of *Tilia* wood were sometimes towed along in shallow water by spear-fishermen, a strip of the bark of the same tree being attached to a peg driven into the similarly soft wood. In making a raft all the small or upper ends of the poles were placed together by the Baada so that the completed raft had a somewhat triangular shape. Often two rafts were laid together, one over the other, end for end, so that the double craft had somewhat the shape of a long rectangle. Plate 3 shows such a raft carrying four women and their dogs.

Waterlogging of the soft timbers was a limiting factor in the endurance of the rafts, necessitating constant drying out of the catamarans by hauling them out of the water whenever they were not in use and after wetting in the heavy rains of the northwest monsoon of summer. Beaches suitable for the launching and drying of such craft were focuses for their camps. The Bentinck Islanders also favored such places.

In the island-dotted northern half of King Sound, the Buccaneer Archipelago, and the Montgomery group, there were four other peoples—the Jaudjibaia, Umede, Ongkarango, and Djaui—all of whom were dependent on rafts for gaining the greater part of their subsistence. Of these the Umede and Ongkarango were in part mainland based, and exploited some inland products; the Jaudjibaia and the Djaui of the Montgomery Islands and Sunday Island groups respectively were completely island based. While there was communication between adjoining seagoing tribespeople, there was little knowledge of or friendship between them and inlanders. Thus it was only in postcontact times, after dinghies were beginning to take the place of catamarans and travel to Derby became possible under white protection, that the Baada happened to discover that unused mandjilal poles were to be had in Goodenough Bay. They previously had not had sufficient common interest or contact with the Nimanburu to learn of this source of supply. This is perhaps an indication of the inviolate nature of tribal boundaries.

Elsewhere I have mentioned some of the effects of the absence of floatable timbers on the behavior of coastal tribes that live south of the Dampier Land Peninsula, which inhibits use of water transport as far along the coast as Roebourne and beyond.

The Karadjari do not use rafts. They have fish traps in some of the tidal estuaries and use shellfish foods gathered during low tides. It is possible that originally they were not a shore-dwelling people. One of our Karadjari informants, whom we measured anthropometrically as our R872 in 1953, said that in tradition their ancestors had come from the east out of the Dampier Down inland country at a time before white men had been heard of. They had traveled south until they had met the Njangamarda.

The Northern Njangamarda (Kundal) hold a territory extending along the Eighty Mile Beach for a great distance as well as reaching far eastward along the line of salt springs and marshes of their inner lands. They are not sea oriented but are an inland people whose arrival on the coast is also recalled in tradition, although it seems clear they must have been established for many generations near the coast. At Wallal there are several generations of wooden boards on the racks of their store of secret objects, with earlier racks falling into disrepair from generations of neglect, and the "ghosts" of still others are indicated on the ground in the vicinity where yet earlier ones had been destroyed by termites. Even now, however, they have little knowledge of the sea and in general know even less about its exploitation.

As shown in the catalog of tribes, there are virtually two separate Njangamarda peoples, and they illustrate a way tribal schism can develop. The general living area of the Kundal Njangamarda has been mentioned above. The Iparuka Njangamarda had their traditional center of origin at Lake Wakalikali (Lake Waukarlycarly on maps). Their territory lay entirely within the Great Sandy Desert and though they had heard of the sea in the days before the white men came, no one had ever seen it. According to Bananardi, a man over seventy years of age in 1953, who was born at ['Keida] a place in the Desert just within the presently claimed bounds of the Kundal Njangamarda, his people had escaped all western contacts with Njamal people until they found some associated with white men at Lochinvar Station, which apparently was established in the same general period as the Barramine Run which was taken up in 1912 and lasted until 1929. Only at that time did they learn about the noncircumcising Ngarla who lived by the sea and were not "men." The Njamal like themselves were of course "men," although not properly so, since they only subincised their young men in such a very poor fashion that only a minor cut was made. Sometimes the people of his tribe called themselves Koreila [Ko'reila], meaning that they were people of the south in contrast with the northern Njangamarda. Some men lived on the

['kakara] or eastern side but they were all Iparuka Njangamarda in contrast with the Kundal or Waljuli Njangamarda of the Salt Spring country and the areas along the coast. They also had a more general term for northerners, embracing also the Karadjari. It was Kularupulu (a name with a dual suffix).

Differences in the nomenclature of their section systems made the Kundal and Iparuka people entirely incompatible in marriage so that no "correct" or "proper" marriage had taken place between them within the memory of those living. This it seems was inevitable because, although the terms used were alike, the intermarrying pairs of sections of the Kundal Njangamarda are the nonmarrying pairs among the southern part of the tribe. This circumstance has been a peculiarly effective barrier over at least four generations. Probably we see here two tribes in the making. It is tempting to speculate how it might have arisen. Perhaps the most likely inference to be drawn from the disharmony is that it might have been caused by an original "wrong" marriage followed by escape into an uninhabited area. Thereafter, having been successful in maintaining the family and the "error" having been maintained as orthodox over several generations, a new arrangement of the subsection terms would become established. Only when the two separated parts of the tribe linked up again would the original "sin" become a barrier to reestablishment of marriage between the two peoples. It is possible that given the vagaries of climatic behavior of deserts a lengthy local pluvial phase could have brought about just such an event.

The eastern boundary of the southern Njangamarda ran along on a south-southwest trending line of waters from a place called ['Karbardi] to ['Pulburu'kotj] also spoken of as ['Pulburu'karitji] and ['Pulburu'kutji]. In this line the supplies are reputed not to dry up even in times of great drought. Thus ['warumala] (stranger) people, Wanman, and sometimes Nangatara were driven to water there. The Mangala whose country was to the north only came as far south as Karbardi. This was a large water reputed to possess a ['tjanamara] or ['jildji] snake and thus to be unfailing in dry times.

During the 1953 fieldwork of the University of California Anthropological Expedition contact was made with members of many tribes at one or another of the twenty-two field stations at which work was done. Included in the people studied were members of several of the Western Desert tribes who had found their way toward the coast, some as refugees from the rigors of the arid cycle that increasingly over the past forty and more years has forced them to shift, in other instances from desire and curiosity to follow the tracks that explorers, prospectors, and cattlemen have developed in their search for land suitable for their herds. Interrogation and the drawing of native maps made it possible to obtain a detailed, if generalized, picture of the distributions of tribes far inland and even beyond areas that had been visited by any white men. Native maps were useful particularly when fixes could be made on one or more geographically established places of known native name. Such names are widely recognized by aborigines and by virtue of their water supplies are inevitable focuses in times of stress. It was also possible to establish the places of origin of the sundry displaced peoples, loosely called ngatari and warumala (strangers), Julbaritja (southerners), Bedengo (rock-hole dependent people), and others who have appeared at various points in the northwest and entered into anthropologists' notebooks. It was found that a most useful key to these determinations was the line of wells and waters either established or improved by the Canning Stock Route Expedition of 1908–1910 under the leadership of A. W. Canning.

Existence of this line of waters cutting across the desert and only used by white men on a few occasions during the following half century is, of course, known to the aboriginal peoples and has in fact been a track by which some of them have left their native hearths under stress of drought. When one or a series of identifiable waters appear on a native map it helped, along with details as to general distance, to establish the scale, general orientation, and verification of the aboriginals' story. Knowledge of these waters and the possibility of linking them together with the discoveries of the earlier explorers suggest that no apologies are necessary for the attached list of place names associated with Canning and others. In several instances we have noted that the Canning Well names do not apply directly to the artificial wells but to adjoining native supplies. Table 4 supplies aboriginal names in a generalized International Phonetic form for stock route wells from 13 in the south to the vicinity of Hall Creek in the northeast. As might be expected, members of different tribes do not always apply exactly the same name to the places, especially when they do not regularly use them because of their peripheral position. Variations are also an index of the infrequency of close contacts between tribes. There is, however, usually a recognizable similarity in the differing versions. The relative barbarity of the phonetic bases used by the first white transcribers of the names is sometimes well evident in the list, including such defects as tone deafness, or perhaps inability to write initial [ŋ] as well as the use of the letter *i* to write both [i] and the diphthong [ai]. Both of these defects are combined, for example, in the map rendering of Ima Ima for the place name ['Ŋaima-

COLOR PLATES



1. Mangrove-lined meander of the Norman River, Gulf of Carpentaria, Queensland. A hot, semiarid lowland on the margin of the Sahul Shelf. Widely inundated during storms and northwest monsoonal rains, dry in winter. Kareldi tribal territory.

2. Sturdy mangroves lining sea channel between Denham and Mornington Islands, Queensland. Home of *Arca* food shells and mangrove oysters. The mangroves on the distant shore are in Janggal territory; the nearer shore on Mornington Island is Lardiil tribe country.





3. Njinjilki Lake on southeastern corner of Bentinck Island, Queensland; first seen by the explorer Matthew Flinders in 1802. *Nymphaea* water lilies and paperbark *(Melaleuca)* trees are present. The water dries out in some years; it is renewed by summer monsoonal rains. Territory of the Kaiadilt tribe.

4. Caroline Rockshelter. Sinkhole thirty meters deep in Pleistocene lime sand dunes at Section 562, Hundred of Caroline, South Australia. Cool humid area with dry summer. Ledges protected from rain were winter shelters of Bunganditj tribespeople.





5. Open forest alongside Barwon River, New South Wales, 3 miles (5 km.) south of Banarway Homestead. Native orange tree *(Capparis mitchelli)*, native name ['mogil'mogil], under which Kamilaroi aborigines habitually camped. Area of black soil with subhumid warm climate and deficient rain in every season, a cold winter.

6. Anabranch of the lower Darling River, New South Wales, with river red gum trees *(Eucalyptus camaldulensis)* lining the banks. Area is warm humid grassland with deficient rain in every season. Maraura tribal territory.





7. Grassed plain meeting mallee trees *(Eucalyptus)* of several species near transition from warm semiarid to cool subhumid climate with deficient moisture in all seasons. Plain west of the Barwon River near Collarenebri. Scene in September after rain. Place is close to western boundary of Kamilaroi tribe.

8. Open grassed plain 19 miles (30 km.) south of Walgett, New South Wales. Warm semiarid climate with deficient moisture in all seasons. Territory of the Weilwan tribe.





9. Hawkesbury River, New South Wales, showing drowned valley that cuts across coastal plain. Warm humid climate with good moisture in every season; podsolised soils, chiefly on Triassic sandstones. Territory of Daruk tribe lies on both banks of the river.

10. Delley Dell, Grampian Mountains, western Victoria, viewed from the summit plateau of Mount Rosea. Deep valley with relict rain forest surrounded by wet sclerophyll type stringybark trees, chiefly *Eucalyptus obliqua*. Warm humid microclimate in subhumid area with some deficiency in rain between December and March. Summer hunting area for Tjapwurong tribesmen; otherwise too wet for comfortable living.





11. View south from 2,600 feet (800 m.) on Mount Victory, western Victoria. Dry sclerophyll forest on rain shadow side of Grampian Mountains. A warm subhumid climate with moisture deficiency in summer. Lower elevations were camping area of Bunganditj tribespeople who hunted in the higher forests for opossums as food and for the making of winter garments.

12. Cold moor with button grass (*Sphaerocephalis*) and sedges (*Gahnia trifida*) against the wall of Serra Range, Grampian Mountains, in western Victoria. These moors are relict outliers at 370 meters of vegetational features otherwise chiefly found in the Otway Ranges and in Tasmania. Forms western boundary of the Tjapwurong with the Bunganditj.





13. Looking directly down in dense rain forest canopy with tree ferns. Warm humid climate with good moisture in every season, Katoomba, New South Wales. Southern limit of Daruk tribal territory.

14. Tree ferns and cliffs of the steep face of Blue Mountains, viewed from Katoomba, New South Wales. Southern boundary of the Daruk. Indicates type of barrier found between inland grassland dwellers and eastern coastal tribes.





15. Eyre Creek maintaining its course south through parallel sand dunes of Arunta (or Simpson) Desert. Mulga *(Acacia aneura)* and *Acacia peuce* trees on hard pan flats between moving sand crests bearing *Duboisia hopwoodii* poison bush. Warm arid desert at 25°45′ south latitude in Jeljendi tribal territory.

16. A western distributary of Diamantina River at Karathunka, South Australia, 30 miles (48 km.) south of Birdsville. *Eucalyptus camaldulensis* trees margin the channels in warm arid desert typical of wide areas of "Channel Country" of western Queensland.





17. North-south parallel sand dunes of Arunta (or Simpson) Desert viewed from 2,500 feet (750 m.) in early morning. Territory of the Southern Aranda in central Australia (Northern Territory).

18. Moving crest of an Arunta (or Simpson) Desert red sand hill looking south by east near Old Andado, Northern Territory. Warm arid desert with *Nitraria schoberi*, *Zygophyllum*, and other Cossid larvae-bearing shrubs. Southern Aranda territory.





19. Billabong between red sand dunes at Old Andado, Northern Territory. A flock of green ['badjeri'ga] parakeets (*Melopsittacus undulatus*) is at the water. An important camping place of the Southern Aranda.

20. Open forest with Desert Oak (*Casuarina decaeniana*), native name (['koru-kadi], and *Triodia* or Porcupine grass on the south side of Trew Gap, Mann Ranges, South Australia, after normal summer rains. Pitjandjara territory.





21. Highly treasured spear wood shrub, *Pandorea doratoxylon*, family Bignoniaceae, growing among rocks at Palm Valley, Northern Territory, in a telluric environment within a hot desert climate. Territory of the Western Aranda.

22. Ferns of species characteristic of humid climates in a telluric environment deep within Talipota Gorge, a narrow canyon near Mount Udor, Western MacDonnell Ranges, Northern Territory. One fern is of New Guinea, another of Gippsland, Victorian affinities. Known as the "place where it never stops raining" based on constant splattering from high-up springs. On southern boundary of Jumu tribe.





23. Palm Valley, a mountain girt outlier of subtropical subarid environment within a hot desert, with *Macrozamia* cycads, tropical *Livistona* palms, and native pines *(Callitris)* of southern affinities. Well-watered center of Western Aranda country.

24. *Triodia lanigera* grasslands on red sandy soil in open mallee *(Eucalyptus ewartiana)* scrub. A warm arid climate with cold winters at elevations around 3,600 feet (1,100 m.). View looks west to the Mann Ranges. Pitjandjara country.





25. Walpiri men carrying hunting spears following a native track toward Ngama rock-shelter near Mount Eclipse, Northern Territory. The rocks provide several shelters of which the eastern one was a family camp; the western one was devoted to secret Increase ceremonies practiced by men and associated with the giant carpet snake (*Python spilotes*) symbolic of the northwest monsoonal rains of summer. Fig trees (*Ficus platypoda*) shelter among the rocks and provide naturally dried figs, which also attract emus.

26. Mulga (*Acacia aneura*) scrub and a flock of emus (*Dromaius novaehollandiae*) on hard pan earth, temporarily flooded after heavy rains. A warm arid environment south of Mount Razorback, Northern Territory, on western border of Western Aranda territory.





27. Tow-headed Ngadadjara boy eating lerp scales from mulga *(Acacia aneura)* twigs by running them between his teeth. With continued feeding the lips bleed and become sore. Scene at Lightning Rocks, native name Pelpereing, Western Australia, May 1957.

28. Ngadadjara men searching in November 1963 for small mammals at Patupiri in Kathleen Range on the Western Australia and Northern Territory border, an area they usurped from a northwestern horde of the Pitjandjara a generation ago.





29. Hamersley Ranges, Western Australia, viewed from edge of northern scarp. The *Triodia* grassed open country in foreground changes suddenly southward into mulga *(Acacia aneura)* shrubland. A semiarid warm climate with dry winter. The *Grevillea* in the foreground is flowering in July after a late cyclonic storm. Territory of the Indjibandi tribe. The Kurama live on upper plateau visible in distance.

30. *Triodia pungens* grass in hot semiarid climate on stony hills at Pilgangoora, 7 miles (11 km.) west of McPhee Hill, Western Australia. Looking north from the Njamal boundary on local divide toward coastal territory of their despised non-circumcising neighbors, the Kariara.





31. Red sand hills with moving crests on Winning Station, Western Australia (23° south latitude). *Triodia* grass on the sand with occasional outliers of mulga *(Acacia aneura)* on the hard pan country between. The true mulga steppe lies farther to south. This is near northern boundary of Buruna tribal country.

32. Typical "breakaway" country north of Mount Magnet, Western Australia, a plateau area eroding laterally with the lower ground, at top left in the picture, toward the south. Territory of the Ngaiawongga tribe in the heart of *Acacia aneura* (mulga) steppe.





33. Southern extremity of Shark Bay viewed from the margin of the inland plateau south of Yaringa Homestead, Western Australia. This is a boundary contact point of three tribes—Nanda, Tedei, and Malgana.

34. Estuary with mangroves at northern end of Eighty Mile Beach, La Grange, Western Australia. Indurated Pleistocene shore limestones covered with *Sarcostemma* lianes. Area with hot climate and dry winter. Site of fish traps maintained by the Karadjari people.





35. Sclerophyll woodlands with salmon gums *(Eucalyptus salmonophloea)* interspersed with patches of saltbush *(Atriplex)* in a cool semiarid climate with dry summer, 25 miles (40 km.) west of Balladonia, Western Australia. The center of Ngadjunmaia tribal territory.

36. Grass trees, also called blackboys *(Xanthorrhoea)* and cycads *(Macrozamia)* in sclerophyll woodland at Bindoon, Western Australia. Warm semihumid climate with dry summer. Grass trees yield a superior resin used for hafting ['kodja] axes and other stone tools. Territory of the Juat tribe.





37. Ngalia tribesman hafting a quartzite flake knife of ['tjimari] type with resin from scale-infested *Triodia* grass. Another completed one ready for secondary trmming of the working edge lies to his left. Haast Bluff, Western MacDonnell Ranges, Northern Territory, August 1956.

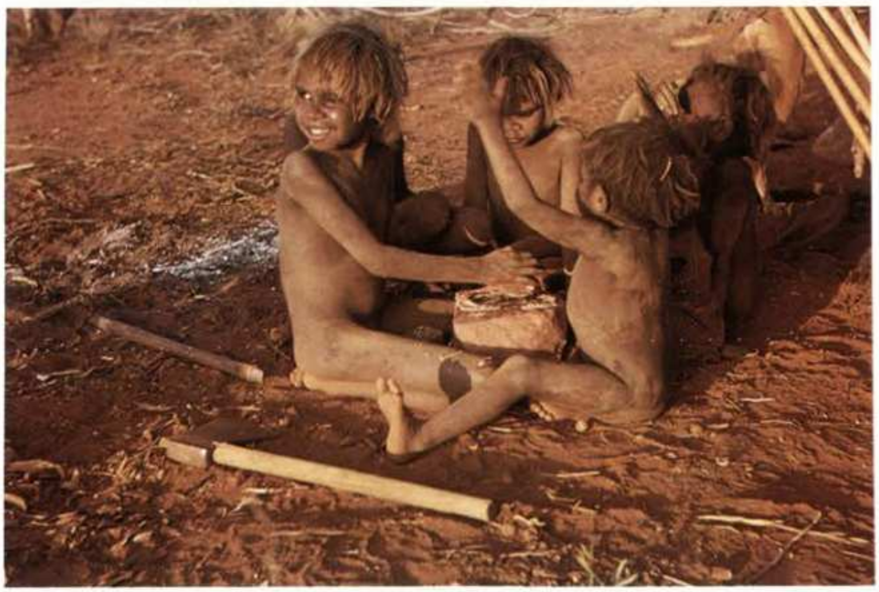
38. *Triodia* resin-hafted edge-ground stone ax in use in cutting a bark dish, Haast Bluff, Northern Territory, 1956. Jumu tribe. The same ax had been in use in the same area in August 1932 by the same man. This photograph is a demonstration one. The ax had been in the South Australian Museum in the interval between.





39. Nakako tribe child gathering yellow *Solanum* fruits, native name ['kamburarupa], while visiting with his parents in Pitjandjara country on the plains south of Western Musgrave Ranges, South Australia, February 1966.

40. Pitjandjara children at Malupiti on the northern side of Mount Davies, Tomkinson Ranges, northwestern South Australia. They are engaged in pounding and grinding kangaroo meat, cartilage, and rib cage bone for an evening meal, November 1963.



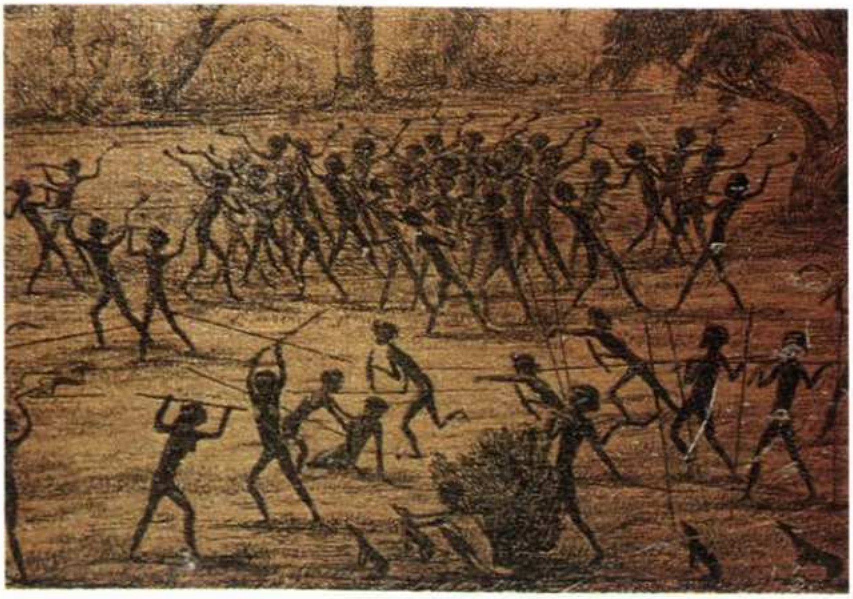


41. *Xyleutes* wood-boring Cossid moth grub from the trunk of the white wash gum tree *(Eucalyptus papuana)*, Moolabulla, Western Australia, in territory of Kitja tribe.

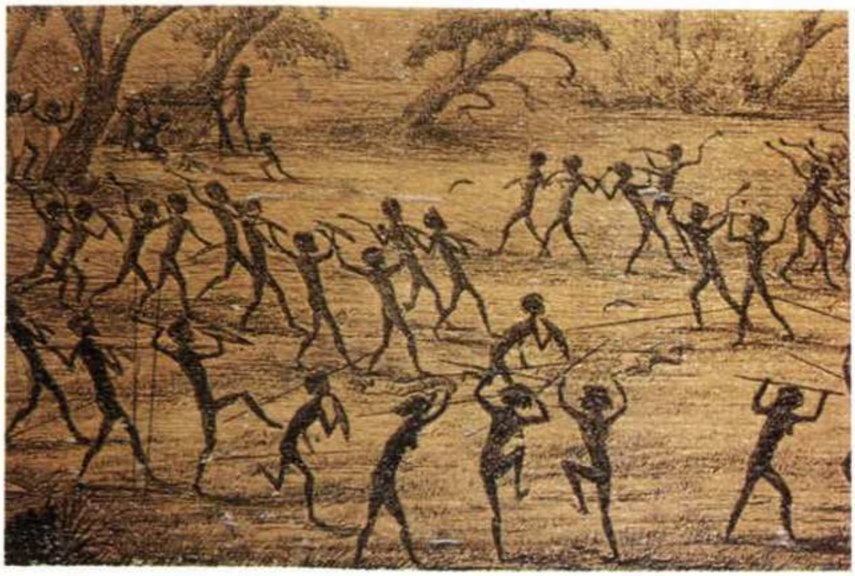
42. Honey ants *(Melophorus inflatus)*, living storages, engorged with honey derived from flowers and gland exudates of mulga *(Acacia aneura)*, from Haast Bluff, Northern Territory, in country of Jumu tribe.

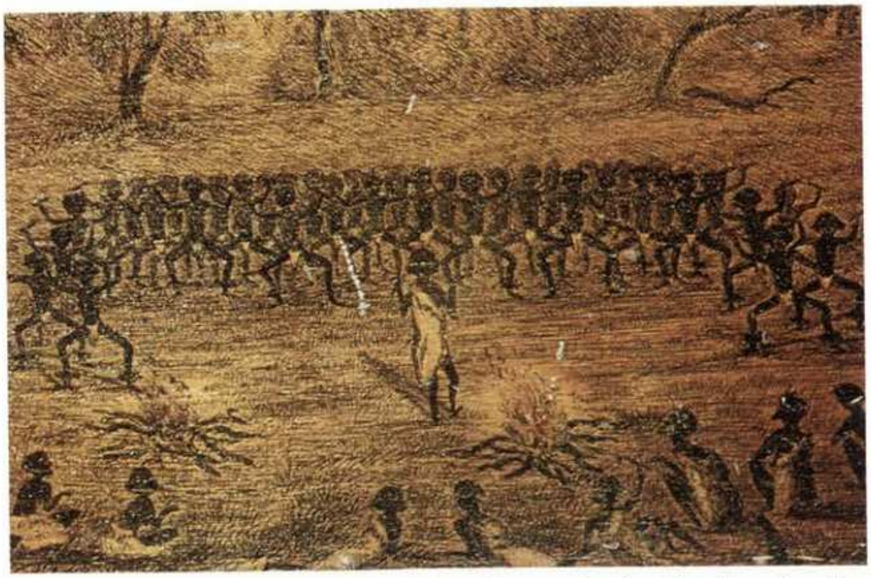


Life among the Pangerang of the lower Goulburn River, Victoria, as depicted on a wooden box containing replicas in miniature of aboriginal weapons, fashioned by a pioneer, A. A. C. Le Souef. Original in the possession of J. C. Le Souef. A similar second box is in the National Museum, Melbourne, Victoria. Period 1845.



43–44. Above two groups of men engage each other at close quarters with stone axes; below they are casting boomerangs while in the foreground at left men are casting spears and several women are striking at one another with digging sticks.





45. A group of about forty men dance in unison under the direction of a skin-cloak-wearing leader who stands between two large fires. The audience, so far as depicted, shows both men and women.

46. Two methods of travel are shown. On the bank two men, one with a skin cloak, stride ahead. Their wives follow with digging sticks; one also carries spears; these would be additional ones belonging to her husband since women did not use them. The canoe, a shallow dishlike slab of river red gum bark is paddled with a heavy fishing pole. A fire burns on a hearth of clay. It will be noticed that dingo dogs were present among the Pangerang.

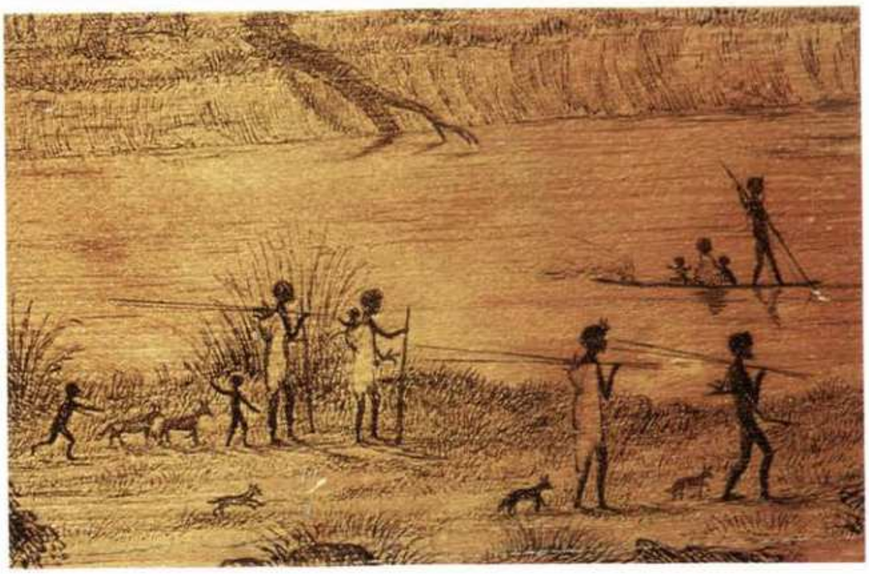


TABLE 4

SOME CANNING STOCK ROUTE WATERS AND THEIR ABORIGINAL EQUIVALENTS

Map version	*Int. phon. version as spoken by aborigines*	*Geog. II*
No. 13 Well	'Pulpurumal	Pulpurumal
No. 14 Well	'Djindjimal	Djindjimal
No. 15 Well	'Mandjaŋga	Mandjangga
No. 16 Well	'Lawu'lawu	Lawulawu
No. 17 Water		
Killagun Springs	'Kilakura 'Tjilakuru	Kilakura and Tjilakuru
Durba Springs	'Wanduruba	Wanduruba
No. 18 Well	'Tjapandein	Tjapandein
Onegunyah Rockhole	'Waŋganja (possibly not original)	Wanganja
No. 19 Well		
Kunanaggi	'Ŋodidi, 'Konagodidi, and 'Konaŋ'onditji	Ngodidi, Konagodidi, and Konangonditji
No. 20 Well	'Waŋutju	Wangutju
No. 21 Well	'Tjilka'buka, 'Tjilka'bulka	Tjilkabuka and Tjilkabulka
No. 22 Well	'Madale:ri, 'Madile:re	Madaleri and Madilere
Rockhole 2 miles N of No. 22	'Ra:ki, Ra:ruki	Rarki and Raruki
No. 23 Well		
native well 2 miles SE	'Kalba	Kalba
No. 24 Well		
Karara	'Kadara, Kada:ro	Kadara and Kadaro
No. 25 Well	'Wandi:li	Wandili
No. 26 Well	'Teiwa	Teiwa
No. 27 Well	'Ra:ruki	Raruki
Auld Lake		
native well in lakebed	'Mogodo	Mogodo
No. 29 Well	'Mamuna:ra	Mamunara
Thring Rocks	O'ranu	Oranu
No. 30 Well		
Dunda Jinnda	'Tjundu'tjundu	Tjundutjundu
Mujingerra	'Mudjiŋa	Mudjinga
Nurgurga	'Njukurupa	Njukurupa
No. 31 Well	'Ilgaru	Ilgaru
Wullowla	'Wala'wala	Walawala
No. 32 Well		
Mallowa	'Njarori, 'Narori, 'Ŋarori	Narori
No. 33 Well		
Gunowaggi	'Konawaritji, 'Tjandundukuř	Konawaritji and Tjandundukur
No. 34 Well		
Nibil	'Nibil, 'Njibil	Nibil and Njibil
No. 35 Well		
Minjoo	'Keindju, 'Keinjo	Keindju and Keinjo
Bungabinni	'Paŋkapini	Pangkapini
No. 36 Well		
Wanda	'Kilkil	Kilkil
No. 37 Well		
Libral	'Liburu, 'Libulu	Liburu and Libulu
Wandurba Rockhole	'Wandař, 'Wanjař	Wandaru and Wanjaru
No. 38 Water		
Wardabunni	'Watja'parni, 'Wardabuni	Watjaparni and Wardabuni
No. 39 Well		
Murguga	'Kokaparna, 'Kokabana	Kokaparna and Kokabana
No. 40 Well		
Waddawalla	'Nadawalu, 'Nadawulu, 'Marawuru	Nadawulu, Nadawalu, and Marawuru

TABLE 4 (*continued*)

Map version	*Int. phon. version as spoken by aborigines*	*Geog. II*
No. 41 Well		
Tiru	'Di:ru, 'Te:ru, 'Teiro, 'Ti:ru	Tiru and Teiru
No. 42 Water		
Guli	'Kulja'i	Kuljai
Warrabuda	'Wadabadu	Wadabadu
No. 43 Well		
Billowaggi	'Kadatjilkař	Kadatjilkar
Jimberingga	'Tjimberi'ŋgara	Tjimberinggara
No. 45 Well	'Tjindi'tjindi	Tjinditjindi
No. 46 Well		
Kuduarra	'Kotjowari, 'Kotjowara	Kotjowara and Kotjowari
No. 47 Well	'Kardała'puru, 'Kardalapuř	Kardalapuru
Godfrey Tank		
Kunningarra	'Koni'na:ra, 'Kaniŋăra	Koninara and Koningara
No. 49 Well		
Lumba	'Lambu	Lambu
No. 50 Well	'Tjigan	Tjigan
No. 51 Well		
Weriaddo	'Werejara, 'Wirijara	Werejara and Wirijara
Billiluna Pool	'Kilaŋga:ra	Kilanggara
(Billiluna Station)	'Waŋu	Wangu
Wolf Creek		
(Meteorite crater upstream on)	'Kandimalal	Kandimalal
Ima Ima Pool	'Naima'ŋaima	Ngaimangaima
(Sturt Creek Station)	'Purukidji	Purukidji
Bindi Bindi Waterhole	'Pindi'pindi	Pindipindi
Anjammie Pool	'Nandja:mi	Ngandjami

'ŋaima] of which the best Geographic II spelling would be Ngaimangaima.

Study of the place names seems to yield firm information that the tribal bounds were in the main established long prior to the period of the Canning Route Expedition, and the rather great fidelity with which the route follows boundaries between tribes suggests the influence of native guides in steering the course of the alien invaders in such directions as would prevent them from entering deeply into anyone's country. As I have elsewhere suggested, this is an interesting sidelight on the lines of travel of sundry parties who were escorted by aborigines during the earlier days of the exploration of Australia.

For the northern Kimberley area there is a chance that my work on tribal matters is not as definitive as perhaps some other areas. It was done chiefly among people away from their own territories and living on stations near Derby and Fitzroy Crossing and at the leprosarium north of Derby where I was given much help in working with people brought from remote places and undergoing treatment for their affliction.

A difficult area is from Forrest River west to the northwestern tip of Australia with the Wenambal at one end and the Wunambal at the other. Missions have been at work here for many years, but the published results of their findings have not as yet given us any clear picture of local terminologies. Two of the names under which the Miwa of the Drysdale River have been listed are merely the local names for the two mission sites, Pago and Galumburu. Several entirely unrelated nomenclatures have been proposed by different authors and there is little assurance of finality. The situation is complicated by: (1) the tendency for the existence of different terms for language and tribe; (2) existence of clan systems with strong named local groups; (3) the presence of loosely used descriptive terms such as "uplanders," "river people," "coast dwellers," and "sea people"; (4) the general use of prefixes and suffixes that may so alter the general appearance of a name and so bury it inside a phrase as to make it hard for those who have little familiarity with the grammar to detect the essential name; and in addition, (5) the habitual use of directional terms as names. Thus there are excuses for the seeming confusion.

As an illustration of the difficulties, the Ola of Mount House and vicinity can be designated by the word Waladjangari, literally "speakers of Ola." The same term becomes Oladjau in the mouths of Miriwung (Moreng) people, who living farther to the east do not distinguish clearly between Ola and Ngarinjin and, therefore, use it as a general term for people living in a westerly direction. Although we consider Ola the proper name for the tribe in the eastern Leopold Ranges, there is a pair of tribes, the Miwa and the Wirngir, on the coast to the north, often grouped under a general name Walar that probably has a similar derivation.

The Ngarinjin consider the Ola, some of whose hordes in later years have partly adopted the Kitja speech and acquired an eight class (subsection) system of social organization, as a unit of their own organization, placing them as the Waringari with both Arunaria and Atpalaria moieties. They avoid intermarriage. A stated reason is that they find the language very difficult to learn and the women therefore not attractive. The word Waringari in the northwest seems to have a range of meanings, those suggested including "mixed up," "mixed," and another implies an addiction to cannibalism.

Durgundai of the Piarngongo clan of the eastern Ngarinjin, a man of about forty-five years, born at Piar or Biar, a camp on Blackfellow Creek near Umbutjan Gorge, illustrates the type of adjustment that does take place along the very formidable cultural boundary between the Ngarinjin and the Kitja, for whom he had the name Kuitj. He married a Kitja woman of the Nambin subsection and his children are Tjawanda and Njawana. Therefore, he is a Tjawalja man, according to his wife's system.

A puzzling term met with among the Ngarinjin is Ngarangari ['ŋara'ŋari]. A stated meaning is "living on top" and belongs to those living on the tops of the mountain plateaus. The name is principally applied to the Ongkomi tribespeople of the Leopold Range. Among the Ongkomi themselves, it is a clan term used by the few Ongkomi who have gone to live among the Ngarinjin. It is also applied to people living north of Mount Barnett and to those east of the Hann River.

In my 1940 study I accepted Ungarinjin for the Ngarinjin, basing it on then available information in the literature. After personal contact with members of the tribe, I now prefer Ngarinjin. A first lead came in early 1953 in a letter addressed to the Native Affairs Department in Perth by the late James R. B. Love. Over twenty years earlier on November 10, 1931, he had written: "Dr. Elkin whose writings I expect you have seen, spells the name Ungarinyin. This is the neuter form of the name, but the word begins with a W, lightly sounded, that Dr. Elkin failed to recognize. The language of this tribe is Wu'ngarinyinu, a neuter noun, a man of the tribe is I'ngarinyindja, a masculine noun; a woman of this tribe is Nyi'ngarinyinya, a feminine noun; all the people of this tribe are the Ar'karinyindjia, a masculine noun. So you can see how different persons can differ in their spelling. In my own writing I use Ngarinyin as the name of the tribe, the form in which it is most often given to me; the root of the name."

The name for the Worora has also been the subject of some differences of opinion. In the same letter as quoted in the above paragraph Love also wrote: "The name Worora is not inflected. I see Mr. Reid follows Dr. Elkin in spelling Worara. The first r is rolled, the second is not. All the Worora pronounce their name as Worora, second syllable as on 'for.' . . . I have dropped the double r in Worrora. Meant to convey rolled r but find it gave the impression of accenting first syllable instead of second." In the present work the rolled r is given as [ř]. In Love's letter his convention was shown as the opposite, namely his rolled r was left unmarked and his r, as in red, had a bar under it. He added that his ă had the sound of "cut." It will be noticed that his change of opinion regarding the above must have come after he had dispatched his paper (Love, 1932) to the Royal Society of Western Australia.

The same letter had a most useful note about the little known raft-using people of the Montgomery Islands, the Jaudjibaia, of whom he says: "The remnants of a small tribe whose headquarters are the Montgomery Islands, are the Yaudjibaia, now rapidly being absorbed into the Worora; but men of a distinct physical type." In 1953 I learned that the few remaining members of the Jaudjibaia tribe were now regarded as having learned to speak "heavy Worora" and had been admitted to the Worora community as a clan of the Atpalar moiety.

It is convenient here to mention the people of two seagoing hordes, or clans, of the Wunambal tribe. They are the Wardana ['Warðana] and the Laiau ['Laiau]. Along with the Jaudjibaia and the raft users of the King Sound area, they have special interest for those concerned with tribal distribution and also those who theorize about the way that the first people might have come to Australia from the Asian mainland.

The seagoing Wunambal hordes are perhaps among the most venturesome of Australian aborigines. Using rafts of pegged logs, in part replaced in the north within historical times by hollowed log canoes called ['namindi], patterned on Malayan models using techniques learned from Indonesian visitors, they use the tremendous sea tides, rising in this region as much as 40 feet (12 m.), to carry them to islands and reefs up to 20 miles (over 30

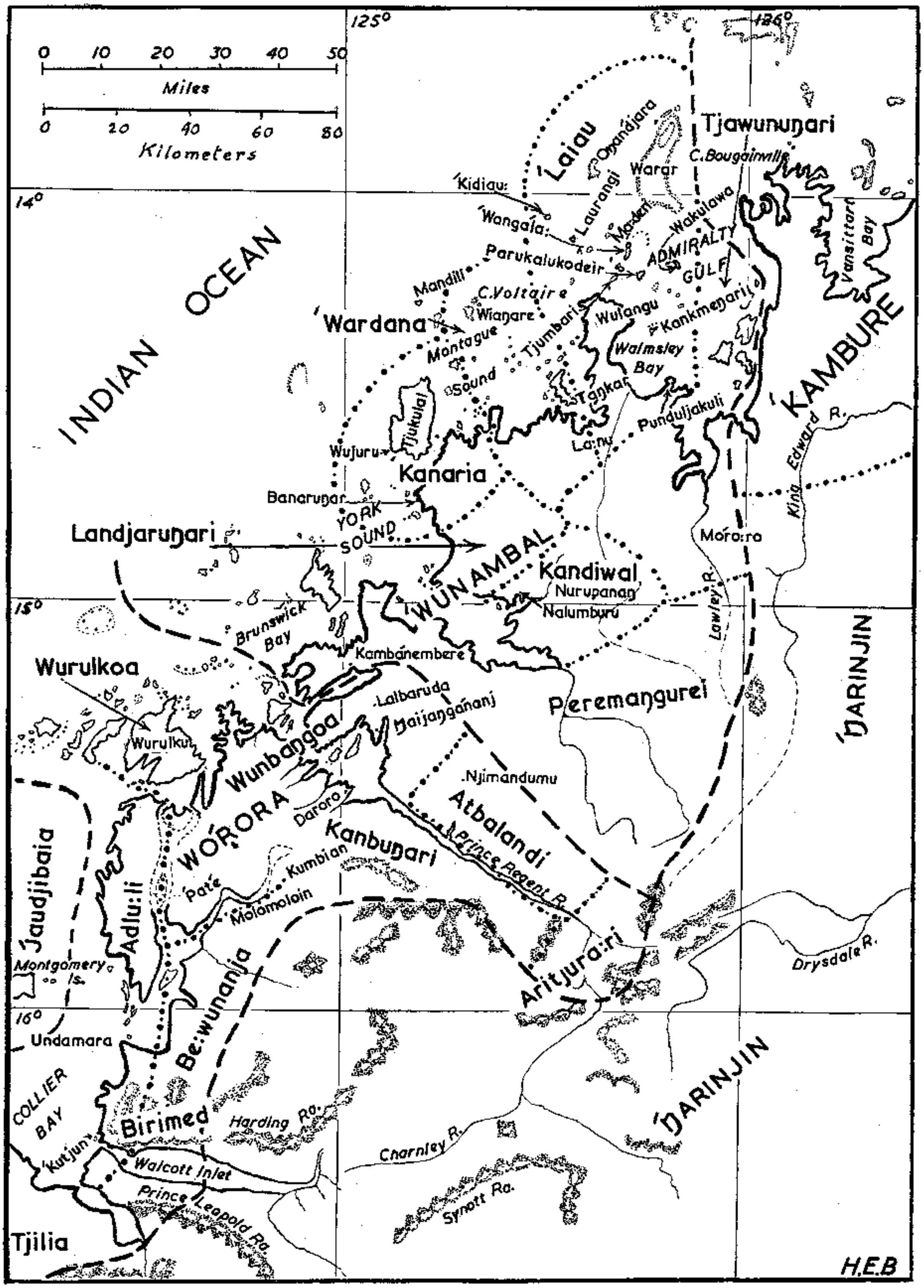


Fig. 38. Tribes and clans of the coastal region of the northern Kimberleys, Western Australia.

km.) from the mainland. They were in the habit of frequently visiting the Cassini and Montalivet Island archipelagoes as well as coral reefs and sandbanks as far to the north as Long Reef. They called such reefs ['warar]. Figure 38 shows these two hordal territories along with the others of the Wunambal and Worora tribes. Both retained a hold on territory on the mainland, using the islands during and shortly after the rainy season of summer, when water could be obtained. In retreat to their mainland territory the Lauai redecorated their rainmaking ['wandjina] paintings in caves at Punduljakuli. This place, being on the inland border of Wunambal territory, is not visited at any other time. The two hordes belong to separate moieties, the Lauai to ['Wadae] and the Wardana to the ['Tjiranira]. On one occasion a party of the Lauai were drowned in an unexpected tidal rise; usually they feel quite safe and are able to assess the weather and tides and use them. Like the seagoing raftsmen of the Ongkarango and the Djaui of King Sound and the Kaiadilt of Bentinck Island in the Gulf of Carpentaria, their watercraft and sea-knowledge are of a kind that would be required for traversing the island archipelagoes that separate Australia and the Asian mainland. Even during the lowered sea levels of glacial phases of the Last (Wisconsin) Ice Age there were many watergaps matching those crossed by these people.

The Wardana are now virtually extinct, while only a few of the Laiau still were exploiting their island domain at the time these notes were compiled in 1953; the remainder had shifted to the ranches and the government station near Derby and to the mission on the Drysdale River. It may be that these people have retained this knowledge of rafting since the earliest days of the occupation of Australia by their ancestors, but there are a few indications, such as their inland places for rainmaking, that may suggest they were once part of an inland tribe. If we knew their whole story it would undoubtedly be complex.

English words and phrases adopted into the language of aborigines can prove to be traps. Thus Birdsell, in working with a Wunambal man whom we measured as our R.1688, obtained an expression indicating he was born at the "top end" of the Prince Regent River. At first he accepted this as indicating a position toward the sources of the river until we compared notes. I had previously heard the phrase in talking with Njamal men near Port Hedland and found it should be interpreted as meaning the mouth end of the river.

The term Miwa has presented some problems in the northern Kimberleys. It means in some areas "salt water" or "the sea" and is thus applied to those people who live near the sea by folk farther inland. Sometimes it becomes a directional term applied to those who live in a seaward direction, even though they are far inland. In sundry ways the name has become associated with the names of at least three tribes. P. H. Lucich (1966 MS) equates one such term with Gunan, sometimes given as Konun, and prefers it as the proper name for the people who live on the King Edward River and on the lower reaches of the Carson and Drysdale streams. The Jeidji people living near the Forrest River Mission, sometimes called Gwini, have also been termed Miwa. The same word is used by the inland Ngarinjin as a name for the Kitja even though they recognize it also means "salt water." In this work the term Miwa is used for the tribe on the King Edward River, but the alternative Konun may well be preferred by some.

Wenambal seems to be the most useful term for the people on the Upper Forrest River. It is a language name, corresponding in form with Wunambal at the northwestern extremity of the Kimberleys. The name Gwini has been used but this is apparently more properly associated with the Jeidji. An alternative to Wenambal has been suggested to be Balangara but this is only a loose term meaning "people." Since I was not able to visit the Forrest River, I have to acknowledge the considerable help of Birdsell who spent much time there. Any misinterpretations are mine.

The Duulngari who occupy the estuary of the Ord River, the eastern shores of Cambridge Gulf, and the coastal mangrove strip with many freshwater springs farther inland, as far east as Keep River, are divided into three hordes that some aborigines claim are separate tribal units. They are the Pokai on the mangrove margin of Cambridge Gulf south of Mount Connection, the Kanjai between that eminence and Knob Peak, and the Wardaia extending east to the mouth of the Keep River. False House Roof Hill was the inland boundary of the tribe on the Ord River until about the time of the establishment of Carlton Station Homestead, after that the Miriwung (Moreng) moved downstream and claimed the upper parts of the estuary. To the east the Duulngari are the neighbors of the Kadjerong (Kadjerawang) who similarly range along the coast and its mangrove swamps as far as the mouth of the Fitzmaurice River.

11

Blunders, Excusable Errors, and Discarded Ideas

In sifting, evaluating, and discarding earlier published terms purporting to be tribal, increasing knowledge of aboriginal vocabulary and practice as well as the advice of aboriginal informants have been of much help. Additional fieldwork has shown that no one escapes the occasional trap of half knowledge, and having myself perpetrated some serious blunders that I have tried to draw attention to and correct, it is easy to see how these may arise. It would be too much to hope for that all such mistakes have been caught, and some will remain for others to discover. My readiest excuse is one that was thrown at me as a youthful museum apprentice by Robert Limb, of revered memory, a rough but sage old technician who found it hard going when trying to teach several of us the art of "slinging plaster" in making piece molds for the replication of museum specimens. He consoled us with the thought "The damn fool who never made a mistake never done anything!" In the following paragraphs I venture with some temerity to correct or comment on lapses and mistakes made by others, hoping that they will be accepted as given in the spirit of constructive criticism.

A general weakness among those who have done research on Australian aborigines has been a lack of care in recording names and details of sources, particularly the locations of the real homes of the tribespeople among whom they have worked. This is particularly evident for those working with displaced folk. When I have approached them I learn that they have failed to ascertain the birthplace of their informant and have no idea whether or not he could say that his parents and grandparents were from the same place; they lack as well other critical data that would help in preventing needless distortion in patterns of culture and trait distribution. In one instance some facts and the associated eastern Arnhem Land tribal name were recorded from Inverway Station in the most western part of the Northern Territory without any indication that the man was an employee on the Station, had only been there a short time, and could only talk to the Wandjira tribespeople in English. This caused an unnecessary distortion of at least 300 miles (nearly 500 km.) in the location of the data.

In the early published work there were many typographical errors. A single tribe might appear in at least four guises in the one Parliamentary report. Unquestionably, the florid but often highly illegible writing of the nineteenth century was to blame. Just prior to typing this paragraph, I had to draw attention to one of the relatively few such errors present in the writings of R. H. Mathews where the tribal term Ngemba masqueraded under the misreading Ugumba. When errors such as these are added to the vast corpus of variant spellings engendered by the hit and miss methods of transcription practiced by the usual English speaker, there should be no wonder at the size of the accompanying list of cross references given in Part III. Some of these variants were engendered by those who have defects in hearing of certain sounds, sometimes combined with recording difficulties because of an inadequate phonetic vehicle.

Of early South Australian writers, J. J. East (1889) probably had the poorest ear for aboriginal words and his tribal names are scarcely recognizable, although his distributional data are surprisingly accurate. Examples of his crude spellings are Urmitchee for Anmatjera, Urrundie for Aranda, Gnowoo for Nauo, T(h)ingalie for Tjingili, Kadda-kie for Kaititja, and Wurmega for Waramanga. Where he had direct information from aborigines his deductions were sound and his statements accurate, although often tantalizingly scant as to detail. In some areas he confused hordal names with tribal ones and in other instances registered the artificial "nation" terminology of G. Taplin and others, which is discussed later in this chapter.

Another recorder who had possible hearing defects, or lapses in transcription techniques, was R. Helms (1895). In his account of the aborigines encountered during the Elder Exploring Expedition, he heard [ŋ] as [gn] and was seemingly tone deaf to initial [ñ] and [nj] sounds. Thus he gave Yunga for Njunga, Wonkongnuru for Wongkanguru, Andijirigna for Antakirinja, Gnameni for Ngameni. His records of tribal encounters add greatly to our early knowledge of the desert peoples.

R. Berndt sometimes appears not to hear [d] clearly. Thus he has written Ngari for Ngardi. He also misses

some initial [ŋ] sounds, whereas C. Berndt apparently does hear them well. The results may on occasion be puzzling when they write together.

H. Basedow was often far from the mark in transcriptions. His most notable blunder probably was Herrinda for the well-known tribal term Aranda [ˈAranda]. Walter Baldwin Spencer can also be taken to task for his very English but inaccurate version Arunta particularly as he always, in speaking it, stressed the second syllable instead of the first. It was he who first taught me the importance of recording in great detail and encouraged me on my first venture into the field of anthropology. I pay tribute to his great help and encouragement for accurate transcription.

The supposed tribal term [ˈPudjima] was given to me in 1953 by a Mandjildjara man who spoke English almost not at all, when I was trying to learn of a people living to the east of the Canning Stock Route, who afterward turned out to be the Ildawongga. Eager to have proper names for people in that area, confirmation was sought for some time. It was not until a few days later that an astute aboriginal pointed out that the Mandjildjara man was merely airing his scant command of English and that the word was "bushman" by which he had tried to convey the idea that they were unfriendly people still living away from any contact with white men.

Anthropologists who attempt to work only through the medium of pidgin English have been responsible for mistakes. Frederick G. G. Rose (1956), in a supposed list of Western Desert tribes, failed to recognize that the "Ulapula" he was recording was really only the "Other fellow," and no specific tribe. Eight other tribes were mentioned. His work done with detribalized remnant peoples on the east coast of Australia is the more useful part of his work. The Western Desert material is far less satisfactory in that he talked with Pitjandjara (his Pitjendadjara) who are less sophisticated and have little English. His lack of communication led to errors of interpretation. In particular the east coast ancestral being Baiame (his Baieme) is made to appear in a Pitjandjara ceremony. Is it possible this could have been based on information secured near Woodenbong, New South Wales? It would be very accurate if placed there and I obtained similar details at that place in 1938.

The history of the incorrect name for the Janggal tribe of Forsyth Island at the south end of the Gulf of Carpentaria shows how easily wrong data can develop. Anthropologists rightly take every opportunity to obtain information, but there are traps. Arthur E. Capell (1942) had a few hours of contact with Edward Namie, aboriginal deckhand on a trading vessel in the gulf. He obtained a vocabulary and other information. Namie said the island was his. The tribal name came to be recorded as Nemarang. In 1960 on the highest authority, one of the oldest living Janggal men of Forsyth Island, I learned that Nemarang was not their name. Shortly after the Mornington Island Mission was founded and before the Reverend Wilson was killed by the aborigines, he gave names to many of the natives including Old William, the elder of the Lardiil. Djungidjarudau, father of Edward Namie, on a visit to the new Mission, heard of the new names, asked for and was given a name that he forgot after he went back to his island. The word "name" stuck with him, however, and later it crept into mission records as Namie, hence his son's second name. As indicated in the catalog, three hordes of the Janggal are still remembered: Djo:ara or Djowara at Beche-de-Mer Camp and on Bailey or Robert Island; Larəkənja:ra on the eastern part of Forsyth Island; Marəkalpa at the western end of Forsyth Island. A fourth horde once lived on Denham Island but their descendants have all died and the formal name has been lost.

When communication is neglected, even terms of the social organizational system may become confused with valid tribal names. Andrew A. Abbie and a medical team gathered blood samples in 1956 at Haast Bluff. They failed to check their data with anthropologists although two were on the field station. Thus Roy T. Simmons et al. (1957), published their results under seven tribal headings. One of these was the valid tribal name Kukatja, but listed again as a second tribe under the Aranda-given derogatory term Loritja. Another name, Panika, was one of the four sectional terms used by aborigines at Haast Bluff. Since they recorded their word in a form such as Panaka, which is the Pintubi tribe form, and neither the Tapananangga of the Kukatja nor the Panangka of the Aranda, it is probable that the subject whose tribal name was not recorded was a Pintubi person. Thus the serological results possibly dealt with only five, not seven tribes as suggested in the preamble to the paper. The data was treated as a whole so that the results were not compromised but the errors might become significant in any re-sorting of the data for some wider study. One further minor error marred this report. The tribal name Ngalia was incorrectly heard and written as Njalia.

Catherine H. Berndt (1965) used the tribal term Ngalia without prior explanation, scattering it about from Gordon Downs in Western Australia to the Warburton Ranges. It may be inferred that she was dealing with displaced persons but she gives no hint that two separate tribes might have been involved, whose home territories until lately were over 300 miles (500 km.) apart, one a four-section possessing tribe, the other with

an alternate generations system; the first in the area north of the MacDonnell Ranges, and the other (usually called the Ngalea) in the country immediately north of the Nullarbor plain in western South Australia. Reporting of this kind may do more harm than service in the study of aboriginal institutions and behavior unless the prior history of the individuals studied is on record. One of my more volatile friends suggested that if earlier anthropologists had behaved according to modern methods, the aboriginal Bennelong of the Eora tribe, Sydney, interviewed in London nearly two centuries ago would have been reported as "Bennelong of the Eora tribe, London." While this is absurd it does make a point that when dealing with any people the basis of good reporting is accurate localization.

In the early days of white contact there was a compulsion to try and find major units in Australia of the kinds familiar to the people of Europe. Layman recorders were not satisfied to accept the autonomous tribal units that they were in contact with as the largest ones present. Soon several tribes extending along the south coast of New South Wales were treated together as the "Yuin," because they were all familiar with the word as meaning "man." When the first anthropologists began work, they still felt the need for such major groupings. George Taplin (1874) in search of a general name for the people of the lower Murray River and Lake Alexandrina area of South Australia selected Narrinyeri, a contraction of the term *Kornarrinyeri* "belonging to men" as distinct from others. With the delicacy characteristic of missionaries of the period, he failed to indicate that the "others" were the traditional enemies of the river people who lived on the western side of the Mount Lofty Ranges and were feared because they practiced circumcision on their young men with attendant secret rites to which they—the Narinjeri—were not admitted. The western people asserted that "easterners" were not men because they did not conform.

By the time of John Fraser (Threlkeld, 1892: Introd.) there was such a literary need for major groupings that he set out to provide them for New South Wales, coining entirely artificial terms for his "Great tribes." These were not based on field research and lacked aboriginal support. He regarded the autonomous units of tribal type as subdivisions or subtribes of his artificial greater ones. His terms such as Yunggai, Wachigari, and Yakkajari can be ignored as artifacts.

During the 1890s the idea spread and soon there was a rash of such terms, especially in Victoria and New South Wales. Some of these have entered, unfortunately, into popular literature, despite their dubious origins. I list some of them for the guidance of those interested:

Bangarang Nation—Victoria
Booandik Nation—Victoria and South Australia
Barkunjee Nation—New South Wales
Kurnai Nation—Victoria
Thurrawal Nation—New South Wales
Wiradjuri Nation—New South Wales
Malegoondeet Nation—Victoria

In addition nationlike status was assigned to blocks of tribes in the western parts of New South Wales. Some of these overlapped others.

Itchumundi—a loose term applied to four tribes, Wiljakali, Danggali, Maljangapa, and Wanjiwalku. Two practiced circumcision and the others did not; there were few grounds for the artificial aggregate.

Karamundi—comprised four or more tribes along the middle course of the Darling River, including the Barkindji, Naualko, Baranbinja, and the Kula.

Mathews (1900 [GR.6524]), who had earlier been responsible for some of these names, listed twenty-three major groupings of tribes that he called "nations" and provided a map of Australia showing their locations. He based his aggregates on types of social structure he had identified. Usually, he arbitrarily selected a name of one of the tribes to represent the whole. In the instance of two Western Australia tribes, he was without a tribal name and therefore had to adopt for one a station or ranch name on the Fitzroy River, namely Yeeda, and for the other in the southwest of Western Australia a family name, Tardarick.

A. W. Howitt (1904), summing up his own work over several decades during which he had devoted attention to the identification of these major units, stressed the difficulties of finding hordal and tribal names that were valid among the many that had been suggested. His work on the larger group of people whom he called the Kurnai helped to obscure what should be evident: there were five discrete tribes hidden in this name, which had little more validity than the geographical term Gippsland used as a marker for the same region in our society.

John Mathew (1911) was one of the last to contribute to the "nations" concept. He used the aboriginal term for man in the southeastern part of Australia and erected six groupings of tribes: Wotjo, Baang, Trual, Maara, Konai, and Kuli. He ignored the early one Yuin. He attempted to establish wide linkages for these groupings. To him the terms we find to be of tribal status were of narrow value, indicating smaller communities by certain pecularities of their dialect. He used as illustration the several tribes along the upper Murray River who use their word for "no" to distinguish their own tribe from the next; for example, Watiwati, Latjalatji, Wembawemba, and so on. He failed to appreciate that the very way in which these

names were established following a pattern or rule found at the three most distant corners of Australia may have warranted greater appreciation of their character and validity.

With the development of the new interest in field studies on the Australian aborigines after World War I, less was heard of the "nations" concept. Radcliffe-Brown (1930) using a phrase "Narrinyeri group" vaguely noted that it embraced four tribes that he named the Yaralde (the Jarildekald of this work), Tanganalun (Tanganekald), Portaulun, and Ngaraltu (Ngaralta). Thus was George Taplin's general term demoted. In the *Australian Encyclopedia* (1958) a new and very false note has been struck suggesting that the term Narrinyeri is an alternative name for the tribal term Yaralde, that is, the Jarildekald. Old names never die!

Addendum

As indicated at page 141, I followed the advice of several recent workers in linguistics who had assessed that there was an absence of normal tribal organization in Eastern Arnhem Land.

While the page proofs of this work were being read, I met a Duwal-speaking member of the area, son of a man who had his first glimpse of a Westerner when he made a visit to Groote Eylandt in 1922, following rumors that we had erected a one-roomed hut on twelve-foot piles. Wungu of Caledon Bay had brought him, along with other young men, to see us.

Galarrwuy Yunupingu introduced himself as a Gomaidj tribesman and was unhappy to see that this tribal name and its boundaries had been omitted from the final draft of the Arnhem Land section of the map in favor of a mere language term, Duwal. Have I blundered?

PART II

CATALOG OF AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINAL TRIBES

This catalog lists in alphabetical order by states the names, locations, and pertinent details of all the known valid tribal units in Australia. The order of listing is as follows:

Alphabetical list of all tribes with guide to state
Queensland
New South Wales
Victoria
South Australia
Northern Territory
Western Australia

(An account of the Tasmanian tribes, a separate work by Rhys Jones, is given in the Appendix.)

Tribes According to the Convention of Spelling Proper for Geographical Names

The symbols after the name indicate the state list in which full data will be found about the tribe. If the tribe sought is not in this schedule, the reader should seek it in Part III, Alternatives, Variant Spellings, and Invalid Terms that follows this catalog.

(Note: J in Australian tribal nomenclature has the soft sound of "y," as in "yacht.")

Tribe	State
Airiman	NT
Ajabakan	Q
Ajabatha	Q
Alawa	NT
Alura	NT
Amangu	WA
Amarak	NT
Amijangal	NT
Anaiwan	NSW
Andakerebina	NT
Ankamuti	Q
Anmatjera	NT
Antakirinja	SA
Araba	Q
Arabana	SA
Arakwal	NSW
Aranda	NT
Arnga	WA
Atjinuri	Q
Awabakal	NSW
Awarai	NT
Awinmul	NT

Tribe	State
Baada	WA
Badjalang	NSW
Badjiri	Q
Baiali	Q
Baijungu	WA
Bailgu	WA
Bakanambia	Q
Balardong	WA
Banbai	NSW
Bandjin	Q
Barada	Q
Baranbinja	NSW
Baraparapa	NSW
Barara	NT
Barbaram	Q
Barimaia	WA
Barindji	NSW
Barkindji	NSW
Barna	Q
Barunggam	Q
Barunguan	Q
Batjala	Q
Beriguruk	NT
Bidawal	V
Bidia	Q
Bigambul	Q
Bilingara	NT
Binbinga	NT
Bindal	Q
Bingongina	NT
Binigura	WA
Biria	Q
Birpai	NSW
Bitjara	Q
Brabiralung	V
Braiakaulung	V
Bratauolung	V
Bugulmara	Q
Buluwai	Q
Bunganditj	SA
Bunurong	V
Buruna	WA

Tribe	State
Daii	NT
Dainggati	NSW
Dalabon	NT
Dalla	Q
Dangbon	NT
Danggali	SA
Dangu	NT
Darambal	Q
Darkinjang	NSW
Daruk	NSW
Diakui	NT
Dieri	SA
Djaberadjabera	WA
Djagaraga	Q
Djakunda	Q
Djalakuru	NT
Djamindjung	NT
Djangu	NT
Djankun	Q
Djaru	WA
Djauan	NT
Djaui	WA
Djerait	NT
Djerimanga	NT
Djilamatang	V
Djinang	NT
Djinba	NT
Djiringanj	NSW
Djiru	Q
Djirubal	Q
Djiwali	WA
Djowei	NT
Djugun	WA
Duduroa	V
Duulngari	WA
Duwal	NT
Duwala	NT

Tribe	State
Eora	NSW
Erawirung	SA
Ewamin	Q

Tribe	State
Gaari	NT
Gadjalivia	NT
Gambalang	NT
Gandangara	NSW
Geawegal	NSW
Gia	Q
Giabal	Q
Goeng	Q
Gulngai	Q
Gunavidji	NT
Gunditjmara	V
Gungorogone	NT
Gunwinggu	NT

Tribe	State
Idindji	Q
Ilba	Q
Ildawongga	WA
Iliaura	NT
Inawongga	WA
Indjibandi	WA
Indjilandji	NT
Inggarda	WA
Ingura	NT
Iningai	Q
Irukandji	Q
Ithu	Q
Iwaidja	NT

Tribe	State
Jaadwa	V
Jaako	NT
Jaara	V
Jaburara	WA
Jadira	WA
Jadliaura	SA
Jagalingu	Q
Jagara	Q
Jaitmathang	V
Jalanga	Q
Jambina	Q
Janda	Q
Jandruwanta	SA
Jangaa	Q
Jangga	Q
Janggal	Q
Jangkundjara	SA
Jangman	NT
Janjula	NT
Jarijari	V
Jarildekald	SA
Jaroinga	NT
Jarowair	Q
Jathaikana	Q
Jaudjibaia	WA
Jauraworka	SA
Jawuru	WA
Jeidji	WA
Jeithi	NSW
Jeljendi	SA
Jeteneru	Q
Jetimarala	Q
Jiegera	NSW
Jilngali	NT
Jiman	Q
Jinigudira	WA
Jinwum	Q
Jirandali	Q
Jirjoront	Q
Jitajita	NSW

Jokula	Q
Jotijota	NSW
Juat	WA
Juipera	Q
Jukambal	NSW
Jukambe	Q
Jukul	NT
Julaolinja	Q
Jumu	NT
Junggor	NT
Jungkurara	Q
Jupagalk	V
Jupangati	Q
Juru	Q
Kabalbara	Q
Kabikabi	Q
Kadjerong	NT
Kaiabara	Q
Kaiadilt	Q
Kairi	Q
Kaititja	NT
Kakadu	NT
Kalaako	WA
Kalali	Q
Kalamaia	WA
Kalibal	NSW
Kalibamu	Q
Kalkadunga	Q
Kambure	WA
Kambuwal	Q
Kamilaroi	NSW
Kamor	NT
Kandju	Q
Kaneang	WA
Kangulu	Q
Kanolu	Q
Karadjari	WA
Karaman	NT
Karanguru	SA
Karanja	Q
Karawa	NT
Kareldi	Q
Karendala	Q
Karenggapa	NSW
Kariara	WA
Karingbal	Q
Kartudjara	WA
Karuwali	Q
Katubanut	V
Kaurareg	Q
Kaurna	SA
Kawadji	Q
Kawambarai	NSW
Keiadjara	WA
Keinjan	Q
Keramai	Q
Kirrae	V
Kitabal	NSW
Kitja	WA
Koa	Q
Koamu	Q
Koara	WA
Koenpal	Q
Koinjmal	Q
Kokangol	Q
Kokata	SA
Kokatja	WA
Kokobididji	Q
Kokobujundji	Q
Kokoimudji	Q
Kokojawa	Q
Kokojelandji	Q
Kokokulunggur	Q
Kokomini	Q
Kokonjekodi	Q
Kokopatun	Q
Kokopera	Q
Kokowalandja	Q
Kokowara	Q
Kolakngat	V
Konejandi	WA
Kongabula	Q
Kongkandji	Q
Koreng	WA
Korenggoreng	Q
Korindji	NT
Kotandji	NT
Krauatungalung	V
Kujani	SA
Kukatja	NT
Kukatja	Q
Kula	NSW
Kulumali	Q
Kumbainggiri	NSW
Kungadutji	Q
Kungarakan	NT
Kunggara	Q
Kunggari	Q
Kungkalenja	Q
Kunindiri	NT
Kunja	Q
Kurama	WA
Kureinji	NSW
Kurung	V
Kutjal	Q
Kutjala	Q
Kuungkari	Q
Kwantari	Q
Kwarandji	NT
Kwatkwat	V
Kwiambal	NSW
Laia	Q
Lanima	Q
Larakia	NT
Lardiil	Q
Latjilatji	V
Lotiga	Q
Madjandji	Q
Madngela	NT
Madoitja	WA
Maduwongga	WA
Magatige	NT
Maia	WA
Maiawali	Q
Maijabi	Q
Maikudunu	Q
Maikulan	Q
Maithakari	Q
Malgana	WA
Malgaru	WA
Malintji	Q
Maljangapa	NSW
Malngin	WA
Mamu	Q
Mandandanji	Q
Mandara	WA
Mandi	WA
Mandjildjara	WA
Mandjindja	WA
Mangala	WA
Mangarai	NT
Mara	NT
Maranganji	Q
Maraura	NSW
Marditjali	V
Mardudunera	WA
Mariamo	NT
Maridan	NT
Maridjabin	NT
Marijedi	NT
Marimanindji	NT
Maringar	NT
Marinunggo	NT
Marithiel	NT
Mariu	NT
Marrago	Q
Marulta	Q
Matuntara	NT
Maung	NT
Mbewum	Q
Meintangk	SA
Menthajangal	NT
Mian	Q
Milpulo	NSW
Mimungkum	Q
Minang	WA
Mingin	Q
Minjambuta	V
Minjungbal	NSW
Miriwung	WA
Mirning	WA
Mitaka	Q
Mitjamba	Q
Miwa	WA
Morowari	NSW
Muluridji	Q
Muragan	Q
Murinbata	NT
Muringura	NT
Murunitja	WA
Muthimuthi	NSW
Mutjati	Q
Mutpura	NT
Mutumui	Q
Nakako	WA
Nakara	NT
Nana	WA
Nanda	WA
Nangatadjara	WA
Nangatara	WA
Nanggikorongo	NT
Nanggumiri	NT
Nango	NT
Narangga	SA
Narinari	NSW
Naualko	NSW
Nauo	SA
Nawagi	Q
Ngadadjara	WA
Ngadjunmaia	WA
Ngadjuri	SA
Ngaiawang	SA
Ngaiawongga	WA
Ngaku	NSW
Ngalakan	NT
Ngalea	SA
Ngalia	NT
Ngaliwuru	NT
Ngaluma	WA
Ngamba	NSW
Ngameni	SA
Ngandangara	Q
Ngandi	NT
Nganguruku	SA
Ngarabal	NSW
Ngaralta	SA
Ngardi	NT
Ngardok	NT
Ngarigo	NSW
Ngarinjin	WA
Ngarinman	NT
Ngarkat	SA
Ngarla	WA
Ngarlawongga	WA
Ngaro	Q
Ngathokudi	Q
Ngatjan	Q
Ngaun	Q
Ngawait	SA
Ngemba	NSW
Ngewin	NT
Nggamadi	Q
Ngintait	SA
Ngoborindi	Q
Ngolibardu	WA
Ngolokwangga	NT
Ngombal	WA
Ngormbur	NT
Ngugi	Q
Ngulungbara	Q
Ngunawal	NSW
Ngundjan	Q
Ngurawola	Q
Ngurelban	V

Nguri	Q
Ngurlu	WA
Ngurunta	SA
Niabali	WA
Nimanburu	WA
Ninanu	WA
Njakinjaki	WA
Njamal	WA
Njangamarda	WA
Njikena	WA
Njulnjul	WA
Njunga	WA
Njuwathai	Q
Noala	WA
Nokaan	WA
Norweilemil	NT
Nukunu	SA
Nunggubuju	NT
Nunukul	Q
Oitbi	NT
Ola	WA
Olkolo	Q
Ombila	Q
Ongkarango	WA
Ongkomi	WA
Otati	Q
Pakadji	Q
Pandjima	WA
Pangerang	V
Pangkala	SA
Parundji	NSW
Peramangk	SA
Pibelmen	WA
Pilatapa	SA
Pindiini	WA
Pindjarup	WA
Pini	WA
Pintubi	NT
Pitapita	Q
Pitjandjara	SA
Pitjara	Q
Pongaponga	NT
Pontunj	Q
Portaulun	SA
Potaruwutj	SA
Potidjara	WA
Punaba	WA
Puneitja	NT
Punthamara	Q
Rakkaia	Q
Ramindjeri	SA
Rembarunga	NT
Ringaringa	Q
Rungarungawa	Q
Tagalag	Q
Tagoman	NT
Taior	Q
Talandji	WA
Tanganekald	SA
Targari	WA
Taribelang	Q
Tatitati	V
Tatungalung	V
Taungurong	V
Tedei	WA
Tenma	WA
Tepiti	Q
Tharawal	NSW
Thaua	NSW
Thereila	Q
Tirari	SA
Tjalkadjara	WA
Tjapukai	Q
Tjapwurong	V
Tjeraridjal	WA
Tjial	NT
Tjingili	NT
Tjongkandji	Q
Tjuroro	WA
Totj	Q
Tulua	Q
Tunuvivi	NT
Ualarai	NSW
Umede	WA
Undanbi	Q
Unjadi	Q
Wadere	NT
Wadikali	NSW
Wadja	Q
Wadjabangai	Q
Wadjalang	Q
Wadjari	WA
Wagoman	NT
Wailpi	SA
Wakabunga	Q
Wakaja	NT
Wakaman	Q
Wakara	Q
Wakawaka	Q
Walangama	Q
Walbanga	NSW
Walgalu	NSW
Waljen	WA
Walmadjari	WA
Walmbaria	Q
Walpiri	NT
Walu	NT
Waluwara	Q
Wambaia	NT
Wanamara	Q
Wandandian	NSW
Wandarang	NT
Wandjira	NT
Wangan	Q
Wanji	NT
Wanjiwalku	NSW
Wanjuru	Q
Wanman	WA
Warakamai	Q
Waramanga	NT
Wardal	WA
Wardaman	NT
Wardandi	WA
Wariangga	WA
Warkawarka	V
Warki	SA
Warungu	Q
Warwa	WA
Wathaurung	V
Watiwati	V
Watta	NT
Weilwan	NSW
Wembawemba	NSW
Wenamba	WA
Wenambal	WA
Weraerai	NSW
Whadjuk	WA
Widi	WA
Widjabal	NSW
Wiilman	WA
Wikampama	Q
Wikapatja	Q
Wikatinda	Q
Wikepa	Q
Wikianji	Q
Wik-kalkan	Q
Wikmean	Q
Wikmunkan	Q
Wiknantjara	Q
Wiknatanja	Q
Wilawila	WA
Wilingura	NT
Wiljakali	NSW
Winduwinda	Q
Wiradjuri	NSW
Wirangu	SA
Wirdinja	WA
Wiri	Q
Wirngir	WA
Wodiwodi	NSW
Wogait	NT
Wongaibon	NSW
Wongkadjera	Q
Wongkamala	NT
Wongkanguru	SA
Wongkumara	Q
Wonnarua	NSW
Worimi	NSW
Worora	WA
Wotjobaluk	V
Wudjari	WA
Wulgurukaba	Q
Wulili	Q
Wulpura	Q
Wulwulam	NT
Wunambal	WA
Wurango	NT
Wurundjeri	V

Queensland

Ajabakan 'Ajabakan
Loc.: Upper Edward River.
Coord: 142°25'E x 14°45'S.
Area: 1,400 sq. m. 3,600 sq. km.)
Alt.: Aiabakan, Bakanu, Baganu.
Ref.: Sharp, 1939; McConnel, 1939–1940.

Ajabatha 'Ajabaða
Loc.: From north of Ebagoola south to Musgrave; west to headwaters of Coleman and Holroyd rivers; east to Dividing Range and Violet Vale.
Coord.: 143°10'E x 14°35'S.
Area: 1,900 sq. m. (4,900 sq. km.).
Alt.: Aiabadu, Aiyaboto, Jabuda, Koka Ai-ebadu, Aiˁebadu (with glottal stop), Koko Aiebadu, Kikahiabilo (presumably i = diphthong, 1 = typographical error for t).
Ref.: Parry-Okeden, 1897; McConnel, 1930, 1939–1940, 1950; Thomson, 1935, 1946; Sharp, 1939; Tindale, 1940.

Andakerebina (*see* Northern Territory).

Ankamuti 'Ankamuṭi
Loc.: From west of Cape York southwest to Vrilya Point; inland almost to head of Jardine River; on Possession Island and western islands in Endeavor Strait.
Coord.: 142°20'E x 11°10'S.
Area.: 700 sq. m. (1,800 sq. km.).
Alt.: Goomkoding, Yumakundji (probably Jathaikana term), Amkomti, Ondaima (? horde name), Oiyamkwi (people on Red Island), Apukwi (people of Crab Island).
Ref.: MacGillivray, 1852; Jardine in Byerley, 1867; Creed in Ridley, 1878; Parry-Okeden, 1897; McConnel, 1939–1940, 1950; Tindale, 1940.

Araba 'A:rə'bə
Loc.: At Retreat, Miranda Downs, and Vanrook; south to Gilbert River; north to Pelican Creek and beyond; not farther east than head of Emu Creek; in post-European times shifted west to Normanton where their westernmost camp was on the site they still use on the east side of the township.
Coord.: 142°10'E x 17°10'S.
Area: 4,000 sq. m. (10,400 sq. km.).
Alt.: A:rap (valid alternative pronunciation), Aripa, Ngariba (Walangama term).
Ref.: Mathews, 1899 (Gr. 6445); Sharp, 1939; Tindale, 1940, 1963 MS.

Atjinuri 'Atjinuri
Loc.: On upper Dulcie River; south to upper Batavia River. The Ulwauwutjana (or Ebawudjena) listed by McConnel is probably part of this tribe.
Coord.: 142°40'E x 12°10'S.
Area: 700 sq. m. (1,800 sq. km.).
Alt.: Adjinadi, Itinadjana, Itinadyana, Itinadyand, Nedgulada (plausible reading of blurred printing), Imatjana, ?Ulwawadjana, Ulwadjana.
Ref.: Parry-Okeden, 1897; McConnel, 1939–1940, 1950; Sharp, 1939; Tindale, 1940; Capell, 1963.

Badjiri 'Badjiri
Loc.: From near Hungerford to Eulo on the Paroo River; east to near Barringun, Tinnenburra, Tuen, and Cunnamulla; at Caiwarro and eastern side of Currawinya. Not extending very far west of Paroo River. Not to be confused with the Pitjara of the headwaters of the Warrego River.
Coord.: 145°15'E x 28°30'S.
Area: 4,100 sq. m. (10,700 sq. km.).
Alt.: Badjidi, Badjeri, Baddyeri, Byjerri, Baderi, Poidgerry, Badjedi, Bädjäri.
Ref.: Looker in Curr, 1886; Myles in Curr, 1886; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6464), 1905 (Gr. 6454), 1907 (Gr. 6469); Howitt, 1904; Kelly, 1935; Tindale, 1940; Worms, 1950; Capell, 1956, J. G. Breen, 1969 MS.

Baiali 'Baiali
Loc.: At mouth of Fitzroy River; on Curtis Island; at Keppel Bay; south to Calliope River and Gladstone; inland to Mount Morgan.
Coord.: 150°55'E x 23°40'S.
Area: 1,400 sq. m. (3,600 sq. km.).
Alt.: Byellee, Bieli, Byellel, Orambul, Urambal.
Ref.: Curr, 1887; Howitt, 1904; Roth, 1910.

Bakanambia 'Bakanambia
Loc.: Southern and eastern shores of Princess Charlotte Bay; inland to tidal limits of Normanby and north Kennedy rivers; at Lakefield. A relatively high incidence of cleft palate exists among members of this tribe. It is thought to have influenced their speech patterns; linguists have not noticed this fact.
Coord.: 144°10'E x 14°40'S.
Area: 1,100 sq. m. (2,900 sq. km.).
Alt.: Wanbara (valid alternative term), Wambara (incorrect), Kokolamalama (of southern tribes), Lamalama, Lamul-lamul, Kokaoalamalma (corrupt or typographical error), Mukinna, Banambia, Banambila.
Ref.: Hodginson in Curr, 1886; Parry-Okeden, 1897; Roth, 1901; Hale and Tindale, 1933; Tindale, 1940; Capell, 1963; Sayers and Godfrey, 1964; Wurm, 1965; O'Grady, MS; Trezise, 1969.

Bandjin 'Bandjin

Loc.: Hinchinbrook Island and Lucinda Point on the adjoining mainland. Those on Lucinda Point are usually called Biaigiri, and once may have been a separate tribal unit. Plate 41 is relevant.

Coord.: 146°15'E x 18°20'S.

Area: 200 sq. m. (500 sq. km.).

Alt.: Bijai (language name), Biaigiri, Bandyin, Banjin, Bundjin, Bandji (incorrect), Uradig, Kunyin.

Ref.: Armstrong and Murray in Curr, 1886; Roth, 1910; Tindale, 1940, 1963 MS; Capell, 1963; J. Doolan, 1964 MS; Dixon, 1966.

Barada 'Barada

Loc.: On Connors River from Killarney north to Nebo; west to near Bombandy.

Coord.: 149°0'E x 23°5'S.

Area: 2,500 sq. m. (6,500 sq. km.).

Alt.: Thar-ar-ra-burra (horde at Cardowan), Tha-ra-ra-burra, Toolginburra (a horde name, ['tulkun] = hill), ['mari] = man.

Ref.: Bridgeman in Curr, 1887; Fox, 1900; Roth, 1910; Robertson, 1928; Tindale, 1940.

ˁBarbaram (Mbarbaram) ˁBa:bərəm

Loc.: Great Dividing Range, north nearly to Mareeba; south to Irvinebank and northern vicinity of Mount Garnet; west to Almaden, Koorboora (Kaboura), and Petford on the high ground. Formerly a rain scrub dwelling people; now on sterile and rugged granite ranges. Dixon suggests Almaden was out of their territory; my 1963 informant of the Wakaman tribe said their mutual boundary was at Almaden. Dixon postulates a prehistoric shift of this tribe westward out of the rain forest. I had come to the same conclusion during fieldwork with them.

Coord.: 145°0'E x 17°15'S.

Area: 1,000 sq. m. (2,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: ˁMbabaram (initial glottal stop), (Um)Barbarem, Barbarum, Mogmbabarum (['mok] = man), Wumbabaram (Tjapukai term), Oombarbarum, Woombarbarram, Boobu-ram, Balbarum, Woombarrmbarra (Wakara term).

Ref.: Parry-Okeden, 1897; Mathew, 1898; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6464); Richards, 1926; Tindale, 1938 MS, 1940, 1963 MS; McConnel, 1939–1940; Sharp, 1939; Tindale and Birdsell, 1940; Dixon, 1965, 1966, 1969 MS, 1970.

Barna 'Bar:nə

Loc.: Headwaters of Isaac River, west to Denham Range; south to Cotherstone; at Grosvenor Downs.

Coord.: 148°15'E x 22°10'S.

Area: 3,200 sq. m. (8,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Parnabal.

Ref.: Tindale, 1940.

Barunggam 'Baruŋgam

Loc.: Headwaters of Condamine River east of Jackson to about Dalby; north about Charley Creek to Dividing Range and west to Wongorgera and Woleebee; south to Tara; at Chinchilla and Jandowae. Their country is on the red soils south and west of the Dividing Range.

Coord.: 150°30'E x 26°45'S.

Area: 7,900 sq. m. (20,500 sq. km.).

Alt.: Barungam, Parrungoom, Murrumgama, Murrungama, Murrumningama, Kogai (this name is used also for the language of tribes to the west), Gogai, Cogai.

Ref.: Barlow, 1873; Commissioner in Curr, 1887; A. Meston, 1892 MS; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6444); Giglioli, 1911; Tindale, 1940, 1963 MS; Winterbotham, 1956; Emmerson, 1956; Australian Encyclopedia, 1958.

Barungguan 'Baruŋguan

Loc.: West side of Princess Charlotte Bay north toward Cape Sidmouth; they seldom go farther north than Rocky River. L. West (pers. comm.) did not identify the name but found two hordelike names and a doubtful term Ganganda. I am confident Barunguan is the proper term and was well known when we worked with members of the tribe at Port Stewart and Silver Plains. Plate 4 is relevant.

Coord.: 143°30'E x 14°0'S.

Area: 700 sq. m. (1,800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Barunguan (typographical error), Baka (Kandju term), Banjigam (Bakanambia term), Jintjingga (native name of a place at mouth of Stewart River), Yintjingga, Njindingga, Umbuigamu (horde), Umbindhamu (horde), Ganganda.

Ref.: Hale and Tindale, 1933; Thomson, 1933, 1934, 1946, 1956; McConnel, 1939–1940; Tindale, 1940 and MS; Capell, 1963; West, MS.

Batjala 'Batjala ('Baṭala)

Loc.: Fraser or Great Sandy Island (n. n. Gari); also on the mainland coast south to Noosa Head. Their name Batjala is said to mean "sea folk," however, their term for "no" is ['ba] and this may be the real derivation since ['tjala] means "tongue." The majority of survivors were transferred to Yarrabah, near Cairns, about 1902 and we studied them there in 1938. Curr apparently did not distinguish between the real inhabitants of Fraser Island and Kabikabi mission residents from the adjoining mainland. As confirmed by Winterbotham data, the Batjala had access to the mainland along the lower course of Tinana Creek and north along the coast to Pialba. The southern horde groups under the name Dulingbara extended from about the southern third of the island to Noosa Head on the mainland and behaved much as if a separate tribe with some affiliations with the Kabikabi. In all nineteen horde names have been reported from the island, of which some probably belonged to the northern Ngulungbara who insisted they were a separate people. This island with a reputed original population of 2,000 would have been one of the more densely occupied areas in Australia, exceeded only by the Kaiadilt of Bentinck Island. Such densities seem possible chiefly when fish and reef products are freely available.

Coord.: 152°55'E x 25°45'S.

Area: 1,700 sq. m. (4,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Badjela, Badtala, Batyala (Wakawaka term applied to coastal people), Badyala, Patyala, Bidhala (Kabikabi term applied to coastal people), Butchulla, Dulingbara (group of hordes), Ngulungbara (group of hordes at north end claiming to be a separate tribe), Thoorgine (name of the island).

Ref.: Brooke in Howitt, 1884; Commissioner in Curr, 1887; Curr, 1887; 134; Mathew in Curr, 1887; Mathew, 1910; Kelly, 1935; Tindale, 1938 MS, 1940; Winterbotham, 1954; Reeves and Miller, 1964; Colliver, 1968.

Bidia (Biria) 'Bidiə

Loc.: Western side of Thomson River and Cooper Creek, from Jundah to near Gilpeppee; east to Keeroongooloo and Canaway Range; west to Whitula Creek. Some men call themselves Biria but they must not be confused with Biria of Bowen River. Breen has heard the name as Biria (with a rolled r). They practiced circumcision as an initiatory rite.

Coord.: 142°30'E x 25°30'S.

Area: 4,600 sq. m. (12,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Biria, Birria, Piria.

Ref.: E. Curr and Fraser in Curr, 1886; Heagney in Curr, 1886; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6444); Tindale, 1940, MS; Breen, 1969 MS.

Bigambul 'Bigambul

Loc.: East of Nindigully, Qld., on Weir and Moonie rivers, north to Tara; at Talwood, Qld.; on MacIntyre River from east of Boomi to Texas; at Yetman, Boggabilla, and Middle Creek, N.S.W.

Coord.: 150°10'E x 28°10'S.

Area: 10,200 sq. m. (26,500 sq. km.).

Alt.: Bigabul (valid variant used by one informant), Pikambul, Bigambal, Bigambel, Bee-gum-bul, Bigumble, Pikumbul, Pikumpal, Pikambal, Pikum-bul, Pickum-bul, Pickimbul, Pickumble, Picum-bul, Pikumbil, Begumble (['biga] = ['pika] = yes), Peekumble, Pickumbil, Picumbill, Preagalgh, Wigal-wollumbul, Wee-n' gul-la-m' bul.

Ref.: Ridley, 1861, 1873, 1875; Barlow, 1873; Curr, 1886, 1887; Myles, Lawlor, and Turbayne, in Curr, 1887; Wyndham, 1889; Fraser in Threlkeld, 1892; Threlkeld, 1892; Lauterer, 1897; Mathews, 1897 (Gr. 6426), 1902 (Gr. 6487); Howitt, 1904; MacPherson, 1904; Bucknell, 1912; Tindale, 1940.

Bindal 'Bindal

Loc.: From mouth of Burdekin River north to Cape Cleveland; inland to Leichhardt Range; at Ayr.

Coord.: 147°15'E x 19°35'S.

Area: 1,000 sq. m. (2,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Bendalgubber (label on specimen of a fishhook in Florence Museum ascribed to Port Denison, i.e., Bowen which is 50 miles [80 km.] southeast in adjoining Juru tribal area), North Murri.

Ref.: Gregory in Curr, 1886; O'Connor in Curr, 1886; Scott in Curr, 1886 (in part only); Schmidt, 1919; Tindale, 1940.

Biria 'Biria

Loc.: On Bowen River north to junction with Burdekin River; east to Clarke Range; west to Leichhardt Range; south to Netherdale. (Not to be confused with the Bidia of the Thomson River in southwestern Queensland.)

Coord.: 147°50'E x 20°40'S.

Area: 4,200 sq. m. (10,900 sq. km.).

Alt.: Birigaba, Biriaba, Breeaba, Perenbba, Perembba.

Ref.: Hodgkinson in Curr, 1886; Scott in Curr, 1886; Kelly, 1935; Tindale, 1940.

Bitjara 'Bitjara

Loc.: At Bulloo Downs; north to Orient, west to Grey Range; east to Clyde, south to Bulloo Lake floodplain. They practiced circumcision as an initiation rite. They are not to be confused with the Pitjara of the upper Warrego River, central Qld., or the Badjiri of the Paroo River.

Coord.: 143°0'E x 28°30'S.

Area: 4,000 sq. m. (10,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Bithara, Pitteroo, Minkabari (language name), Wilya.

Ref.: Myles in Curr, 1886; Sullivan in Curr, 1886; C. J. P., MS, 1896; Howitt, 1904; Tindale, 1940; Breen, 1969 MS.

Bugulmara 'Bugulmara

Loc.: Vicinity of Croydon. A tribe that was displaced very early by development of mining at Croydon. They were apparently related to the Maikulan on whose northern bounds they held a poorly defined territory. West (pers. comm.) had information on the Balgalu in the Gregory Ranges. These are probably the same people.

Coord.: 142°0'E x 18°20'S.

Area: 3,000 sq. m. (8,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Boogoolmurra, ?Balgalu.

Ref.: Kerry and Co., Sydney, series of photographs; Giglioli, 1911; Tindale, 1963 MS.

Buluwai 'Buluwai

Loc.: East of Tolga on crest of Coast Range; north to Kuranda (rain forest dwellers); 8 on northeast part of NE map.

Coord.: 145°35'E x 17°0'S.

Area: 200 sq. m. (500 sq. km.).

Alt.: Buluwandji (valid alternative), Bulwandji, Buluwandyi, Bulwandyi, Bulway.

Ref.: Tindale, 1938 MS, 1940; McConnel, 1939–1940, 1950; Dixon, 1966, 1969 MS.

Dalla 'Dal:a

Loc.: Esk to Nanango; east to Nambour, Palmwoods, Durundur, southeast to mountains near Brisbane; on the upper Brisbane River and the headwaters of the Mary River. Another name for them is Jinibara. Chiefly rain forest and rain forest margin dwellers. They were sedentary and lived in five principal hordes or small tribes speaking slight dialects and are all listed under the heading of Dalla. They are shown by numbers on the main map:

1. Dalla (Dalambara, Dallanbarah, Ngoera). As a hordal group, Jinibara, on headwaters of Mary and Brisbane rivers.
2. Dungidau (Dungidau is probably language name). Area around Kilcoy.
3. Nalbo (Njalbo, Nalboo). Eastern slopes of mountains from Eumundi south to Beerwah and Coobalture.
4. Dungibara (Doongibarra, Doongiburra). Upper Pine River and Daguilar Range.
5. Garumga (Garumnga, Garumgma). West of Brisbane River to Crows Nest and Cooyar Range; south to Esk.

The coastal people called these people collectively Jarbu, meaning generally "inlanders." The Dalla called the coastal people Mwoirnewar. According to Kabo, an aged man of the Dalambara horde, in 1938, their language name was Dal:a. In 1956 Gaiarbau of the southern horde used the term Jinibara for the whole tribe. This strictly is a hordal-type name. It seems that, at least in the eyes of several survivors who have been interrogated in recent years, their own hordal names were given preference, as if they were tribal terms, hence the divergences of opinion as to the most acceptable name. Each group differed a little in dialect. The most distinctive group was the Dungibara on the western tributaries of the Brisbane, north of Esk. The considerable differences in vocabulary suggest they were well on the way to being a separate tribe of the more usual Australian type. They held their ['du:r] or initiation ceremonies near their tribal boundary at Durundur until after it was occupied by white men.

Coord.: 152°25'E x 26°55'S.

Area: 3,000 sq. m. (7,800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Dalla (['dal:a] = staghorn fern; said to be language term), Ngoera, Jarbu ("inlanders"—name given by Undanbi and other coastal tribes), Jinibara (a suggested alternative name that is of hordal type), Djunggidjau.

Ref.: Simpson, 1844; Howitt, 1884, 1888, 1904; Landsborough and Curr in Curr, 1887; Shirley, 1897; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6444); Tindale, 1938 MS, 1940; Winterbotham, 1956 MS; Elkin, 1964 (verb. comm.); Capell, 1965.

Darambal 'Ďarəmbal

Loc.: From Arthur Point on Shoalwater Bay south to Yeppoon, mouth of Fitzroy River, and Keppel Bay; inland to Boomer Range; at Marlborough, Yeppoon, Yaamba, Rockhampton, and Gracemere. Thirteen or more hordes are mentioned; one local group was on the Keppel Islands, another was said to belong to the Ningebal tribe. Other information suggests an extinct horde or tribe (Warabal) at foot of Boomer Range. Mathews (1914) seems to have used the name Tarambol in error for Kangulu on p. 435 of his paper; he gives the latter term for the same people. His map also is in error.

Coord.: 150°20'E x 23°5'S.

Area: 4,000 sq. m. (10,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Tarumbal, Tarumbul, Tarambol, Taroombul, Tarmbal, Charumbul, Warabal, Warrabal, Ningebal (horde on east side of Shoalwater Bay), Rockhampton dialect, Bauwiwarra (a horde of this or the Koinjmal tribe).

Ref.: Howitt, 1884, 1904; Archer in Curr, 1886; Roth, 1901, 1906; Dutton, 1907; Mathew, 1910, 1914; Tindale, 1940.

Djagaraga 'Djagaraga

Loc. Cape York south to Escape River on eastern coast of Peninsula; on Mount Adolphus Islands and Albany Island.

Coord.: 142°35'E x 10°50'S.

Area: 200 sq. m. (500 sq. km.).

Alt.: Dyagaraga, Yagulle, Gudang (horde at Cape York), Alauian (another name for Cape York horde), Unduamo (horde name), Undooyamo, Kekosino (horde at Escape River), Kekoseno, Kokiliga (? horde name).

Ref.: Macgillivray, 1852; Jardine in Byerley, 1857; Creed in Ridley, 1878; Jardine in Curr, 1886; Meston, 1896; Howitt, 1904; Harris, 1917; Tindale, 1922 MS; Davidson, 1938; McConnel, 1939–1940; Sharp, 1939; Thomson, 1957.

Djakunda 'Djaku:ndə

Loc.: Between upper Boyne and Auburn rivers; north to Hawkwood; south to Dividing Range and vicinity of Kumbia. These people speak a language rather similar to Barbaram and physically seem similar to the Barrinean people. Some parts of their country possessed bunya pine (*Araucaria*) forests.

Coord.: 151°0'E x 26°5'S.

Area: 2,600 sq. m. (6,800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Djakanda, Djaka-nde, Dakundair.

Ref.: Tindale, 1940; Emmerson, 1955 MS, 1962 MS (in letters); Winterbotham, 1956 MS (map).

Djankun 'Djankən

Loc.: From Mount Mulligan and Thornborough south to Almaden; east to Dimbulah near head of Walsh River; west to Mungana. Mathews listed this tribe twice under two different versions of the name. Richards (1926) gave a wrong picture of the size of the area occupied by this tribe—he probably meant miles square instead of square miles but was still in error. The term Mutju was given one as an alternative for Djankun.

Coord.: 144°50'E x 17°5'S.

Area: 1,300 sq. m. (3,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ngaikungu (valid alternative), Dyangun, Chungki, Dyangunbari, Djandnandi, Chunkunburra, Chunkunberry, Changunberries, Shanganburra, Kokotjangun (Koko-jelandji term), Kokomutju (name used by tribes to north), Mutju, Ngaikungo, Ngaikungo-i (based on place name with suffix -i or -il).

Ref.: Mowbray and Davidson in Curr, 1880; Parry-Okeden, 1897; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6464); Roth, 1910; Richards, 1926; McConnel, 1939–1940; Sharp, 1939; Tindale, 1940, 1963 MS; Dixon, 1966, 1969 MS.

Djiru 'Djiru

Loc.: Clump Point and vicinity; north to Murdering Point; south to mouth of Tully River. Coastal rain forest dwellers with social organization of dual type; not to be confused with the inland Djirubal. The Boolboora and Warryboora of Parry-Okeden are very probably horde names in this tribe; 16 on northeastern part of NE map.

Coord.: 146°0'E x 17°52'S.

Area: 100 sq. m. (260 sq. km.).

Alt.: Iimba (valid alternative), Djiru:, Djirubagala (collective term), Dyirubagala, Dyiru, Gerrah, Gillah.

Ref.: Parry-Okeden, 1897; Tindale 1940, 1963 MS; Doolan, 1964 MS, 1966; Dixon, 1969 MS.

Djirubal 'Djirubal

Loc.: Herberton south to headwaters of Herbert River north of Cashmere; at Ravenshoe, Millaa Millaa, and Woodleigh; east to Tully Falls. Plateau rain forest dwellers with social organization of four-class type; not to be confused with the coastal Djiru. The tribe was erroneously placed on Davidson's 1938 map.

Coord.: 145°25'E x 17°40'S.

Area: 1,100 sq. m. (2,900 sq. km.).

Alt.: Tjirbal, Chirpalji, Dyirbaldyi, Djirbal, Dyirbalngan

(collective term), Dyirbal, Chirpa, Choolngai (of Wakara tribe), Njirma (horde at Ravenshoe).

Ref.: Parry-Okeden, 1897; Roth, 1910; Sharp, 1939; Tindale, 1940; Worms, 1950; Nekes and Worms, 1953; Dixon, 1966, 1969 MS; West, pers. comm.

Dungibara (*see* Dalla).

Dungidau (*see* Dalla).

Ewamin 'Eˁwamin ('Wimanjə)

Loc.: Head of Einasleigh and Copperfield rivers; north to Georgetown, Mount Surprise, and Lancewood; east to Dividing Range; west to headwaters of Percy River; at Oak Park and Forsayth, also on the ranges; at Einasleigh. Dixon (1966:108) does not differentiate between this valid tribe and the Wakaman whose territories are quite separate and wrongly placed on his sketch map; his compass directions are reversed.

Coord.: 144°10′E x 18°45′S.

Area: 5,700 sq. m. (14,800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wimanja (valid alternative), Agwamin, Egwamin, Gwamin, Ak Waumin, Wamin, Wommin, Waumin, Wawmin, Walamin, Wommin, Walming, Wailoolo.

Ref.: Roth, 1897; Parry-Okeden, 1897; Hultman, 1907; Sharp, 1939; Tindale, 1940; 1963 MS; Dixon, 1966.

Garumga (*see* Dalla).

Gia 'Gia

Loc.: Bowen to St. Helens and Mount Dalrymple; inland to Clarke Range; at Proserpine, Gloucester Head, Gloucester Island, and Repulse Bay; not at Cape Conway.

Coord.: 148°30′E x 20°30′S.

Area: 1,600 sq. m. (4,200 sq. km.).

Alt.: Kia, Bumbara (place name, probably a horde), Bumbarra.

Ref.: Shea in Curr, 1887; Roth, 1903; Davidson, 1938; Tindale, 1938 MS, 1940.

Giabal 'Giabəl

Loc.: Between Allora and about Dalby, east to near Gatton; west to Millmerran. Their valid alternative name Gomaingguru has the meaning of "men of the Condamine"; the one given preference was that asserted to be their proper designation by a member of an adjoining tribe. They seem to be the people who spoke Paiamba when met by Ridley at Yandilla in October 1855. Winterbotham called this tribe Gitabal (1956 MS) having confused it with the Kitabal of the Woodenbong area of New South Wales and placed it in the territory of the Jagara.

Coord.: 151°45′E x 27°40′S.

Area: 2,800 sq. m. (7,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Gomaingguru (valid alternative), Gitabal (in error), Paiamba.

Ref.: Ridley, 1861; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6444); Tindale, 1938 MS, 1940; Winterbotham, 1956 MS.

Goeng 'Goeŋ

Loc.: From the south end of Port Curtis to near mouth of Baffle Creek; inland to headwaters of Kolan River, Many Peaks Range, Lowmead, and Miriam Vale. Mathew (1914) equated this tribe in error with the inland Korenggoreng.

Coord.: 151°40′E x 24°15′S.

Area: 1,200 sq. m. (3,100 sq. km.).

Alt.: Goonine, Yungkono, GurangGurang (of Mathew only), Meeroni, Maroonee, Meerooni, Wide Bay tribe (of Palmer), ?Yamma.

Ref.: Palmer, 1884; Lauterer, 1897; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6444), 1900 (Gr. 6566), 1910 (Gr. 6470); Roth, 1910; Mathew, 1914 (as Meerooni); Tindale, 1940.

Gulngai 'Gulŋai

Loc.: Tully River below Tully Falls, and Murray River; south to range above Kirrama. A valid alternative version of the name is Kurungai. Inland rain forest dwellers; 15 on northeastern part of NE map. The four horde names "Kalomonge, Koorrio, Marapunda and Walinganba" of Parry-Okeden seemingly belong to this tribe.

Coord.: 145°40′E x 17°50′S.

Area: 200 sq. m. (500 sq. km.).

Alt.: Kurungai, Kulngai, Gulngay, Gulnggai (incorrect), Tjulngai, Djulngai, Mallanpara, Malanbara (a horde name), "Tully blacks."

Ref.: Parry-Okeden, 1887; Roth, 1903, 1910; Sharp, 1938; Tindale, 1940, 1963 MS; Capell, 1963; Doolan, MS, 1964; Dixon, 1966, 1969 MS.

Idindji 'Idindji

Loc.: Deeral north to Gordonvale and Edmonton; inland to Lake Barrine; a lowland strip fronting Lambs Range from Gordonvale north to near Cairns; the northernmost mountain area claimed as from olden times is Lambs Head, n.n. ['Waru'ka:bunda]; east to Prior Range crest. Rain forest dwellers. In postcontact times a breakaway group shifted to Redlynch and began to call themselves Djumbandji. They usurped part of Buluwai territory; 9 on NE part of NE map.

Coord.: 145°45′E x 17°10′S.

Area: 400 sq. m. (1,000 sq. km.)

Alt.: Yidindji, Yidindyi, Yidin, Idi: (short form used by Idindji), Idin, Idinji, Itti, Yettingie, Bolambi (name of a onetime dominant male of this tribe), Yellingie (presumed misreading of Yettingie), Mulgrave River dialect (Meston), Charroogin, Maiara (horde name), Myarah, Maimbi (horde), Djumbandji (see comment above), Jumbandjie.

Ref.: Meston, 1889; Gribble, 1897; Parry-Okeden, 1897; Roth, 1910; Tindale, 1938 MS, 1940, 1963 MS, 1972 MS; McConnel, 1939–40; Sharp, 1939; Worms, 1950; Winterbotham, 1956; Dixon, 1966.

Ilba 'I:lba

Loc.: On Cape River west to Dividing Range; north to about Pentland Hills and Seventy Mile Range; on Campaspe River; east to about Suttor River; south to Lake Buchanan; at Natal Downs. Six hordes are known. One, the ['Muŋkibara] is also claimed as a Mian tribe horde. The name Eneby may be Curr's misreading of Elleby.

Coord.: 146°5′E x 20°50′S.

Area: 7,400 sq. m. (19,200 sq. km.).

Alt.: Yukkaburra, Yuckaburra, Munkeeburra, Moothaburra (horde name), Mungera (horde name), Mungerra, Eneby (said to be language name), Pagulloburra (horde name).

Ref.: Palmer, 1884; Armstrong, Tompson, and Chatfield in Curr, 1886; Giglioli, 1911; Beuzeville, 1919; Tindale, 1940.

Indjilandji (*see* Northern Territory).

Iningai 'Iniŋai

Loc.: West of Dividing Range to Forsyth Range, Maneroo Creek and Longreach; south along Alice River tributaries to about Mexico; north to Muttaburra, Cornish Creek, Tower Hill, Bowen Downs, and North Oakvale; at Aramac. Their well-wooded country has broad meandering streams flowing generally west; a few plateau remnants exist. Some people moved southeast to Alpha in later years; the Wadjabangai (which see) may be a subtribe; Yankiburra of Howitt are probably a horde of Kuungkari and placed too far east on his map.

Coord.: 144°55'E x 23°0'S.

Area: 19,500 sq. m. (50,700 sq. km.).

Alt.: Muttaburra (horde name, now a township), Mutabura, Moothaburra, Mootaburra, Tateburra (horde north of Cornish Creek), Terreburra (horde on Alice River), Kana.

Ref.: Palmer, 1884; Dalhunty in Curr, 1887; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6444); Howitt, 1904; Bennett, 1927; Tindale, 1940, 1963 MS.

Irukandji 'Irukandji

Loc.: Narrow coastal strip from Cairns to Port Douglas (Mowbray River) and on the tidal waters of the Barron River at Redlynch. In 1897 six persons of the "Yettkie" [*sic*] were listed by Parry-Okeden and are thought to be of this tribe. They were still remembered in 1938; by 1952 recollections of their existence had almost faded in the Cairns area especially among the younger Tjapukai, who had by then come to regard the country as part of their own. The term ['irukandji] is by some thought to mean "from the north," in the Mamu language ['irikandji] means "east"; 6 on northeastern part of NE map.

Coord.: 145°40'E x 16°45'S.

Area: 200 sq. m. (500 sq. km.).

Alt.: Irakanji, Yirkandji, Yirkanji, Yirgay, Yettkie (misreading of Yerrkie), Illagona, Wongulli (place name of their camp, now on the city limit south of Cairns), Dungara (horde name on Lower Barron River), Tingaree, Dungarah, Dingal.

Ref.: Parry-Okeden, 1898; Gribble, 1897; Roth, 1910 (map); Richards, 1926; McConnel, 1939–1940; Sharp, 1939; Tindale, 1940, 1963 MS; D. Seaton, 1955 MS; Doolan, 1964 MS; Dixon, 1966.

Ithu I:ṭu

Loc.: Noble Island and islands of the Howick Group off Barrow Point. Scant data; possibly only a horde of the Mutumui.

Coord.: 144°55'E x 14°25'S.

Area: Under 50 sq. m. including reefs (100 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wurkuldi.

Ref.: Hale and Tindale, 1933; Tindale, 1940.

Jagalingu 'Jagaliŋu

Loc.: Headwaters of Belyando River south to Avoca; north to about Laglan; west to Dividing Range; east and south to Drummond Range. Howitt's 1904 sketch map indicates that his attribution of "Wakelbara" in his text to "West of the Great Dividing Range" was a slip for "east." Wakelbara may be a horde of the Mian rather than the Jagalingu tribe and placed too far south by Howitt.

Coord.: 146°40'E x 23°20'S.

Area: 8,000 sq. m. (20,800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wakelbara (a northern horde name, near Laglan arbitrarily adopted as the tribal name by Howitt; ['wakel] = eel), Kokleburra (another horde), Owanburra = Kowanburra (a horde on upper Belyando River), Auanbura (same horde).

Ref.: Howitt, 1884, 1889, 1904; Chatfield in Curr, 1886; Lowe in Curr, 1887; Muirhead in Curr, 1887; Mathews, 1895 (Gr. 6475), 1898 (Gr. 6464); Tindale, 1940.

Jagara 'Jagara

Loc.: Brisbane River from the Cleveland district inland to the Dividing Range about Gatton; north to near Esk; at Ipswich. Their language was Turubul. A term Jerongban refers to part of their country, i.e., the sandy areas between Ipswich and Brisbane. Several hordes; do not confuse with Jukambe or the Jiegera of New South Wales. Winterbotham transposed the names he gave for the Jagara and Jukambe tribes. He ascribed part of their country to his "Gitabal." This also is an error of identification for Giabal (which see).

Coord.: 152°40'E x 27°40'S.

Area: 1,300 sq. m. (3,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Jagarabal (['jagara] = no), Jergarbal, Yagara, Yaggara, Yuggara, Yugg-ari, Yackarabul, Turubul (language name), Turrbal, Turrubul, Turrubal, Terabul, Torbul, Turibul, Yerongban, Yeronghan, Ninghi, Yerongpan, Biriin (see explanation under Jukambe).

Ref.: Lang, 1861; Ridley in Lang, 1861; Ridley, 1866, 1875; Petrie in Howitt, 1888, 1904; Meston, 1892 MS, 1905; Lauterer, 1896; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6444, 6468), 1900 (Gr. 6566), 1907 (Gr. 6511, 6508), 1909 (Gr. 6479), 1910 (Gr. 6470); Enright, 1901; C. C. Petrie, 1902, 1904; T. Petrie, 1902; Dutton, 1904; Brown, 1918; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Tindale, 1940; Winterbotham, 1956 MS.

Jalanga 'Jaləŋə

Loc.: On Wills Creek from south of Duchess to Fort William; on Burke River and Mort River to north of Chatsworth; at Noranside and Buckingham Downs.

Coord.: 140°0'E x 21°55'S.

Area: 4,200 sq. m. (10,900 sq. km.).

Alt.: Yellunga, Yelina, Wonganja (supposedly extinct horde).

Ref.: Eglinton in Curr, 1886; Roth, 1897; Tindale, 1940; B. Blake, 1969 MS; West, pers. comm.

Jambina 'Jambi:na

Loc.: Logan Creek south of Avon Downs; east to Denham Range and Logan Downs; west to Elgin Downs; at Solferino.

Coord.: 147°25'E x 22°10'S.

Area: 2,500 sq. m. (6,500 sq. km.).

Alt.: Jampa:l, Jampal, Yambeena, ?Narboo Murre, (['mari] = man, ['jamba] = camp), Muthoburra (a horde at Elgin Downs).

Ref.: Muirhead in Curr, 1887; Wilson and Murray in Curr, 1887; Tindale, 1940, MS.

Janda 'Janda

Loc.: Head of Hamilton River, north of Warenda. At Toolebuc and Lucknow. They practiced circumcision and subincision as initiatory rites for men, being the easternmost group to have both rites.

Coord.: 140°50'E x 22°10'S.

Area: 3,100 sq. m. (8,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Yanda, Yunda.

Ref.: Eglinton in Curr, 1886; Roth, 1897; Giglioli, 1911.

Jandruwanta (*see* South Australia).

Jangaa 'Jaŋa:

Loc.: Head of Gilbert River, south of Forsayth to Gilberton and Gregory Range; east to near Oak Park, Percyville, and headwaters of Copperfield River; west to Glenora. Distinguish from the Jangga of upper Suttor River. The vocabulary by Dutton closely matches one gathered by me in 1938 but the place names he gives suggests that he was listing a tribal territory originally of the Walangama, but in part that taken over by Jangaa in post-European contact times. The area listed above is the immediately precontact one.

Coord.: 143°25'E x 19°10'S.

Area: 3,800 sq. m. (9,900 sq. km.).

Alt.: Purkaburra (horde at Percyville).

Ref.: Dutton, 1904; Tindale, 1940.

Jangga 'Jaŋga

Loc.: Eastern headwaters of Suttor River; south to Glenavon; At Mount Coolon, Yacamunda, Mount Tindale, and Hidden Valley; north to the Burdekin River. Not to be confused with Jangaa of upper Gilbert River.

Coord.: 147°25'E x 21°20'S.

Area: 4,200 sq. m. (10,900 sq. km.).

Alt.: Durroburra (a northern horde), Dorobura.

Ref.: Muirhead in Curr, 1887; Howitt, 1904; Tindale, 1940.

Janggal 'Jaŋga:l

Loc.: Forsyth Island in the Gulf of Carpentaria, and the mangrove-lined shore on the mainland opposite, as far west as Cliffdale Creek. Forsyth Island today is known to Mornington Islanders as Nemi Island, after one of the native inhabitants whose adopted name was Edward Namie. This was given him by the missionary, Wilson. The supposed tribal name Nemarang of Capell, is thus post-European in origin and based on the English word "name." Three hordes have names: (1) ['Djo:ara] at Beche-de-Mer Camp and Bayley (Robert) Island; (2) ['Larəkən'ja:rə] on the eastern side of Forsyth Island; and (3) ['Marə'kalpa] at the western end of Forsyth Island. A fourth horde for which no name is now obtainable formerly lived on Denham Island. While Appel Channel was the boundary, Lardiil men used the water and landed only on the Denham Island shore. Allen Island, in living memory was connected to the mainland. It was not used after a big storm washed away the land connections and no one living in 1963 had ever ventured there. A brass plate survives with an incised drawing of an estuarine crocodile and the words "Long Peter King between Branch and Cliffdale Creeks."

Coord.: 139°0'E x 16°55'S.

Area: 300 sq. m. including reefs (800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Njangga:l (valid variant), Janggaral (valid variant), Janggura, Janggaralda (name of language), Jangaralda (term applied by Lardiil), Nemarang (modern name partly of European origin), Balumbant (= people from the west, contrasting with a term Lilumbant applied to the Lardi:l and Jokula).

Ref.: Capell, 1942; Tindale, 1960 MS, 1961, 1962, 1963 MS; Simmons, Tindale and Birdsell, 1962; Simmons, Graydon and Tindale, 1964.

Janjula (*see* Northern Territory).

Jaroinga (*see* Northern Territory).

Jarowair 'Jarowair

Loc.: On western slopes of Great Dividing Range from Crows Nest to Dalby; north to Bell and south to Oakey. This seems to be a small tribe of the type found in the rain forest areas north of Brisbane.

Coord.: 151°45'E x 27°15'S.

Area: 1,000 sq. m. (2,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Yarrowair, Yarow-wair, Yarrow Wair.

Ref.: Winterbotham, 1956 MS.

Jathaikana 'Jaðaikana

Loc.: From Escape River south to about Orford Ness, inland to the Main Range.

Coord.: 142°45'E x 11°10'S.

Area: 300 sq. m. (800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Yathaikeno, Yadaigan, Yaraidyana, Yäraidyana, Yaraikana, Yaldaigan, Yarakino, Yandigan, Yaraikanna, Yaraikkanna, Yardaikan, Yarudolaiga (name given by Kaurareg), Induyamo.

Ref.: Macgillivray, 1852; Jardine in Byerley, 1857; Creed in Ridley, 1878; Parry-Okeden, 1897; Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6559); Thomas, 1904; Parker, 1905; Ray, 1907; McConnel, 1939–1940, 1950; Sharp, 1939; Trezise, 1969.

Jeljendi (*see* South Australia).

Jeteneru 'Jet:eneru

Loc.: Saltwater Creek in the southwest corner of Princess Charlotte Bay; inland toward Musgrave.

Coord.: 143°45'E x 14°35'S.

Area: 900 sq. m. (2,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Yadaneru, Wurangung, ? Ompindamo (listed in McConnel, 1939–1940:56 without identified source).

Ref.: Hale and Tindale, 1933; McConnel, 1939–1940; Tindale, 1940; Capell, 1963.

Jetimarala 'Jetimarala

Loc.: On Boomer and Broad Sound Ranges from Fitzroy River north to about Killarney; west to the Mackenzie and Isaac rivers. In my 1940 work this was listed only as a supposed part of either the Barada or Kabalbara tribes. Davidson (1938) correctly recognized it on his map as a separate tribe. Further comment under Kabalbara.

Coord.: 149°35'E x 23°0'S.

Area: 1,500 sq. m. (3,900 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ja:mba (means camp), Yaamba, Yetti maralla (mari

= man), Taruin-bura ("big river people," a horde name).
Ref.: Fox, 1900; Howitt, 1904; Davidson, 1938; Tindale, 1938 MS, 1940.

Jiman 'Ji:man

Loc.: Upper Middle Dawson River from Bigge Range south to Great Dividing Range; east to Theodore, Cracow, and Cockatoo Creek; west to Baroondah and Durham Downs; at Wandoan and Taroom; on the Nimmi plain.
Coord.: 149°35'E x 25°40'S.
Area: 6,000 sq. m. (15,600 sq. km.).
Alt.: Iman, Emon, Nimmi (name of an area of plain country).
Ref.: Lalor in Howitt, 1904; Kelly, 1935; Tindale, 1940; Lord, 1956 MS.

Jinwum 'Jinwum

Loc.: Upper Wenlock (Batavia) River south of Moreton.
Coord.: 142°50'E x 12°45'S.
Area: 800 sq. m. (2,100 sq. km.).
Alt.: Yinwum, Yeemwoon.
Ref.: McConnel, 1939–1940, 1950; Simmons, Graydon and Gajdusek, 1958.

Jirandali 'Ji:randali

Loc.: On upper Dutton and Flinders rivers west of the Great Dividing Range, from near Mount Sturgeon south to Caledonia; west to near Richmond, Corfield, and east of Winton; on Torrens, Tower Hill, and Landsborough Creeks; at Lammermoor, Hughenden, and Tangorin.
Coord.: 144°20'E x 21°15'S.
Area: 16,000 sq. m. (41,600 sq. km.).
Alt.: Yerrundulli, Yerrunthully, Irendely, Dalebura, Dalleyburra, Pooroga (language name).
Ref.: Beddoe, 1878; Howitt, 1884, 1904; Palmer, 1884; M. and E. Curr in Curr, 1886; Christison in Curr, 1887; Mathews, 1895 (Gr. 6475); Parry-Okeden, 1897; Christison in Howitt, 1904; Christison in Bennett, 1927; Kelly, 1935; Tindale, 1940.

Jirjoront 'Jir'joront ('Kokomin'djan)

Loc.: About mouth of Coleman River and the three widely separated mouths of the Mitchell River, extending along the coast between them and inland to about the limits of tidal waters.
Coord.: 141°45'E x 15°20'S.
Area: 500 sq. m. (1,300 sq. km.).
Alt.: Yir Yoront, Yir-yiront, Kokomindjan (valid alternative with the accentuation as given above), KokoMindjin, Kokominjan, KokoMandjoen, Koko-manjoen, KokoMinjen, Koka-mungin.
Ref.: Parry-Okeden, 1897; Roth, 1910; Thomson, 1933; Sharp, 1939, 1952, 1958; Métraux, 1956; Australian Encyclopedia, 1958; Simmons, Graydon and Gajdusek, 1958; Tindale, 1963 MS.

Jokula 'Jokula

Loc.: From Burketown to Hann Creek and Massacre Inlet; on the coast west of Cliffdale Creek; inland nearly to Nicholson River; east to Albert River mouth from near Escott. The Janggal of Forsyth Island use two terms ['Juŋulda] and ['Kaŋgaleida] for the people of Burketown area (Tindale, MS). Lilumbant is a directional term applied to both Lardiil and Jokula (easterners) differentiating them from the Janggal, who are called Balumbant ("people of or from the west").
Coord.: 138°50'E x 17°30'S.
Area 5,400 sq. m. (14,000 sq. km.).
Alt.: Jugul (valid variation), Jugulda, Jogula, Jokala, Jokul, Jokal, Iukala, Yukula, Yookala, Eugoola, Jungulda (Janggal term), Kanggaleida (Janggal term), Yangarella, Engarilla.
Ref.: Armit in Curr, 1886; Curr, 1887; Parry-Okeden, 1897; Mathews, 1899 (Gr. 6445, 6443), 1900 (Gr. 6575, 6579), 1901 (Gr. 6453), 1908 (Gr. 6578); Sharp, 1935, 1939; Tindale, 1938 MS, 1940, 1960 MS, 1963 MS; Simmons, Graydon and Tindale, 1964.

Juipera 'Juipera

Loc.: At Mackay; from St. Helens south to Cape Palmerston; inland to Connors Range.
Coord.: 149°5'E x 21°15'S.
Area: 1,100 sq. m. (2,900 sq. km.).
Alt.: Yuipera, Juwibara.
Ref.: Bridgeman in Smyth, 1878; Bridgeman and Bucas in Curr, 1887; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6417, 6464, 6444); Howitt, 1904; H. L. Roth, 1908; Capell, 1963.

Jukambe 'Jukambe

Loc.: Logan River from Rathdowney to mouth, south to near Southport; west to Boonah and slopes of the Dividing Range. Not to be confused with the Jukambal of the New England tableland. Note that the Jagara territory included the area near Cleveland along the Brisbane River. One horde, the Tjipara, claimed country as far north as Sandgate and the mouth of Pine River, an area otherwise said to belong to the Undanbi people. Seven or more hordes are recorded in the Winterbotham MS, one name given is Biri:n, and there is a suggestion that the Kitabal of northern New South Wales and the Jagara are only large hordes of this tribe with some differences of dialect. Kitabal men in 1938, however, supplied data that seem to indicate the Kitabal were distinct. It should be noticed that names of many tribes in northern New South Wales have the suffix -bal. This has been inferred to be a hordal suffix like -bara and -bura terms of southern Queensland but is probably not correct. Some aborigines stress the last syllable of the name i.e. ['Jukam'be]. Jampal is a valid alternative name. This has no known relationship with the Jambina (Jampa:l) of Logan Creek in central Queensland.
Coord.: 153°0'E x 27°55'S.
Area: 1,200 sq. m. (3,100 sq. km.).
Alt.: Jukam (['juka] = no), Yukum, Yögum, Yuggum, Yoocum, Jugambeir, Yugambir, Yugumbir, Tjipara (horde near Brisbane), Chipara, Chepara, Tjapera, Yoocumbah.
Ref.: Gibson in Fison and Howitt, 1880; Gibson in Howitt, 1884; Howitt, 1884, 1888, 1904; Prior, Landsborough and White, and O'Connor in Curr, 1887; Meston, 1892; Lauterer, 1896, 1897; Small, 1898; Dutton, 1904; Mathews, 1909 (Gr. 6479); Radcliffe-Brown, 1931; Tindale, 1940; Winterbotham, 1956 MS; Sharpe, 1969.

Julaolinja 'Julaolinja ('Ju:lanja)

Loc.: At Carlo Springs on upper Mulligan River. They shifted east to Marion Downs in postcontact times.

Coord.: 138°40′E x 23°25′S.

Area: 2,400 sq. m. (6,200 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ulaolinja, Ju:lanja (valid alternative), Ju:lanji (valid variant), Yoolanlanya, Ulaolinya, U-la-linya, U-la-linye, U-lay-linye, Uluonga, Jura.

Ref.: Roth, 1897; Fraser, 1897; Field, 1898; Mathews, 1899 (Gr. 6445), 1901 (Gr. 6453); Mackie, 1901; Tindale, 1940, 1963 MS; B. Blake, 1969 MS.

Jungkurara 'Juŋkurara

Loc.: Bloomfield River; Weary Bay and south to Cape Kimberley; also in the vicinity of Spring Vale. This term appears to embrace the Yanyu of McConnel; ten hordes are listed by Hughes and there are indications of a possible eight others given by Parry-Okeden. Jungkurara possibly was a horde name originally but in 1938 informants of the tribe preferred it to any other.

Coord.: 146°25′E x 16°0′S.

Area: 500 sq. m. (1,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Yungkarara, Junkara, Koko Dyungay, Yungurara, Yung-Kurara (['bam:a] = man), Koko-aungu (valid language name), Kokodjilandji (valid alternative), Kokojalanja, Kokoyalunyu, Koko Ialunia, Koko Ialiu, Bulponara (a horde name), Bulpoonarra, Yokarra (a horde name).

Ref.: Hughes in Curr, 1886; Parry-Okeden, 1897; Roth, 1910; Giglioli, 1911; McConnel, 1931, 1939–1940; Davidson, 1938; Tindale, 1938 MS, 1940; Sharp, 1939; Australian Encyclopedia, 1958; Wright (midshipman), 1801 in Lanyon-Orgill, 1961; Dixon, 1969 MS.

Jupangati 'Ju:pəŋati

Loc.: South of Batavia River on the Gulf of Carpentaria coast as far as Duyfken Point and Nomenade Creek (Pine River). Several hordes have been regarded as having the status of "small tribes," including the Wimarangga, on the north side of Albatross Bay, and the Batjana. Nggerikudi (and variations) was much used as a name for this tribe but later work suggests Jupangati is the better term.

Coord.: 141°50′E x 12°20′S.

Area: 500 sq. m. (1,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Yuupngati, Yupangati, Yupungati, Yupnget, Yupungatti, Yopngadi, Nggerikudi, Nggirikudi, Ngerikudi, Niggerikudi, Ra:kudi, Angadimi (language name), Angutimi, Batjana (horde name inland on lower Wenlock [Batavia] River), Mbatyana, Ba:tyana, Wimarangga (horde near Duifken Point), Wimaranga, Wimarango, Wimmarango.

Ref.: Hey, 1903; Roth, 1903, 1910; McConnel, 1939–1940, 1950, 1953; Sharp, 1939; Simmons, Graydon and Gajdusek, 1958; Capell, 1963; Laade, 1967.

Juru 'Juru

Loc.: From Bowen north to the Burdekin River at Home Hill; southwest to Bogie Range; at Upstart Bay; south to Mount Pleasant and Mount Abbot.

Coord.: 147°40′E x 19°55′S.

Area: 1,200 sq. m. (3,100 sq. km.).

Alt.: Euronbba, Malmal (native name of lower course of Burdekin River), Mal Mal, ? Arwur-angkana, South Murri.

Ref.: Gregory, 1865, 1896; Scott in Curr, 1886; Schmidt, 1919; Robertson, 1928; Davidson, 1938; Tindale, 1940, 1958 MS.

Kabalbara 'Kabəlbara

Loc.: West of Mackenzie and Isaac rivers to Peak Range; north nearly to Cotherstone. I formerly thought Howitt's term, when written as Jetimarala, might be the proper name; my tribal informant knew only Kabalbara which might appear to be one more applicable to a horde of a tribe; however, other information now suggests the Jetimarala tribe was a separate one related to the Barada, and living on the Broad Sound Ranges and it has been so treated.

Coord.: 148°45′E x 22°55′S.

Area: 2,600 sq. m. (6,800 sq. km.).

Alt.: None has been reported.

Ref.: Howitt, 1904; Roth, 1910; Tindale, 1938 MS, 1940.

Kabikabi 'Kabi'kabi

Loc.: Inland from Maryborough; north to Childers and Hervey Bay; south to near head of Mary River and Cooroy; west to Burnett and Coast Ranges and Kilkivan; at Gympie; not originally on Fraser Island although Curr (1886) mentions them as there. Mathews (1910) refers to fifteen local groups or hordes shared between his two language areas, Kabi and Wakka, excluding his Patyala, which are the Batjala of Fraser Island, a separate tribe. Kabikabi country is essentially a rain forest environment with open areas cleared by firing the scrub. Dry forest country of their neighbors was called ['naran], literally "outside." The Hervey Bay folk under the hordelike name Dundubara behaved much like a separate tribe, Dundu:ra was seemingly the tribal form of their name. Members of this tribe were disturbed by the arrival of strangers of many surrounding tribes in the years of the ripening of bunya pine seeds.

Coord.: 152°25′E x 25°45′S.

Area: 3,700 sq. m. (9,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Kabi (['kabi] = no), Cabbee, Karbi, Karabi, Carbycarbery, Kabbi, Kahby, Carby, Gabigabi, Dippil (general term embracing several tribes with languages akin to Kabikabi in southeastern Queensland), Dipple, Maiba (river chestnut people), Dundu:ra, Doondoora, Dundubara, Doondooburra (Hervey Bay people), Dowarburra (horde north of Kilkivan).

Ref.: Russell, 1845; Lang, 1861; Ridley, 1866, 1875; Howitt, 1884, 1904 (horde names only); Curr, 1886; Mathew in Curr, 1887; Meston, 1892; Lauterer, 1898; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6444), 1900 (Gr. 6566), 1910 (Gr. 6429, 6470); Mathew, 1910, 1914; Tindale, 1940 and MS; Bull, 1948; Winterbotham, 1955; Reeves and Miller, 1964.

Kaiabara 'Kaiabara

Loc.: Headwaters of Stuart Creek from about Proston south to Kingaroy and the Cooyar Range. A small tribe; Mathews (1911:101) called it a "tribelet," and it may be one of the borderline cases not deserving full tribal status. The group is prominent in the literature because of a controversy between Howitt and Mathews over the supposed identification of descent as being in the male line instead of female. The people were allied to the Kabikabi and held their bora ceremonies near Kingaroy. They were one of four tribes collectively known to their eastern neighbors as Owari,

meaning "inlanders"; the others were Wakawaka, Djakunda, and Wulili. The same four were known as Wa:bar to the Darling Downs tribespeople of the west. Mathews (1910) included this as a horde (his term community) of the Kabikabi. In his paper (*ibid.* xxii) he says they are a local group of the Kabikabi and further discusses them on page 129ff. Tribal boundaries and relationships in this area were subject to the disturbances of periodic arrival of distant peoples to take part in the bunya pine harvests. In other years the people were relatively sedentary and the hordes therefore tended to behave like small tribes. It is possible that the Kaiabara should be linked with the five other Dalla small tribes, but it is probably too late to obtain direct evidence.

Coord.: 151°45′E x 26°35′S.

Area: 1,000 sq. m. (2,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Kaia = Cooyar Range and Mount, Kaibara (typographical error), Koiabara, Cooyarbara, Kaiyabora, Kiabara, Bujibara (buji = carpetsnake), Bujiebara, Booyieburra, Buijibara, Bujibada.

Ref.: Howitt, 1884, 1904; Brooke in Howitt, 1888, 1904; Mathews, 1895 (Gr. 6475), 1898 (Gr. 6417, 6444), 1900 (Gr. 6524), 1907 (Gr. 6508, 6511), 1909 (Gr. 6479), 1911 (Gr. 6494), 1912 (Gr. 6517); Lang, 1910, 1911; Mathew, 1910; Winterbotham, 1956 MS.

Kaiadilt 'Kaiadilt

Loc.: Bentinck Island and surrounding reefs; west to Allen Island. The people of this island had the greatest population density known in Australia, namely 1.7 persons per square mile. They remained free from contact with Europeans until 1948. The name Malununda given by an informant at Palm Island is that applied by the Lardiil. Detailed work by me in 1960 and 1963 indicates the preferred name is ['Kaiadilt], although some people say ['Kaiadil]. This name only became known to the Janggal and the Lardiil after white contact when the Bentinck Islanders were settled on Mornington Island. Eight hordes called ['dolnoro], occupied the islands (see detailed map in Tindale, 1962). They practice circumcision and a limited form of subincision but unlike mainland tribes the rites are not secret and women are active participants in the operation. Plate 68 and color plate 3 are relevant.

Coord.: 139°30′E x 17°5′S.

Area: 70 sq. m. (180 sq. km.).

Alt.: Kaiadil, ['Ka:rədil(t)] (a modern Lardiil version of name), ['Kaija:dil] (a modern Janggal version), Gajaḍild, Gaiardilt, Maldanunda (['mala] = ['malda] = sea), Malununde, Malununda (original Lardiil tribe name for Bentinck Island, Maldanunda (original Janggal name for), Marlanunda, Mardunung, Madunun, "Bentinck Islanders."

Ref.: Tindale, 1940, 1960 MS, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1963 MS, 1967; Capell, 1942; Mackay, 1959; Simmons, Tindale and Birdsell, 1962; Simmons, Graydon and Tindale, 1964; Wurm, 1965.

Kairi 'Kairi

Loc.: From the Great Dividing Range south of Springsure north to Capella; west to Drummond Range; east to Comet and upper Mackenzie (Nogoa) rivers.

Coord.: 147°55′E x 23°55′S.

Area: 6,900 sq. m. (17,900 sq. km.).

Alt.: Khararya (['kara] = no), Bimurraburra (horde in vicinity of Emerald); ['mardi] = man.

Ref.: Middleton and Noble in Curr, 1887; Biddulph, 1900; Kelly, 1935; Tindale, 1940 and MS.

Kalali 'Kalali

Loc.: Eulo west to Thargomindah and Bulloo River; upstream to Norley; south to Orient, Clyde, and Currawinya. Mathews (1905) included this as part of his artificial Wonkamurra "nation." They do not practice either circumcision or subincision.

Coord.: 144°5′E x 28°25′S.

Area: 3,800 sq. m. (9,900 sq. km.).

Alt.: Galali, Kullalli, Kullally, Kalili (? typographical error).

Ref.: Myles in Curr, 1886; Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6448), 1905 (Gr. 6454); Kelly, 1935; Tindale, 1940; Winterbotham, 1956 MS; Wurm, 1963.

Kalibal (*see* New South Wales).

Kalibamu 'Kalibamu

Loc.: On the coast between Leichhardt River and Morning Inlet; inland to Wernadinga, Floraville, and Punchbowl. They did not practice either circumcision or subincision as initiatory rites. By 1963 the tribe was extinct.

Coord.: 140°5′E x 17°55′S.

Area: 1,100 sq. m. (2,900 sq. km.).

Alt.: Kotanda (valid alternative, this name is now sometimes applied to the Kareldi).

Ref.: Armit in Curr, 1886; Tindale, 1940, 1963 MS.

Kalkadunga 'Kalkaḏuŋa

Loc.: West of Cloncurry to Mount Isa; south to Duchess and Selwyn Range; at head of Cloncurry River; north to Glenroy. They practiced both circumcision and subincision as rites of initiation. Mackie, writing from Brighton Downs on the Diamantina placed members of this tribe too far south, in Jalanga territory.

Coord.: 140°0′E x 20°55′S.

Area: 6,000 sq. m. (15,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Kalkatungu, Kalkatunga, Kalkutung, Kalkatongo, Kalkadun, Kulkodone, Kalkadoon, Kulkadoon, Kalkadonna, Galgadungu, Galgadung, Calcadoon, Kalkaladoona, Mantaba (Maithakari term for southern Kalkadungu), Rungkari (Maithakari, term for northern Kalkadungu), Roongkari.

Ref.: Palmer, 1884; Urquhart, 1885; MacGillivray in Curr, 1886; Urquhart in Curr, 1886; Parry-Okeden, 1897; Roth, 1897 (two papers), 1910; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6417, 6464), 1899 (Gr. 6397); Mackie, 1901; Giglioli, 1911; Tindale, 1940; J. G. Breen, 1969 MS; Blake, 1969 MS.

Kambuwal 'Kambuwal

Loc.: Inglewood to Bonshaw, New South Wales; north to southern vicinity of Millmerran; east to Stanthorpe and Wallangarra and the western slope of the Dividing Range.

Coord.: 151°25′E x 28°35′S.

Area: 3,700 sq. m. (9,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Gambuwal and Gambabal (valid variants), Gambubal, Kaoambul, Cambooble.

Ref.: Barlow, 1873; MacPherson, 1904; Kelly, 1935; Tindale, 1940, 1960 MS; Winterbotham, 1956 MS.

Kandju 'Ka:ndju

Loc.: Headwaters of Archer River; on tableland from between Ebagoola and Coen north to heads of Lockhart, Pascoe, and Batavia rivers; east to coastward slope of McIlwraith Range; west to Geikie Range and edge of plateau. Informants in 1963 preferred their name as now transcribed with the extended [a:].

Coord.: 143°5'E x 13°35'S.

Area: 3,000 sq. m. (7,800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ka:ntju, Ka:ndyu, Kandyu, Kantju, Kanju, Kanyu, Karnju, Karndheu, Karntju, Karnyu, Karnu, Kamdhue, Kamdheu, Gandju.

Ref.: Parry-Okeden, 1897; Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6559); McConnel, 1932, 1939–1940, 1950; Hale and Tindale, 1933; Thomson, 1933; Tindale, 1940, 1963 MS; Australian Encyclopedia, 1958; Capell, 1956, 1958, 1965; Sayers and Godfrey, 1964.

Kangulu 'Ka:ŋulu

Loc.: Dawson River south to Banana and Theodore; northwest to Mackenzie River and near Duaringa and Coomooboolaroo. East to Biloela, Mount Morgan, Gogango Range, and the upper Don River; southeast to Thangool and the headwaters of Grevillea Creek. In the 1940 edition a western tribe, the Kanolu, was incorrectly mapped along with this one. It will be noted that their vocabularies have little in common. Two names mentioned by McIntosh, namely Maudalgo and Mulkali, may belong to one or another of these tribes, but no data have been found to enable them to be applied.

Coord.: 150°15'E x 24°15'S.

Area: 6,000 sq. m. (15,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Kaangooloo (['ka:ngu] = no), Cangoolootha (['tha:] = speech), Khangalu, Kangalo, Kongulu, Kongalu, Kangool-lo, Konguli, Gangulu.

Ref.: Curr, 1886; McIntosh in Curr, 1887; Mathews, 1899 (Gr. 6445), 1900 (Gr. 6566), 1910 (Gr. 6470); Howitt, 1904; Mathew, 1910, 1914; Bennett, 1918; Kelly, 1935; Tindale, 1940.

Kanolu 'Kanolu

Loc.: Eastern headwaters of the Comet River from Rolleston north to Blackwater and upper Mackenzie River; east to about Dingo and vicinity of Duaringa. Their original population in 1860 was about 500 persons. Because of a similarity of name, this tribe has been confused with an eastern neighbor the Kangulu from whom they differed widely in dialect. Their word for "man" was ['mari] and for "no" was ['kara], contrasting with the ['bama] and ['ka:ŋu] of the Kangulu. In the 1940 edition of this map, they were incorrectly shown as a western part of the Kangulu.

Coord.: 149°0'E x 23°40'S.

Area: 4,700 sq. m. (12,200 sq. km.).

Alt.: Kanoloo, Kanalloo.

Ref.: Josephson in Curr, 1887.

Karanja 'Karanja

Loc.: At Bedourie and King Creek; south to Cluny and Glengyle; west to Mount David (Moorabulla); on the Georgina River.

Coord.: 139°50'E x 23°50'S.

Area: 2,400 sq. m. (6,200 sq. km.).

Alt.: Karenya, Kurrana (['karana] = man), Mooraboola (place name) Moorloobulloo, Ngulubulu (language name), Ooloopooloo (faulty hearing and recording of name).

Ref.: Machattie and Little in Curr, 1886; Roth, 1897, 1906; Elkin, 1931; Tindale, 1940.

Karawa (*see* Northern Territory).

Kareldi 'Karəldi

Loc.: Mouth of Norman River; at Karumba (the proper n.n. Kurumba); from Normanton west to Flinders River; north to the Swinburne River; inland to Milgarra, Maggieville, and Stirling. They are also known as Karundi but my informants strongly preferred Kareldi; they also recognized a term Kotanda as applying to them. This name originally belonged to a people near the Leichhart River. Color plate 1 is relevant.

Coord.: 141°0'E x 17°25'S.

Area 1,500 sq. m. (3,900 sq. km.).

Alt.: Karundi (valid alternative), Karunti, Kurandi, Karantee, Karrandi, Karrandee, Gar-und-yih, Karun· (scrublands), Gooran (a general term—people belonging to the scrub), Kotanda (valid alternative name; also said by Sharp to be a "local group," the name was also applied to the now extinct Kalibamu), Kutanda, Goothanto.

Ref.: Armit in Curr, 1886; Parry-Okeden, 1897; Roth, 1897; Mathews, 1899 (Gr. 6445), 1900 (Gr. 6559); Giglioli, 1911; Turnbull, 1911; Sharp, 1939; Tindale, 1940, 1963 MS.

Karendala 'Karəndala

Loc.: On Cooper Creek at Durham Downs; north to Mount Howitt, east to Plevna Downs, McGregor Range, and to near Eromanga. The Kurnandaburi of Howitt probably is this tribe, but may be the Kungadutji. Some data given by Mathews (1905:51) perhaps is applicable to this tribe.

Coord.: 142°35'E x 26°45'S.

Area: 3,000 sq. m. (7,800 sq. km.).

Alt.: ? Kurnanda-buri, Kunanda-buri.

Ref.: O'Donnell in Howitt, 1884, 1885, 1889; Howitt, 1891, 1904; Mathews, 1905 (Gr. 6454); Tindale, 1940.

Karenggapa (*see* New South Wales).

Karingbal 'Kariŋbal

Loc.: Headwaters of Comet River (upper Mackenzie) from below Rolleston south to the Carnarvon Range; west to Consuelo Peak; on the Brown River; east to Expedition Range and Bedourie. It is a tribe quite separate from the Kanolu and Kangulu. Davidson's placings of this and neighboring tribes are based on Kelly's incorrect sketch map that shows Emerald 50 miles out of position with respect to Springsure.

Coord.: 148°35'E x 24°55'S.

Area: 2,800 sq. m. (7,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Karingbool, Kaingbul, Karranbal; man = ['gulbura], no = ['kangu].
Ref.: McIntosh in Curr, 1887; Murray in Curr, 1887; Birt in Cameron, 1904; Kelly, 1935; Tindale, 1940.

Karuwali 'Karu'wali
Loc.: Farrars Creek from near Connemara south to Beetoota, Haddon Corner, and Morney Plains; west to Durrie and Monkira on Diamantina River; east to Beal Range. They practiced the rite of circumcision but not the additional one of subincision. The Tunberri of Curr are probably part of the same tribe.
Coord.: 141°0'E x 25°5'S.
Area: 12,800 sq. m. (33,300 sq. km.).
Alt.: Karawalla, Gara-wali, Kurrawulla, Karorinje, Kuriwalu, Goore.
Ref.: Anon. in Curr, 1886; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6444); Dutton, 1904; Elkin, 1931; Tindale, 1940; Winterbotham, 1956 MS.

Kaurareg 'Kaura'reg
Loc.: Prince of Wales Island and southwestern islands of Torres Strait—today a blended group of Australian and Torres Strait Island people speaking an Australian language.
Coord.: 142°10'E x 10°40'S.
Area: 150 sq. m. including reefs (400 sq. km.).
Alt.: Kaurarega, Kowrarega, Kauralaig, Kauraleg, Kororega, Korariga, Kauralaigal (K. people), Malulaig, Muralug (name of part of Prince of Wales Island), Wathai-yunu (horde on Prince of Wales Island), Muralag, Kokkaiya (horde on Yorke Islands), Alkaiyana (people of "inside" Turtle Islands), Koiyana (people of "outside" islands).
Ref.: McGillivray, 1850; MacGillivray, 1852; Jardine in Byerley, 1857; Creed in Ridley, 1878; Haddon, 1890, 1904; Howitt, 1904; Davidson, 1938; Sharp, 1939; McConnel, 1939–1940; Tindale, 1940; Thomson, 1957; Laade, 1967.

Kawadji 'Ka:wadji
Loc.: Night Island and on the coast opposite; they visit outlying reefs in double-outriggered wooden canoes called tango ['taŋo]; they are intimately associated with the Ombila and also with the Pontunj whose language (Jangkonju) they speak.
Coord.: 143°25'E x 13°10'S.
Area: 100 sq. m. including reefs (250 sq. km.).
Alt.: Kawadji (term also used by Kandju and other interior tribes where ['kawai] = east), Mälnkänidji (['malŋkan] = beach and ['idja] = belonging to), Jangkonju (language term shared with Pontunj), Yankonyu, "Night Island people."
Ref.: Hale and Tindale, 1933; Thomson, 1934, 1952; Tindale, 1940 and MS.

Keinjan 'Keinjən
Loc.: Stanthorpe north to about Hendon and Allora; east to Dividing Range; west to Herries Range and beyond Thane; at Warwick and vicinity of Leyburn but not to Inglewood as stated by Mathews and not to Tabulam area as mapped by MacPherson.
Coord.: 152°0'E x 28°15'S.
Area: 1,400 sq. m. (3,600 sq. km.).
Alt.: Gee-en-yun, Wawpa (general language name given by Darling Downs tribes and shared with Giabal and tribes to the north).
Ref.: MacPherson, 1904; Mathews, 1907 (Gr. 6511); Tindale, 1938 MS, 1940.

Keramai 'Keramai
Loc.: Rockingham Bay south to Cardwell; north to near upper Murray River, north to Cardwell Range; on the Herbert River but not near the sea; chiefly mixed rain and open forest dwellers. Plate 41 is relevant.
Coord.: 145°45'E x 18°15'S.
Area: 1,000 sq. m. (1,600 sq. km.).
Alt.: Kiramai, Giramai, Giramay, Giramaygan, Kirrama, Kirrami, Kerrami, Wombelbara (Warakamai term), ['jir:a] = man.
Ref.: Cassady in Curr, 1886; Stephen in Curr, 1886; Parry-Okeden, 1897; Douglas, 1900; Mathew, 1926; Tindale, 1940; Doolan, 1964 MS, Dixon, 1966, 1969 MS.

Kitabal (*see* New South Wales).

Koa 'Koa
Loc.: Headwaters of Diamantina north to Kynuna, and Hamilton Creek divide; west to Middleton Creek; east to Winton and Sesbania; south almost to Cork; much of their country is a wooded dissected plateau. There are dialect differences east and west. They did not practice either circumcision or subincision as rites of initiation.
Coord.: 142°20'E x 22°10'S.
Area: 10,000 sq. m. (26,000 sq. km.).
Alt.: Goa, Goamulgo, Coa, Coah, Guwa.
Ref.: Bennett, 1867; M. Curr in Curr, 1887; Curr, 1887; Haines in Curr, 1887; Anon. (Coah), 1897; Lauterer, 1897; Parry-Okeden, 1897; Roth, 1897; Lamb, 1899, 1904; Dutton, 1901, 1907; Kelly, 1935; Tindale, 1938 MS, 1940, 1963 MS.

Koamu 'Koamu
Loc.: South of St. George on the Balonne River to Angledool, Hebel, and Brenda; west to Bollon and Nebine Creek; at Dirranbandi. Reference to Kaoambal in my 1940 work was a lapse. Honery in Ridley (1878) places this tribe on the Warrego, which is too far to the west. Mathews (1902) included the people of this tribe with the Ualarai in his study of his "Yualeai" language. Their dialects are very similar.
Coord.: 147°40'E x 28°30'S.
Area: 6,000 sq. m. (15,600 sq. km.).
Alt.: Kuamu, Kuam, Guamu, Guwamu, Oamu (valid variant by a man of the tribe.
Ref.: Honery in Ridley, 1878; Mathews, 1902 (Gr. 6487); Kelly, 1935; Tindale, 1940; Wurm, 1963; Breen, 1969 MS.

Koenpal 'Koenpəl
Loc.: Southern two-thirds of Stradbroke Island. The Nunukul (which see), occupied the northern portion.
Coord.: 153°25'E x 27°45'S.
Area: 100 sq. m. (250 sq. km.).
Alt.: Goenpul, Coobenpil, Jendairwal, Djandai (language

name), Jandai (['djandai] = no), Jundai, Dsandai, Tchandi, Noogoon (name of St. Helens Island).

Ref.: Watkins in Curr, 1887; Watkins, 1890–1891; Meston, 1892, 1905; Roth, 1901; Dutton, 1904; Giglioli, 1911; Tindale, 1940.

Koinjmal 'Koinjmal

Loc.: Western slope of Normanby Range (Pine Mountain) to Styx; on Broad Sound north to Cape Palmerston along a narrow coastal strip; at St. Lawrence; inland to Coast Range; south to Marlborough (misprinted as Maryborough in Curr). Displaced hordes were present at Yaamba and Bombandy at the turn of the century but originally Yaamba was well south of their territory. They had extensive areas of mangrove flats fronting their shoreline and were familiar with bark canoes.

Coord.: 149°45'E x 22°20'S.

Area 1,600 sq. m. (4,200 sq. km.).

Alt.: Koinbal (plains people), Kooinmerburra, Kuinmurbura (['kuinmur] = a plain), Kungmal, Kungalburra, Mamburra (a horde).

Ref.: Flowers in Howitt, 1884, 1889, 1904; Bridgeman and Bucas in Curr, 1887; Muller in Curr, 1887; Mathews, 1895 (Gr. 6475), 1898 (Gr. 6464), 1900 (Gr. 6524); Fox, 1897, 1899; Mathew, 1898; Dutton, 1904; Lang, 1910; Roth, 1910; Kelly, 1935; Tindale, 1940.

Kokangol 'Kokən'gol

Loc.: Upper Alice River. They are separate from the Olkolo and in 1897 were estimated to number 600 persons.

Coord.: 143°20'E x 15°10'S.

Area 1,800 sq. m. (4,700 sq. km.).

Alt.: Koko-Gol, Kookakolkoloa, Juwula (language name), Oco-carnigal.

Ref.: Parry-Okeden, 1897; Simmons, Graydon and Gajdusek, 1958; Tindale, 1963 MS; Trezise, 1969; West, pers. comm.

Kokobididji 'Koko'bididji

Loc.: Headwaters of east Normanby River; at King Plains; south to the headwaters of Daintree River; 2 on NE map.

Coord.: 144°55'E x 15°35'S.

Area: 500 sq. m. (1,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Kokobididyi, Kokobidinji, Gugu-bidinji, Koko Piddaji.

Ref.: Roth, 1910; McConnel, 1931, 1939–1940; Sharp, 1939; Tindale, 1940; Trezise, 1969.

Kokobujundji 'Koko'bujundji

Loc.: Annan River; south to Rossville; west to Annan-Normanby Divide; 3 on NE map. This tribe was omitted in error from the 1940 map; it should have occupied the northern half of the area indicated for the Jungkurara on that sheet.

Coord.: 145°15'E x 15°40'S.

Area 300 sq. m. (800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Kokonyungal, Bujundji, Gugubuyun, Kokobulanji, Gugu-bullanji, Annan River tribe.

Ref.: Lang, 1910; Roth, 1910; McConnel, 1931, 1939–1940; Tindale, 1940; Trezise, 1969.

Kokoimudji 'Koko'imudji

Loc.: From Endeavour River (Cooktown) north to the southern vicinity of Cape Flattery; inland to vicinity of Battle Camp and to near Welcome; at Cape Bedford.

Coord.: 145°5'E x 15°15'S.

Area: 600 sq. m. (1,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Kokojimoji (southern pronunciation), Kokoyimidir (northern pronunciation *fide* Roth), Gogo-Yimidjir, Kokojimidir, Jimidir, Gug-Imudji, Kookoyuma, Kookoymma (typographical error), ? Boolcanara.

Ref.: Parry-Okeden, 1897; Roth, 1910; McConnel, 1931, 1939–1940; Tindale, 1940; 1963 MS; Bleakley, 1961; Trezise, 1969; de Zwaan, 1969; Woolston, 1970.

Kokojawa 'Kokojawa

Loc.: Southeast of Morehead River to Laura; south to North Palmer River and the Great Dividing Range; upper Mosman and Kennedy rivers.

Coord.: 144°10'E x 15°30'S.

Area: 3,000 sq. m. (7,800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Djauan (valid alternative), Kokorarmul, Jouon, AkuRarmul, Bindaga (general term applied to this and several other tribes in the area south of Princess Charlotte Bay).

Ref.: Roth, 1897; Hale and Tindale, 1933; Tindale, 1940; West, 1963 MS.

Kokojelandji 'Koko'jelandji

Loc.: Head of Palmer River, east from Palmerville to Mount Lukin; south and west of the Dividing Range to upper Mitchell River; at Maytown; east to Byerstown. They claim close relationship with the Wulpura rain forest dwelling people of the Windsor plateau.

Coord.: 144°30'E. x 16°15'S.

Area: 2,200 sq. m. (5,700 sq. km.).

Alt.: Kokoyellanji, Gugu-Jalandji, Gugu-Yalanji, Koko Yerlandji, Koko-yerlantji, Koko-yerlantchi, Kooka-alanji, Kokalungie.

Ref.: Parry-Okeden, 1897; Roth, 1910; McConnel, 1931, 1939–1940; Sharp, 1939; Tindale, 1940; "Wayward," 1961; Oates, Hershberger, et al., 1964; Pitiman et al., 1964; Trezise, 1969; Tindale, 1972 MS.

Kokokulunggur 'Koko'kuluŋgur

Loc.: Port Douglas and Mossman north to Daintree; inland toward Mount Carbine; 5 on northeastern sector of NE map.

Coord.: 145°20'E x 16°25'S.

Area: 300 sq. m. (800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Koko-yalung, Ngarlkajee (of Wakara tribe).

Ref.: Richards, 1926; McConnel, 1939–1940; Tindale, 1940.

Kokomini 'Koko'mini

Loc.: On the middle Palmer and Mitchell rivers west to about their junction; east to Mount Mulgrave and Palmerville.

Coord.: 143°25'E x 16°10'S.

Area: 2,300 sq. m. (6,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Koko-minni, Koogominny, Kookaminnie, Koogaminny, Koogobatha, Koogobathy, Mirkin, Akunkun (valid

alternative), Akoon-koon, Akoonkool, Kookawarra (name given by Wakara tribe means "poor speakers").

Ref.: Palmer, 1884; Palmer in Curr, 1886; Parry-Okeden, 1897; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6417), 1899 (Gr. 6445), 1907 (Gr. 6513); Roth, 1910; Richards, 1926; McConnel, 1931; Hale and Tindale, 1933; Tindale, 1938 MS, 1940; Sharp, 1939.

Kokonjekodi 'Koko'njekodi

Loc.: On Starcke River; northwest nearly to Murdoch Point; southeast to Cape Flattery; at Munburra. On the 1940 map the name was placed too far south. This seems to be the Bindjiwara tribe.

Coord.: 145°5'E x 14°55'S.

Area: 400 sq. m. (1,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Koko-negodi, Bindjiwara, Beengeewarra, ? Gugu-Almura.

Ref.: Parry-Okeden, 1897; Roth, 1910; Hale and Tindale, 1933; Tindale, 1940; Trezise, 1969.

Kokopatun 'Kokopaṭun

Loc.: East of Great Dividing Range; north to Mount Garnet; east to Gunnawarra and Herbert rivers; south to Dry River and Meadowbank. This seems to be the Jullanku tribe of Parry-Okeden. Reference to Burdekin River in the 1940 work was a lapse for Gilbert River.

Coord.: 145°5'E x 17°55'S.

Area: 1,300 sq. m. (3,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Paṭun, Koko Padun, ? Jullanku.

Ref.: Parry-Okeden, 1897; Sharp, 1939; Tindale, 1940 and MS; Dixon, 1969 MS.

Kokopera 'Kokopera

Loc.: About the mouth of the Nassau River; a coastal tribe ranging inland for about thirty miles (50 km.); north to Mitchell River, south in the present day along the coast to Delta Station but formerly no farther than near Inkerman, north of the Staaten River. Although surrounding people call them ['Kona'ni:n], their preferred name is Kokopera. They are also known as ['Kuŋkara].

Coord.: 141°35'E x 15°45'S.

Area: 900 sq. m. (2,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Koko-bera, Kukaberra, Kungkara (valid alternative), Konanin (name used by surrounding tribes), Goonanin, Gunani, Gunanni, Goonamin, Goonamon, Koko papung, Kokopapun (misprint), Ba:bung [*sic*].

Ref.: Parry-Okeden, 1897; Mathews, 1899 (Gr. 6445); Roth, 1904, 1910; Sharp, 1934, 1939; Tindale, 1940, 1963 MS; Simmons, Graydon and Gajdusek, 1958; Capell, 1963; Doherty, 1964.

Kokowalandja 'Koko'walandja

Loc.: Head of east Normanby River; west to Dividing Range (only scant data); 1 on NE map.

Coord.: 144°40'E x 15°35'S.

Area: 600 sq. m. (1,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Koko Katji (of Kokojelandji).

Ref.: McConnel, 1939–1940; Tindale, 1940.

Kokowara 'Koko'wara

Loc.: Normanby River from Lakefield south to Laura and Laura River. The proper name probably has not been determined; Kokowara means "rough speech." This term has been applied also to the Laia tribe. Not to be confused with the Wakara tribe on the Mitchell River.

Coord.: 144°35'E x 15°5'S.

Area: 1,800 sq. m. (7,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Kookawarra, Coo-oo-warra, Gugu-Warra, Laura-Deighton tribe.

Ref.: Parry-Okeden, 1897; Dutton, 1901; Roth, 1910; McConnel, 1931; Hale and Tindale, 1933; Sharp, 1939; Tindale, 1940; Trezise, 1969.

Kongabula 'Koŋabula

Loc.: Headwaters of Injune (Hutton) Creek and Dawson River above their junction; east and north of the Great Dividing Range; south of Carnarvon Range. Their country includes the high, rough, forested areas of the Carnarvon Range.

Coord.: 148°40'E x 25°45'S.

Area: 2,300 sq. m. (6,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ongabula (valid alternative), Khungabula.

Ref.: Kelly, 1935; Tindale, 1940, 1963 MS.

Kongkandji 'Koŋkandji

Loc.: Cape Grafton peninsula west of Prior Range; south to Palmer Point (n.n. Wararitji) and the mouth of Mulgrave River. Mathews (1898) quotes data from his son applicable to this tribe; 10 on northeastern part of NE map. Rain forest dwellers.

Coord.: 145°50'E x 17°5'S.

Area: 150 sq. m. (400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Kunggandji, Kunggandyi, Kungganji, Kungandji, Koongangie, Goonganji, Goonganjee, Gunggay, Kooganji, Koo-gun-ji.

Ref.: Gribble, 1897 (2 papers), 1898 (2 papers); Parry-Okeden, 1897; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6464 appendix); Roth, 1910; McConnel, 1931, 1935, 1939–1940, 1953; Tindale, 1940, 1963 MS; Dixon, 1966, 1969 MS.

Korenggoreng 'Koreŋgoreŋ

Loc.: East bank of upper Burnett River from Mundubbera north to Monto and Many Peaks. Not to be confused with the Goeng. In the first edition the tribal area was incorrectly mapped and included the territory of the Wulili who lived to the west. Mathew (1910) also mapped the Wulili area incorrectly as belonging to the Wakawaka. Gayndah is mentioned by Riley and Curr as within the tribal area but this is too far south, in Wakawaka territory.

Coord.: 151°15'E x 25°5'S.

Area: 2,300 sq. m. (6,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Koreng-koreng (['koreng] = no), Gureng-gureng Curang-gurang, Gurang-gurang, Goorang-goorang, Gurang, Kooranga, Kurranga.

Ref.: Riley and Curr in Curr, 1887; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6444), 1900 (Gr. 6566), 1910 (Gr. 6470); Marks, 1899; Marrett, 1910; Mathew, 1910, 1914; Roth, 1910; Brown, 1918; Kelly, 1935; Tindale, 1940.

Kukatja 'Kukatja

Loc.: From Donor Hills north to Gulf of Carpentaria; at Inverleigh; eastward to Flinders River. Not to be confused with the Kukatja of the western MacDonnell Ranges in the Northern Territory.

Coord.: 140°40′E x 18°15′S.
Area: 2,200 sq. m. (5,700 sq. km.).
Alt.: Kukatji (valid variant), Gugadji, Konggada (language name).
Ref.: Sharp, 1939; Tindale, 1940, 1960 MS, 1963 MS.

Kulumali 'Kulumali

Loc.: Near and east of Windorah chiefly on Kyabra Creek. This is one of the three easternmost circumcising tribes of Queensland. Breen was not able to find any member of this tribe in 1969 and it is remembered among the Wongkumara only as having supplied a corobori.
Coord.: 142°15′E x 25°40′S.
Area: 3,500 sq. m. (9,100 sq. km.).
Alt.: Ngulangulanji (valid alternative).
Ref.: Tindale, 1940; Breen, 1969 MS.

Kungadutji 'Kuŋadu:tji

Loc.: Cooper Creek north of Durham Downs; east to Mount Howitt and Kyabra Creek; northwest to near Lake Yamma Yamma. Mathews (1898) infers that they and the Karengapa both lived in the area north and east of Tibboburra. It seems likely that the text of his paper is garbled.
Coord.: 142°5′E x 26°25′S.
Area: 2,800 sq. m. (7,300 sq. km.).
Alt.: Kungaditji, Kungarditchi, Kunatatchee.
Ref.: Heagney in Curr, 1886; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6464); Elkin, 1931; Tindale, 1940.

Kunggara 'Kuŋgərə

Loc.: Staaten River south to Smithburne River and Delta Downs; inland to Stirling and Lotus Vale. The term "Okerlika" sometimes placed on the map here has no meaning to present day aborigines of the area. Sharp (1938:449) used this term (i.e., Okerlila) as an artificial designation for a type of social organization, but spells the term three ways in a dozen lines—Okerkila, Okerlila, and Okerlika. Kuritjara is a valid alternative to Kunggara and that preferred by one of my principal informants. Some persons roll the *r* sound strongly with loss of the terminal vowel, hence ['Kuṛtjaṛ]. In recent years many of the people have settled on Delta Downs Station. Davidson (1938), on his map, placed the name 150 miles (240 km.) to the southwest of its real position.
Coord.: 141°25′E x 16°45′S.
Area: 1,900 sq. m. (4,900 sq. km.).
Alt.: 'Kuri'tjari (valid alternative), Kutjar, Koonkurri, Ungorri, Gilbert River tribe, Gunggara.
Ref.: Palmer, 1884; Palmer in Curr, 1886; Parry-Okeden, 1897; Mathews, 1899 (Gr. 6445); Roth, 1901, 1903, 1904; Sharp, 1939; Tindale, 1940, 1963 MS; A.I.A.S., 1966.

Kunggari 'Kuŋgari

Loc.: Upper Nebine and Mungallala creeks from Bonna Vonna and Ballon north to Morven and Mungallala. Extended eastward and partly absorbed the Mandandanji in early historic times. They are not to be confused with the Kuungkari of Barcoo River.
Coord.: 147°5′E x 27°15′S.
Area: 8,200 sq. m. (21,300 sq. km.).
Alt.: Unggari, Kungeri, Kungri, Ungorri, Gungari, Gunggari, Goon-garree, Coongurri, Unggri [*sic*], Unghi, Congaro, Kogurre, Kogai (language name; note that northern hordes of the Mandandanji also use this term), Ngaragari (Koamu term for language between Bollon and Nebine Creek).
Ref.: Ridley, 1861, 1873, 1875; Barlow, 1873; Curr, 1886; Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6524, 6559); Cameron, 1904; Crowthers in Howitt, 1904; Lalor in Howitt, 1904; Naseby in Howitt, 1904; Radcliffe-Brown, 1931; Kelly, 1935; Tindale, 1940; Elkin, 1945; Winterbotham, 1956 MS; Breen, 1969 MS.

Kungkalenja 'Kuŋkalenja

Loc.: On the Georgina River north of Bedourie, from Moorabulla west to near Mulligan River; north on Sylvester Creek to about Talaera Springs (not identified). Only scant data is available.
Coord.: 139°15′E x 23°45′S.
Area: 2,700 sq. m. (7,000 sq. km.).
Alt.: Kunkulenje, Koonkoolenya, Koomkoolenya, Koonkalinga, Koonkalinye.
Ref.: Machattie in Curr, 1886; Roth, 1897; Field, 1898; Tindale, 1940.

Kunja 'Ku:nja

Loc.: Warrego River from Cunnamulla north to Augathella and Burenda; west to between Cooladdi and Cheepie; east to Morven and Angellala Creek; at Charleville.
Coord.: 146°10′E x 26°50′S.
Area: 12,000 sq. m. (31,200 sq. km.).
Ref.: Tindale, 1940.

Kutjal 'Kutjəl

Loc.: Upper Staaten and middle Einasleigh rivers; north to about Lynd River; south to about Lane Creek and the northern vicinity of Georgetown. Not to be confused with the Kutjala.
Coord.: 143°15′E x 17°25′S.
Area: 4,500 sq. m. (11,700 sq. km.).
Alt.: Kuritja:l (valid alternative), Kutabal, Kuthabal, Koochulburra, Okuntjel, Kwearriburra (probably a horde).
Ref.: Howitt, 1884; Palmer, 1884; Urquhart, 1885; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6464, 6417); Sharp, 1939; Tindale, 1940.

Kutjala 'Kutjalə

Loc.: At Mount Sturgeon, Mount Emu Plains, Lolworth, and Reedy Springs Stations along both sides of the Dividing Range; on upper Clarke River; east to near Charters Towers; eastern boundary not well defined. They moved south to Hughenden and Pentland in the early days of white settlement. Not to be confused with the Kutjal.
Coord.: 145°5′E x 19°50′S.
Area: 7,500 sq. m. (19,500 sq. km.).
Alt.: Gudjali, Koochul-bura.
Ref.: Lukin in Curr, 1886; Davidson, 1938; Tindale, 1940; Australian Encyclopedia, 1958.

Kuungkari 'Ku:ŋkari ('Ku:ŋka'ri)

Loc.: On Thomson and Cooper (Barcoo) rivers west to Jundah; north to Westland and near Longreach; east to Avington, Blackall, and Terrick Terrick; south on the western flank of the Grey Range to Cheviot Range, Powell Creek, and Welford. There are large areas of open grass country. Not to be confused with the Kunggari of the upper Nebine Creek. They did not practice circumcision. There were at least five hordes with names terminating in [-bara] and [-mari], meaning men. The men of Jundah area today prefer the pronunciation ['Ku:ŋka'ri], others use the accepted version; other valid variations are ['Kuŋhari] and ['Ku:ŋka:i].

Coord.: 144°20′E x 24°35′S.

Area: 14,000 sq. m. (36,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Koonkerri, Kunggari, Kungeri, Koongerri, Torraburri (horde), Yankibura (horde), Yangeeberra, Mokaburra (horde), Tarawalla (name given to eastern dialect).

Ref.: Heagney in Curr, 1886; Ahern in Curr, 1887; Dudley in Curr, 1887; Hyde in Curr, 1887; Powell in Curr, 1887; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6444); Howitt, 1904; Kelly, 1935; Tindale, 1940 and MS; Breen, 1969 MS.

Kwantari 'Kwantaɽ

Loc.: Galbraith Station and northern bank of the lower Staaten River inland to Old Koolatah, north to Inkerman and middle Nassau River. The term Wangara shown on the 1940 map was provided by Kokomini and Kokopera (Konanin) informants. In 1963 the name was said to mean "white men" and the above given in its place with the rolled *r* termination predominating among informants. The Kwantari evidently were closely related to the Araba.

Coord.: 141°50′E x 16°10′S.

Area: 2,400 sq. m. (6,200 sq. km.).

Alt.: Kuantari, Kundara, Gundara, Goondarra, Wangara (see comment above), Wanggara, Kokowanggara, Kokawangar, Kokatabul, Kokodaue, Koko-daua, Oikand.

Ref.: Parry-Okeden, 1897; Mathews, 1899 (Gr. 6445); Roth, 1901, 1904; Sharp, 1934, 1939; Tindale, 1940, 1963 MS, West, 1963 MS; Capell, 1963.

Laia 'Laia

Loc.: North of Palmer River; east to the Dividing Range; west to the head of the Alice River. The name Kokobatha apparently belongs not to this tribe, but their southern neighbors, the Kokomini. The term Kokowara is also a valid name for a tribe farther east which does not appear to be closely related.

Coord.: 143°25′E x 15°40′S.

Area: 2,100 sq. m. (5,500 sq. km.).

Alt.: Koko Laia, Kokowara (Koko-jelandji term, means poor or bad speech), Coo-coo-warra.

Ref.: Dutton, 1901; Sharp, 1939; Tindale, 1940.

Lanima 'Lanima

Loc.: Mulligan River north of Kaliduwarry Waterhole; boundaries not well documented. Their language name is Wanggamana.

Coord.: 138°50′E x 24°20′S.

Area: 3,500 sq. m. (9,100 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wanggamanha (language name), Wonggaman.

Ref.: Blake, 1969 MS.

Lardiil 'Lardi:l

Loc.: Mornington Island and the shore of Appel Channel on Denham Island. The rest of Denham Island was Janggal territory. Color plate 2 is relevant. The term Lilumbant is applied to the Lardiil and the Jokula of the mainland by mainlanders to differentiate them from the Janggal who are called Balumbant (= people from the west). They have the rite of circumcision and a limited form of subincision. Their practices are less secret than those conducted on the mainland, but women are not present at the principal rites as they are on Bentinck Island.

Coord.: 137°20′E x 16°35′S.

Area: 400 sq. m. (1,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Lardil, Lardi:i (typographical error), Laierdila, Ladil, Kunana (n.n. for Mornington Island), Kunə'na, Gunana, Mornington Island tribe (of Hedley). Kare-wa (dialect name *fide* Roth).

Ref.: Hedley, 1903; Roth, 1904; Sharp, 1935, 1939; Tindale, 1940, 1949, 1956, 1960 MS, 1962, 1963 MS; Capell, 1942; Australian Encyclopedia, 1958; Mackay, 1959; Simmons, Tindale and Birdsell, 1962; Simmons, Graydon and Tindale 1964; Trezise, 1969; Tindale and George, 1971.

Lotiga 'Lo:tiga

Loc.: Upper Dulhunty River and McDonnell. The equation with Okara is on the presumption of McConnel (1939–1940).

Coord.: 142°15′E x 11°50′S.

Area: 400 sq. m. (1,050 sq. km.).

Alt.: ? Okara, Oharra.

Ref.: Parry-Okeden, 1897; McConnel, 1939–1940, 1950; Sharp, 1939.

Madjandji 'Madjandji

Loc.: North of mouth of Russell River and inland at Babinda; north toward Deeral. A small rain forest dwelling group speaking Matjai, a speech related to Kongkandji. They are close to the Wanjuru who live farther south toward Innisfail. One Idindji informant in 1963 said they were "the same" as Ngatjan, implying they were closely related to people of that tribe. This is perhaps the Mooka tribe of Parry-Okeden; 12 on northeastern part of NE map.

Coord.: 145°55′E x 17°20′S.

Area: 150 sq. m. (400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Matjai (language name), Matjandji, Madyay, ? Mooka.

Ref.: Parry-Okeden, 1897; Tindale, 1963 MS; Dixon, 1966, 1969 MS.

Maiawali 'Maiawali

Loc.: On the Diamantina River from Davenport Downs and Diamantina lakes north to Old Cork; on Mayne River to Mount Vergemont; west to Springvale; southeast to Farrars Creek; at Connemara and Brighton Downs. Hill describes them as practicing both circumcision and subincision. They may only have accepted the latter rite in the early days of settlement, as other data suggests they did not practice it. The Malintji were related but refrained from both initiation procedures. They made use of milled grass seed as food.

Coord.: 141°40′E x 23°30′S.

Area: 12,200 sq. m. (31,700 sq. km.).

Alt.: Maiali, Majawali, Mailly, Myall, Myallee, Myoli, Myall, Miorli, Majuli (error in 1940 edition), Puruga (literally, "penis people" from their having accepted circumcision).

Ref.: Parry-Okeden, 1897; Roth, 1897; Lamb, 1899, 1904; Dutton, 1901, 1906; Hill, 1901; Mackie, 1901; Tindale, 1940 and MS; Durack, 1959; Breen, 1969 MS; Blake, 1969 MS.

Maijabi 'Maijabi

Loc.: On Cloncurry River south to Canobie, north to Donor Hills, at Numbera (Cowan Downs); east to Flinders River and the Lower Saxby; west to upper Dismal Creek and Leichhardt—Alexandra Divide. They did not practice either circumcision or subincision.

Coord.: 140°35'E x 19°10'S.

Area: 4,000 sq. m. (10,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Majabi, Myabi, Miappi, Maippe, Myappe, Miubbi, Miulbi (misprint).

Ref.: Palmer, 1884; Armit and Palmer in Curr, 1886; E. Curr, Jr. in Curr, 1886; Roth, 1897; Parry-Okeden, 1897; Mathews, 1899 (Gr. 6397); Donner, 1900; Giglioli, 1911; Tindale, 1940, 1963 MS.

Maikudunu Maikuduñu

Loc.: Middle Leichhardt River; north to Augustus Downs; south to Mount Cuthbert; western boundary on edge of inland plateau. Similarities between the name of this tribe, the Maikulan, and the Maithakari have been sources of past confusion. This tribe was on the boundary of the rites of circumcision and subincision. Some men had been initiated. The line marking the limits of the rite was in process of shift eastward, but Turnbull considers the Maikudunu were in process of rejecting the customs.

Coord.: 139°40'E x 19°15'S.

Area: 3,800 sq. m. (9,900 sq. km.).

Alt.: Maikudun, Maikudung, Maigudung, Mikoodoono, Maigudina, Mygoodan, Mygoodano, Mayagoondoon, Mikadoon, Mikoolun ([*sic*] Roth, 1897; probably misprint, but see Maikulan).

Ref.: Palmer, 1884; Armit in Curr, 1886; M. Curr in Curr, 1886; Palmer in Curr, 1886; Turnbull, 1896, 1903; Parry-Okeden, 1897, 1911; Roth, 1897; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6396); Donner, 1899; Tindale, 1940, 1960 MS, 1963 MS; West, 1963 MS; Doolan, 1964 MS.

Maikulan 'Maikulan

Loc.: Middle Norman, Yappar, and Clara rivers; north to Milgarra; east to Gregory Range; west to Iffley and Canobie Stations. In early historical times some of the people moved down the Norman to the vicinity of Normanton, where they have been thought to be indigenous. Palmer (1884:277) has an early record of their original territorial limits. Note that the localization of this tribe in Curr (II:322) is misleading, the name Gregory River should be read as Gregory Range.

Coord.: 141°50'E x 18°55'S.

Area: 7,600 sq. m. (19,800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Maikulung, Maikolon, Makulu, Mygoolan, Mykoolan, Mycoolon, Micoolan, Miccoolin, Mikkoolan, Mikoolun, Mykulau (typographical error).

Ref.: Howitt, 1884, 1904; Palmer, 1884; Armit in Curr, 1886; Lamond in Curr, 1886; Parry-Okeden, 1897; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6417, 6464), 1899 (Gr. 6397), 1900 (Gr. 6524, 6559), 1907 (Gr. 6521), 1909 (Gr. 6479); Giglioli, 1911; Tindale, 1940, 1963 MS.

Maithakari 'Maiðakari

Loc.: From Williams River and Cloncurry north to Canobie on Cloncurry River; east to the Julia Creek junction with Cloncurry River and to Mount Fort Bowen; at Dalgonally. They did not practice either circumcision or subincision.

Coord.: 140°40'E x 20°5'S.

Area: 3,400 sq. m. (8,800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Maiðəkuri (valid alternative pronunciation), Maiðakui, Maidhagudi, Maitakudi, Mayatagoorri, Mythugadi, Majadhagudi, Mythuggadi, Mythaguddi, Mit(t)agurdi, Mitagurdi, Mitakoodi, Mittakoodi, Mitro(o)goordi, Mitakudi.

Ref.: Palmer, 1884; Armit in Curr, 1886; E. Curr, Jr. in Curr, 1886; Palmer in Curr, 1886; Parry-Okeden, 1897; Roth, 1897; C. Strehlow, 1910; Giglioli, 1911; Sharp, 1939; Tindale, 1940, 1960 MS, 1963 MS; Blake, 1969 MS.

Malintji 'Mal:intji

Loc.: Noncircumcising tribe living east of the Maiawali along Vergemont Creek, south to about Jundah. Very little is known about them. Mathews (1905) makes bare mention of them as adjoining his "Wonkamurra nation" high up on Cooper Creek. In the explanation of the map in his earlier 1900 paper he lists the tribe under his "Yowerawarrika Nation" of which he places the northern boundary just above latitude 26°. He evidently was uncertain about their position and the uncertainty still remains. The boundaries given are principally by exclusion from surrounding tribes.

Coord.: 143°10'E x 23°45'S.

Area: 5,000 sq. m. (13,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Mullinchi, Mullinchie.

Ref.: Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6448), 1905 (Gr. 6454); Tindale, MS.

Mamu 'Ma:mu

Loc.: On the Johnstone River; at Innisfail; inland to Nerada and on the Coast Range north to Tolga; south to Murdering Point. Rain forest dwellers; 14 on northeastern part of NE map. There are five or more hordes, Mandubara, Tulkubara (Dulgabara), Bagirgabara, Waribara (Wardibara), and Djiribara. The Waribara were reputed to be of smaller stature than the others and to live in dense forests along the Johnstone River and in the gorges of the main range. They were claimed by my informant to speak the language heavily, "like the Idindji." The Djiribara were near Mourilyan; the Tulkubara (Dulgabara) at Jordan Creek were the purest speakers. The Mandubara were on the South Johnstone River. Parry-Okeden, 1897, listed six horde-sized units in the general area of the Mamu tribe as follows: Woggil (40 persons), Gijow (25), Kitba (60), Warrawarra (40), Ohalo (50), and Deba (70). They do not in any way match the four hordal ones given to me in 1963 and the fifth of Dixon's 1969 MS. They may be locality names rather than hordal ones. Compare notes in text and under heading Djiru.

Coord.: 145°55'E x 17°35'S.

Area: 500 sq. m. (1,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Dulgabara, ? Morruburra.

Ref.: Parry-Okeden, 1897; Tindale, 1940, 1963 MS; Worms, 1950; Doolan, 1964 MS; Dixon, 1966, 1969 MS.

Mandandanji 'Mandandanji

Loc.: Maranoa and Balonne rivers north of St. George; west to Bollon and Wallam Creek; north to Donnybrook, Orallo, Yuleba, and the Dividing Range; east to Alton and Glenmorgan; at Mitchell, Roma, and Surat. Amalgamated with the Kunggari in the early days of white occupation; in later days they were not always differentiated. The northern hordes of this tribe who lived on the headwaters of Coogoon Creek were known as the Kogai a name also used as a term for the language of the Kunggari.

Coord.: 148°35'E x 27°5'S.

Area: 15,400 sq. m. (40,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Mundaeinbura, Mundainbara, Kogai, Cogai, "Fishing Net people."

Ref.: Ridley, 1861, 1873, 1875; Meston, 1892 MS; Mathews, 1897 (Gr. 6426), 1898 (Gr. 6444), 1904 (Gr. 6486); Bucknell, 1912; Tindale, 1940, and MS; Emmerson, 1962 MS.

Maranganji 'Marə'ŋanji

Loc.: Quilpie to Cheepie and Beechal, thence Paroo River to Eulo; on Bulloo River south to near Thargomindah; at Dynevor Downs and Ardoch. They did not practice the male rite of circumcision.

Coord.: 144°35'E x 27°20'S.

Area: 810 sq. m. (2,100 sq. km.).

Alt.: Marukanji (valid alternative), Marganj, Marnganji (typographical error), Murngain, Murgoin, Murgoan.

Ref.: Myles in Curr, 1886; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6444); Kelly, 1935; Tindale, 1940; Durack, 1959; Breen, 1969 MS.

Marrago 'Mar:ago

Loc.: On Alexandra River—no details are available. The approximate area indicated for the tribe is only by exclusion from surrounding tribe areas. The name really may be Ngar:ago. From the air the area appears to be well wooded.

Coord.: 140°10'E x 18°20'S.

Area: 1,300 sq. m. (3,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ngarra.

Ref.: Armit in Curr, 1886; Donner, 1900; Davidson, 1938.

Marulta 'Marulta

Loc.: At Lake Barrolka; south to Lake Yamma Yamma; west to Beal Range; northeast toward Opalville and Cooper Creek; eastern boundary uncertain. The place name Barrolka may be an anglicization of Marulta.

Coord.: 142°O'E x 25°25'S.

Area: 3,700 sq. m. (9,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Marula

Ref.: Howitt, 1904; Howitt and Siebert, 1904; C. Strehlow, 1910; Elkin, 1931; Tindale, 1940.

Mbewum 'Mbe:wum

Loc.: Upper Watson River; at Merluna. Parry-Okeden has a name like Kokimoh (partly illegible on his map) in the area occupied by this tribe.

Coord.: 142°15'E x 12°55'S.

Area: 600 sq. m. (1,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: KokMbewan, Mbe:wum, Mbeiwum, M-Berwum, Bywoom, Kokinno, Kokimoh.

Ref.: Parry-Okeden, 1897; Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6559); McConnel, 1939–1940, 1950; Sharp, 1939; Tindale, 1940; Simmons, Graydon and Gajdusek, 1958.

Mian 'Mian

Loc.: Lower Belyando River north to southern headwaters of Cape River and Mount Douglas; at Bulliwallah; west to the Dividing Range; south to Lake Galilee and Labona (['mian] = men).

Coord.: 146°20'E x 21°50'S.

Area: 5,000 sq. m. (13,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Munkibura (a horde name, but compare Ilba tribe), Wokkulburra (['wak:ul] = eel), Wokkelburra (horde near Bulliwallah), Koombokkaburra (a horde name), Pegulloburra (horde), Oncooburra (horde).

Ref.: Bennett, 1867; Howitt, 1883, 1888, 1904; MacGlashan in Curr, 1887; Muirhead in Curr, 1887; Tindale, 1940.

Mimungkum 'Mimuŋkum

Loc.: A small tribe speaking a dialect of Wikmunkan and belonging to the group associated with that tribe; 8 on NE map. They live about 12 miles inland, south of Cape Keerweer and on the Kendall River in an area approximately 8 by 10 miles (13 by 16 km.), locally known as "Ti-Tree." The Wik- form of their name has not been reported—for all the other small tribes of this area, see under Wik-. A name Wikmumin is noted under the tribal heading Wikampama but could belong here.

Coord.: 141°55'E x 14°15'S.

Area: 80 sq. m (200 sq. km.).

Ref.: MacKenzie, 1960 MS (see note under Wikmunkan).

Mingin 'Min'gin

Loc.: Barkly (Barclay) River south of Burketown; east to Leichhardt River on grassed plains; south to Augustus Downs and to Gregory Downs; to coast only at mouth of Albert River. Once a circumcising tribe, according to their tradition, they abandoned the initiation rites at least a century ago. On the map they are placed within the area where both rites were practiced on the authority of informants at Normanton who gave the Leichhardt River as the boundary.

Coord.: 139°35'E x 18°10'S.

Area: 2,500 sq. m. (6,700 sq. km.).

Alt.: Minkin, Myngeen, Minikin, Mingir (misprint).

Ref.: Palmer, 1884; E. Curr in Curr, 1886; Turnbull, 1896, 1903, 1911; Schmidt, 1919; Sharp, 1939; Tindale, 1940, 1960 MS, 1963 MS.

Minjungbal (*see* New South Wales).

Mitaka 'Miṭaka ('Maruŋa)

Loc.: From Durrie north to Glengyle; east to near Monkira; about Lake Machattie, west to Kalidawarry. They practiced both circumcision and subincision as initiatory rites for men. O'Grady et al. (1966) mistakenly identified these people with the Maithakari (Mitakudi) who live north of Cloncurry, 350 miles (550 km.) away. The equation with the

last-named term is illusory since its first *i* should be read as the diphthong *ai* (see note in text).

Coord.: 139°25′E x 25°O′S.

Area: 4,800 sq. m. (12,500 sq. km.).

Alt.: Mittaka, Mittuka, Marunga (name claimed by one of the last survivors, Mit:aka being supposedly a Dieri term), Marrala and Marranda (language names), Murunuta, Midaga.

Ref.: Fraser 1897, 1899, 1901, 1902; Reese, 1927 MS; Tindale, 1940; O'Grady et al., 1966; Breen, 1969 MS; Blake, 1969 MS.

Mitjamba 'Mitjamba

Loc.: On Woolgar and Stawell rivers; north to Gregory Range and Gledswood; west to near Saxby Downs; east to Chudleigh Park; south to Cambridge Downs.

Coord.: 143°30′E x 20°O′S.

Area: 5,100 sq. m. (13,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Kumbulmara (valid alternative).

Ref.: Tindale, 1940.

Morowari (*see* New South Wales).

Muluridji 'Muluridji

Loc.: Headwaters of Mitchell River; north to Mount Carbine; east to Rumula; south to Mareeba; west to Woodville, chiefly in the drier country west of the main rain forest margin between Biboohra and Mount Molloy.

Coord.: 145°10′E x 16°40′S.

Area: 1,100 sq. m. (2,900 sq. km.).

Alt.: Muluridyi, Mulari-ji, Molloroiji, Mularitchee, Mullridgey, Moorlooratchee (Wakara tribe term), koko-moloroitji (Koko-kulunggur tribe term), Koko-moloroiji, Kokanodna (a horde).

Ref.: Parry-Okeden, 1897; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6464); McConnel, 1931, 1939–1940; Sharp, 1939; Tindale, 1940; Dixon, 1966.

Muragan Mu'ragan

Loc.: Middle reaches of Mitchell River and northward to Alice River; on New Koolatah Station.

Coord.: 142°35′E x 15°45′S.

Area: 1,000 sq. m. (2,600 sq. km.).

Ref.: Tindale, 1963 MS.

Mutjati 'Mu:tjati

Loc.: From Shelburne Bay north to about Orford Ness.

Coord.: 142°45′E x 11°35′S.

Area: 150 sq. m. (400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Mutyati.

Ref.: McConnel, 1939–1940, 1950.

Mutumui 'Mutumui

Loc.: From Bathurst Bay and Cape Melville south to near Starcke River; at Barrow Point and Jeannie River. The name of their language is Eibole, and there is a dialect called Ongwara in the north of the area.

Coord.: 144°35′E x 14°35′S.

Area: 1,000 sq. m. (2,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Mutumi, Baulam (Bakanambia term), Basthorn (Bakanambia variation seemingly by individual with cleft palate), Karbungga (name, probably hordal, at Jeannie River), Eibole (language name), Ongwara (name of a dialect, means "northern talk"), Jugaiwatha, Mbambylmu (horde or subtribe at Jack River).

Ref.: Hale and Tindale, 1933; Davidson, 1938; Tindale, 1940 and MS; West, pers. comm.

Nalbo (*see* Dalla).

Nawagi 'Nəwəgi

Loc.: Southwest of Herbert River; principally on the high Sea View Range as far southeast as Harveyside and Reid River; they were rain forest dwellers; they differed from the Warakamai who lived chiefly in coastal sclerophyll forest country; according to Dixon they went to the seashore near Ingham.

Coord.: 145°55′E x 18°55′S.

Area: 2,300 sq. m. (6,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Nyawigi, Geugagi.

Ref.: Cassady and Johnstone in Curr, 1886; Giglioli, 1911; Tindale, 1940; Dixon, 1966, 1969 MS.

Ngandangara 'ŋandaŋara

Loc.: On upper Wilson River; north to Eromanga and beyond toward Thylungra and Ray; south to Nockatunga. This is one of the easternmost of the circumcising tribes. Riddell met them at Durham Downs which is west of their original home. The shape of their claimed territory as mapped seems to imply there may have been two tribes here at one time.

Coord.: 143°10′E x 26°50′S.

Area: 4,800 sq. m. (12,500 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ngandangura, Jarumarda (language name), Unda Gnoora, Eromarra.

Ref.: Myles in Curr, 1886; Riddell, 1928; Tindale, 1940; Breen, 1969 MS.

Ngaro 'ŋaro

Loc.: Whitsunday Island; ranging over Cumberland Islands; also to mainland at Cape Conway and on mountains east of Proserpine. Sewn ironbark canoes, called ['winta], were used for journeying between the islands—all reefs between St. Bees and Hayman Islands were known intimately and searched for food.

Coord.: 149°5′E x 20°30′S.

Area: 200 sq. m. (500 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ngalangi, Googaburra (a horde name), "Island" tribe.

Ref.: Bridgeman and Bucas in Curr, 1887; Tindale, 1938 MS, 1940.

Ngathokudi 'ŋathokudi

Loc.: South side of upper Dulcie River.

Coord.: 142°25′E x 12°5′S.

Area: 600 sq. m. (1,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: (Ng)uthukuti, Athokurra.

Ref.: Thomson, 1932; McConnell, 1939–1940; Sharp, 1939; Simmons, Graydon and Gajdusek, 1958; Capell, 1963.

Ngatjan 'ŋatjən

Loc.: From Atherton east to upper Russell River; at Yungaburra, Malanda, and the range north of Millaa Millaa; in rain forest, principally on the plateau. At Lakes Barrine and Eacham, n.n. ['Ji:tjəm]; 11 on northeastern part of NE map. They are typical of the negritic people called Barrineans by Birdsell.

Coord.: 145°40'E x 17°20'S.

Area: 200 sq. m. (500 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ngatjai (as in the phrase I am a Ngatjai man), Ngadyan, Ngadyandyi, Ngachanji, Ngaitjandji, Ngadjen, Natchin, Ngadyan, Nga:tja (name of a rather tall, for a negrito, clever man of the tribe who died in 1904), Narcha, Jitjam (name of a lake), Hucheon, Eacham, Eashim, Eaton, Russell River dialect (Meston).

Ref.: Meston, 1889; Parry-Okeden, 1897; Roth, 1910; Giglioli, 1911; McConnel, 1939–1940; Sharp, 1939; Tindale, 1940, 1963 MS; Tindale and Birdsell, 1940; Birdsell, 1941, 1949; Doolan, 1964 MS; Dixon, 1966, 1969 MS; Grant, MS (in Australian museum).

Ngaun 'ŋaun

Loc.: At Iffley (in later postcontact times only), at Taldora and Millungera; east to Gregory Range and Saxby Downs; southwest to Julia Creek. In early historic times many migrated toward Cloncurry district; the northern boundary is placed to include a late precontact usurpation of Maikulan territory as far as Doravale. The survivors are now centered around Millungera.

Coord.: 142°0'E x 19°55'S.

Area: 9,700 sq. m. (25,200 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ngaon, Nouun, Naungaun.

Ref.: Armit in Curr, 1886; Parry-Okeden, 1897; Roth, 1897; Tindale, 1940, 1963 MS.

Nggamadi 'ŋgamadi

Loc.: From north of Dulhunty River northward to about Vrilya Point (Cockatoo Creek); at Jackson and Skardon rivers; originally no farther south than Skardon River. In the text of 1940 the heading Nggerikudi was in error associated with data for this tribe instead of Nggamadi. The map however, was correctly marked.

Coord.: 142°15'E x 11°35'S.

Area: 750 sq. m. (2,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ngkamadyi, Ngammatti, Nggamiti, Ngamiti, Ngammatta, Gamete, Gamiti, Gametty, Gomokudin.

Ref.: MacGillivray, 1852; Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6559); Roth, 1910; Thomson, 1933; McConnel, 1939–1940, 1950; Tindale, 1940; Simmons, Graydon and Gajdusek, 1958.

Ngoborindi 'ŋoborindi

Loc.: Southern headwaters of Gregory River; at Riversleigh, Gregory Downs, and Mount Margaret, north to Lawn Hill Creek and Punjaub; in later years at Morstone Downs which is in Wakabunga country.

Coord.: 138°55'E x 18°5'S.

Area: 3,100 sq. m. (8,100 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ngoborundji, Ngoboringi (*g* read as *dj*), Oborindi, Oboroondi, Obor-indi.

Ref.: Roth, 1897; Sharp, 1935; Tindale, 1963 MS.

Ngugi 'ŋugi:

Loc.: Moreton Island.

Coord.: 153°25'E x 27°10'S.

Area: 70 sq. m. (200 sq. km.).

Alt.: Mugee, Wogee, Gnoogee, Guar (language name ['guar] = ['gowar] = no), Gowar, Goowar, Gooar, Gowrburra, Chunchiburri, Booroo-geen-merrie.

Ref.: Curr, 1886; Watkins in Curr, 1887; Watkins, 1890–1891; Meston, 1892, 1905; Shirley, 1897; Lauterer, 1897; Petrie, 1904; Tindale, 1940.

Ngulungbara 'ŋuluŋbara

Loc.: Northern third of Fraser Island, north of Boomerang Hill; usually regarded as a horde of the Batjala tribe. Historically it appears to have been a separate tribe; however, the name has the form of a hordal term (*see also* Batjala).

Coord.: 153°15'E x 25°0'S.

Area: 200 sq. m. (500 sq. km.).

Alt.: Olongbura, Gnoolongbara, Koolaburra.

Ref.: Shirley, 1897; Howitt, 1904; Winterbotham, 1956 MS; Tindale, MS.

Ngundjan ŋun'djən

Loc.: Mitchell River south of the junction of the Palmer River; at Dunbar; an inland tribe extending south to Emu Creek and the Red River. An error in drafting placed the tribe too far north in the 1940 map. Note the unusual accentuation of the name. In 1940 I gave it incorrectly. An alternative name used on Stradbroke Island is the same as this but with initial stress.

Coord.: 142°40'E x 16°35'S.

Area: 4,500 sq. m. (11,700 sq. km.).

Alt.: Kun'djən (valid alternative), 'Kundjən, Gundjun, Koko Kuntjan, Kundjin, Kokoyan, Koonjan, Kunjen, Kunjin, Okundjain, ? Koko wansin.

Ref.: Parry-Okeden, 1897; Mathews, 1899 (Gr. 6445), 1900 (Gr. 6524, 6559); Roth, 1910; Sharp, 1934, 1939; Tindale, 1938 MS, 1940, 1963 MS; Simmons, Graydon and Gajdusek, 1958; Capell, 1963; Doherty, 1964; Sommer and Sommer, 1967, 1969.

Ngurawola 'ŋurawola

Loc.: At Arrabury and Durham Downs and the southwestern vicinity; west to Coongie Lakes; south to Lake Marrakoonamooka. Breen, at Arrabury, heard what may be an alternative or language name Ngandanina.

Coord.: 140°50'E x 27°10'S.

Area: 4,400 sq. m. (11,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: ? Ngandanina.

Ref.: C. Strehlow, 1910; Tindale, 1940; Breen, 1969 MS.

Nguri 'ŋuri

Loc.: Upper Maronoa River from Mount Elliot and Donnybrook north to Merivale on the western side of the Dividing Range; west to Hillside and Redford. Their territory is bounded on the northeast by the summit of the Dividing Range, on their northwest are the steep cliffs and deep gorges of the Chesterton Range. They were not on the upper Warrego River as stated by Mathews.

Coord.: 140°50'E x 25°35'S.

Area: 3,500 sq. m. (9,100 sq. km.).
Alt.: Ngoorie, Gnoree.
Ref.: Barlow, 1873; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6444); Tindale, 1940.

Njuwathai 'Njuwathai
Loc.: Middle Wenlock (Batavia) River. Omitted in error from the map of the 1940 work.
Coord.: 142°20'E x 12°25'S.
Area: 700 sq. m. (1,800 sq. km.).
Alt.: Nyuwathayi.
Ref.: McConnel, 1939–1940.

Nunukul 'Nunukul
Loc.: Northern portion of Stradbroke Island. An informant, not of the tribe, gave the name as Ngundjan, but Katherine Walker, who is a member of the tribe, confirms the given name. The name was accidentally omitted from the 1940 map although correctly listed in the text. Radiocarbon data obtained by D. J. Tugby (Radiocarbon 8:514) indicates occupation of the island for at least 765 ± 45 years.
Coord.: 154°30'E x 27°25'S.
Area: 50 sq. m. (130 sq. km.).
Alt.: Noonukul, Noonuccal, Moondjan (['mundjan] = no), Ngundjan (of another tribe).
Ref.: Curr, 1886; Watkin in Curr, 1887; Tindale, 1940; K. Walker, 1965 pers. comm.

Olkolo 'Olkolo
Loc.: Middle Coleman River; south to Crosbie River. Despite similarities in name and contiguity, it seems that the Kokangol are a separate tribe higher up on the Alice River watershed.
Coord.: 142°15'E x 15°15'S.
Area: 2,400 sq. m. (6,200 sq. km.).
Alt.: Koko Olkol, Koko Olkolo, Ol'kol (pronunciation of Kunggara man), Koko-olkol, Olkulo, Koka-ollugul, Ulkulu, Wulgulu, Olgolo, Olcoola.
Ref.: Parry-Okeden, 1897; McConnell, 1932, 1939–1940, 1950; Thomson, 1933; Sharp, 1939; Tindale, 1940, 1963 MS; Simmons, Graydon and Gajdusek, 1958; Sayers and Godfrey, 1964; Trezise, 1969; West, pers. comm.

Ombila 'Ombi:lə
Loc.: Cape Sidmouth and north nearly to Night Island. South to vicinity of Chester River. They were closely linked with the Kawadji of Night Island and vicinity.
Coord.: 143°30'E x 13°30'S.
Area: 300 sq. m. (800 sq. km.).
Alt.: Ompeila, Ompela, Umpila, Umpilo, Umbila, Oombilla, Koko-umpilo.
Ref.: Parry-Okeden, 1897; Hale and Tindale, 1933; Thomson, 1933, 1934, 1946, 1952, 1955; McConnel, 1939–1940; Sharp, 1939; Tindale, 1940; Capell, 1956, 1963.

Otati 'O:tati
Loc.: Southern part of Shelburne Bay; east and south to Macmillan River, inland to headwaters of Dulhunty River.
Coord.: 142°55'E x 11°55'S.
Area: 300 sq. m. (800 sq. km.).
Alt.: Wotati, Wutati, Wotadi, Wudjadi.
Ref.: Roth, 1903; Ray, 1907; Seligman and Pimm, 1907; Thomson, 1933, 1934; McConnel, 1939–1940, 1950; Sharp, 1939; Tindale, 1940; Capell, 1963.

Pakadji 'Pakadji
Loc.: Weymouth Bay, Pascoe River, and Temple Bay; north to Cape Grenville; southeast to Cape Weymouth; inland to the Dividing Range.
Coord.: 143°5'E x 12°25'S.
Area: 1,300 sq. m. (3,400 sq. km.).
Alt.: Yao, Ya'o, Koko Ya':o, Koka-yao (term applied by southern tribes), ? Makadama.
Ref.: Harris, 1917; Thomson, 1933, 1934, 1946; Tindale, 1940; McConnel, 1953; Trezise, 1969; West, pers. comm.

Pitapita 'Pita'pita
Loc.: Boulia district and 50 miles to south and west; north to about Fort William. Under this name is sometimes grouped an indeterminable series of subtribes or hordal groups. Roth is the principal authority. He suggests tribal fragmentation and reintegration as having been formerly in progress; the situation may be comparable with that in the "Murngin" area of Arnhem Land and the Daly River district. The arrival of subincision as an initiation rite may have been the disruptive force in this area and not external (non-Australian) forces as perhaps in Arnhem Land. Among the groups not indicated on the map—Boinji, Kwokwa, Tinkatinki, and Weelko—one or more of these are hordes; other peripheral ones about which there is more information, are shown on the map; this area of Australia is one of the least understood in terms of tribal distribution. They all practiced the rites of circumcision and subincision.
Coord.: 139°45'E x 22°45'S.
Area: 2,700 sq. m. (7,000 sq. km.).
Alt.: Pittapitta, Bitta Bitta, Wangkapit:a, Wangkahicho, Wangkahichs (typographical error).
Ref.: Eglinton in Curr, 1886; Parry-Okeden, 1897; R., W. H., 1897; Roth, 1897 (2 papers), 1906; Giglioli, 1911; Tindale, 1940 and MS; Yallop, 1969; Blake, 1969 MS.

Pitjara 'Pitjarə
Loc.: Headwaters of Nogoa and Warrego rivers; south to Caroline, north of Augathella; east to Killarney and Chesterton; west to Nive River; north to Mantuan Downs. Not to be confused with Badjiri of the lower Warrego River or the Bitjara of southwestern Queensland. Some evidence suggests that a late prehistoric eastward movement of tribes south of Charleville caused a separation between the Pitjara and Badjiri; they are now separate tribes. The eastern boundary of the tribal area is marked by sheer cliffs and their country is well wooded.
Coord.: 147°10'E x 24°55'S.
Area: 6,400 sq. m. (16,600 sq. km.).
Alt.: Bidjera, Peechera.
Ref.: Conn, Playford and Hollingsworth in Curr, 1887; Kelly, 1935; Tindale, 1940.

Pontunj 'Po:ntunj
Loc.: From Cape Weymouth south to coast north of Night Island; at Lockhart River and Lloyd Bay.

Coord.: 143°20′E x 12°55′S.
Area: 300 sq. m. (800 sq. km.).
Alt.: Jangkonju (language name), Yankonya, Yankonyu.
Ref.: Thomson, 1934; McConnel, 1939–1940; Tindale, 1940 and MS.

Punthamara 'Puntamara
Loc.: On creeks running east of Grey Range from Orient and Thargomindah north to near Quilpie; at Tobermory; on the west side of Grey Range only to Mount Margaret and Congie. Traditional movement was across the Grey Range from the west. Cameron suggests Thylungra as their locality. They practiced circumcision as a rite of male intiation, but not subincision.
Coord.: 143°30′E x 27°25′S.
Area: 3,200 sq. m. (8,300 sq. km.).
Alt.: Bunthomarra, Buntamara, Buntamurra, Banthamurra, Buntha-burra, Boonthamurra, Boontha Murra.
Ref. : Myles in Curr, 1886; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6444), 1905 (Gr. 6454); Cameron, 1904; Kirkham in Howitt, 1904; Tindale, 1940 and MS.

Rakkaia 'Rak: aiə
Loc.: From Coorabulka west to the Georgina River and the eastern vicinity of Breadalbane.
Coord.: 140°10′E x 23°35′S.
Area: 2,200 sq. m. (5,700 sq. km.).
Alt.: Rukkia.
Ref.: Roth, 1897.

Ringaringa 'Riŋə'riŋə
Loc.: On Hamilton River south of Hamilton and Warenda; west to Boulia; on Burke River southwest to Marion Downs; east to near Lucknow. Authority for the given spelling is B. Blake.
Coord.: 140°10′E x 23°0′S.
Area: 2,600 sq. m. (6,800 sq. km.).
Alt.: Ringoringo, Ringu-ringu, Ringa-ringaroo (not Rungo Rungo), Yuntauntaya, Njuntauntaya.
Ref.: Lett in Howitt, 1884; Collins and McLean in Curr, 1886; Roth, 1897; Giglioli, 1911; Davidson, 1938; Tindale, 1940; Blake, 1969 MS.

Rungarungawa 'Ruŋa'ruŋawa
Loc.: On Roxburgh Downs Station and along Pituri Creek.
Coord.: 138°35′E x 22°40′S.
Area: 1,200 sq. m. (3,100 sq. km.).
Alt.: Runga-Rungawah, Ringarungawah (misprint), Dungadungara, Rungo Rungo.
Ref.: Craigie in Curr, 1886; Roth, 1897; Kryswicki, 1934; Tindale, 1959 MS.

Tagalag 'Tagalag
Loc.: Middle Gilbert River; north nearly to Einasleigh River; south to Gregory Range; at Forest Home; east to Georgetown and Forsayth; west to near Croydon. Reference in the 1940 text to Abingdon Downs was a lapse. A few people of this tribe have the unusual, for Australia, B-blood gene.
Coord.: 143°0′E x 18°20′S.
Area: 3,900 sq. m. (10,100 sq. km.).
Alt.: Dagalang (valid variant), Da:galag, Takalak, Targalag, Tarkalag.
Ref.: Davidson, 1938; Sharp, 1939; Tindale, 1940, 1963 MS.

Ťaior 'Taior
Loc.: About mouth of Coleman River; on northern bank extending north to beyond the Edward River.
Coord.: 141°50′E x 14°50′S.
Area: 1,200 sq. m. (3,100 sq. km.).
Alt.: Taiol (valid variant), Thaayorre, Tayore, Koko-Taiyor, Da:jor, Koko-Daiyuri, Kokkotaijari, Kokotaiyari, ? Koko-yak, Gugujak, Daiyuri, Taiol (name as spoken by a Gilbert River native).
Ref.: McConnel, 1930; Sharp, 1934, 1939; Tindale, 1940, 1963 MS; Thomson, 1955; Simmons, Graydon and Gajdusek, 1958; A.I.A.S., 1966; Hall, 1968.

Taribelang 'Taribələŋ
Loc.: Vicinity of Bundaberg; inland to about Walla; north to Rosedale; along lower reaches of Kolan River. Believed extinct; only scant data.
Coord.: 152°5′E x 24°50′S.
Area: 1,800 sq. m. (4,700 sq. km.).
Alt.: Tarribelung, Daribelum, Darpil, Wokkari, ? Yawai.
Ref.: Howitt, 1889, 1904; Mathew, 1910, 1914; Tindale, 1940; Winterbotham, 1956 MS.

Tepiti 'Tepiti
Loc.: Middle Dulcie River.
Coord.: 142°10′E x 12°10′S.
Area: 400 sq. m. (1,000 sq. km.).
Alt.: Tepithiki, Teyepathiggi, Teppathiggi, ? Teepani.
Ref.: Davidson, 1938; McConnel, 1939–1940, 1950; Sharp, 1939; Simmons, Graydon and Gajdusek, 1958.

Thereila 'Ťereila
Loc.: South from Nockatunga and Noccundra to Grey Range; on Dingera Creek; west to Bransby and lower Warrywarry Creek. According to Breen this appears to be the tribe that speaks Mamwura or Mambanjura. Their early name was not recognized in 1969.
Coord.: 142°10′E x 28°5′S.
Area: 2,800 sq. m. (7,300 sq. km.).
Alt.: Thiralla, Mambanjura (language name), Mambanyura, Mambangura, Mamwura, Ngandangura (of a Kalali informant, but see Ngandangara).
Ref.: Myles in Curr, 1886; Tindale, 1940; Breen, 1969 MS.

Tjapukai 'Tja:pukai
Loc.: Barron River from south of Mareeba to Kuranda; north toward Port Douglas on the plateau south of and to the east of Mareeba; their western boundary followed the margin of the rain forest from Tolga north to Mount Molloy; rain forest dwellers; 7 on NE map. With disappearance of coastal Irukandji, the Tjapukai had by 1952 come to claim as theirs the coastal strip between Cairns Inlet and Lamb Range, with one horde living near Redlynch. Plates 43 and 44 are relevant.

Coord.: 145°30′E x 16°50′S.
Area: 300 sq. m. (800 sq. km.).
Alt.: Tjapukandji (valid variant), Tja:pukanja, Tjabogai-tjandji, Tjabogai-tjanji, Tcabogai-tjanji, Toabogai-tjani (typographical error), Tjabogaijanji, Dyabugandyi, Dyabugay, Tapelcay, Tuffelcey (probable misreading of old handwriting), Koko-njunkulu (northern term), Koko-nyungalo, Koko Tjumbundji (Kokojelandji term), Hileman (*lapsus calami*), Njakali (Buluwai term), Nyakali, Barron River dialect (Meston), Binggu (Redlynch horde).
Ref.: Meston, 1889; Parry-Okeden, 1897; McConnel, 1931, 1939–1940; Hale and Tindale, 1933; Davidson, 1938; Sharp, 1939; Tindale, 1940; Flecker, 1952; Dixon, 1966; West, pers. comm.

Tjongkandji 'Tjoŋkandji
Loc.: Cullen Point; west of mouth of Batavia River; south for about 15 miles (24 km.).
Coord.: 141°55′E x 12°5′S.
Area: 150 sq. m. (400 sq. km.).
Alt.: Tjungundji, Tyongandyi, Chongandji, Tjongangi, Tjungundji, Joonkoonjee, Joongoonjie, Chunkunji, Chinganji, ? Ngu'rand (perhaps a horde).
Ref.: Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6524, 6559), 1907 (Gr. 6515); Roth, 1910; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Thomson, 1934, 1952; McConnel, 1936, 1939–1940, 1950, 1953; Davidson, 1938; Sharp, 1939; Tindale, 1940; Simmons, Graydon and Gajdusek, 1958; Capell, 1963; West, pers. comm.

Totj 'To:tj
Loc.: Upper Mission River and Cox Creek (middle Batavia River); at York Downs; south to near Merluna.
Coord.: 142°25′E x 12°45′S.
Area: 600 sq. m. (1,600 sq. km.).
Alt.: ? Kauwala.
Ref.: McConnel, 1939–1940, 1950; Sharp, 1939.

Tulua 'Tulua
Loc.: Calliope River to Port Curtis; inland to the Coast Range and headwaters of Boyne River (northern river of this name); at Many Peaks.
Coord.: 151°10′E x 24°15′S.
Area: 1,500 sq. m. (3,900 sq. km.).
Alt.: Toolooa, Dandan (['dan] = man), ? Narung.
Ref.: Palmer, 1884; "Police Commissioner" in Curr, 1887; Roth, 1897; Mathew, 1914; Tindale, 1939 MS.

Undanbi 'U:ndanbi
Loc.: Coastal strip along Coolum Beach and Moreton Bay from Noosa Heads south to mouth of Brisbane River; in the Pine River district; inland only for about 10 miles (16 km.); at the Glasshouse Mountains; on Bribie Island. The Brisbane horde was extinct by 1860 according to A. Meston, but Westaway indicates some were living in 1883 at Mooloolaba. They also shared a language name called Turubul with the Jagara tribe of the Lower Brisbane River. This is the tribe whose language was called Dippil by Ridley. Tom Petrie is said to have spoken chiefly Undanbi. The northernmost horde, I learned in 1938, was the ['I:nabara].
Coord.: 153°5′E x 26°55′S.
Area: 900 sq. m. (2,300 sq. km.).
Alt.: Undumbi (['dan] = man), Oondumbi, Mooloola (name of a river), Turrubul (language name), Turrbul, Churrabool, Djindubari (horde on Bribie Island), Djuadubari, Jooaduburrie, Bo-oobera, Dippil (language term applied to this and sometimes to the Kabikabi tribes people—a general term in southeastern Queensland.)
Ref.: Ridley in Lang, 1861; Ridley, 1866; Mueller, 1882; Ridley in Curr, 1887; Westaway and Landsborough in Curr, 1887; Meston 1892, 1905, 1924; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6444), 1900 (Gr. 6566), 1910 (Gr. 6470); Dutton, 1904; Tindale, 1938 MS, 1940; Winterbotham, 1956 MS.

Unjadi 'Unjadi
Loc.: Upper Dulhunty River north to headwaters of Jardine River.
Coord.: 142°35′E x 11°35′S.
Area: 500 sq. m. (1,300 sq. km.).
Alt.: Unyadi, Onyengadi, Oyungo, Oyonggo (Tjongkandji term), Empikeno (Jathaikana term), Umtadee (one reading of blotted MS spelling), ? Wundjur.
Ref.: Parry-Okeden, 1897; Thomson, 1933; McConnel, 1939–1940; Sharp, 1939; Nekes and Worms, 1953; Simmons, Graydon and Gajdusek, 1958; Capell, 1963; West, 1963 MS.

Wadikali (*see* New South Wales).

Wadja 'Wadjə
Loc.: Streams on east side of Expedition Range; south to Bigge Range; east nearly to Dawson River. Closely related to the Kangulu. The original inhabitants of Woorabinda. Native tradition is that they were formerly two separate small tribes, Wadja and Wainjigo. They lived together for "a long time" until their separate identities were submerged.
Coord.: 149°25′E x 24°30′S.
Area: 3,300 sq. m. (8,600 sq. km.).
Alt.: Wainjago, Wainjigo, Wadjainggo, Wainggo.
Ref.: McIntosh in Curr, 1887; Tindale, 1940.

Wadjabangai 'Wadjəbaŋai
Loc.: South of Glenbower (now called Lancevale); at Maryvale; south to Blackall; boundaries fixed principally by exclusion from territories of neighboring tribes. Their territory is well wooded with broad sandy plains and meandering streams flowing from the higher country to the northeast. They also called themselves ['Kari:mari] which means "Salt men" (['mari] = man). Their vocabulary is rather distinctive.
Coord.: 145°55′E x 24°15′S.
Area: 3,200 sq. m. (8,300 sq. km.).
Alt.: Kariimari ([ka:ri] = salt), ? KunGait (but this may belong to Iningai, which see)
Ref.: Kelly, 1935: Tindale, 1940 and MS.

Wadjalang 'Wadjəlaŋ
Loc.: Headwaters of Bulloo and Langlo rivers from Quilpie north to Northampton Downs, near and east of Blackall, and to Tambo; east to Cheepie, Burrandilla, and Nive Downs; at Ambathalla and Minnie Downs. The vocabularies of Dalhunty and Crombie seem to belong to this tribe. The Wadjalang did not have the male rite of circumcision.

Coord.: 145°20′E x 25°50′S.
Area: 15,000 sq. m. (39,000 sq. km.).
Alt.: ['mari] = man, ['al:a] = no.
Ref.: Dalhunty and Crombie in Curr, 1887; Tindale, 1940.

Wakabunga 'Wa:kabuŋa
Loc.: Upper Leichhardt River and Gunpowder Creek. They are related to the Kalkadunga and ranged as far west as Morstone and head of Gregory Creek. Breen has heard the accepted version of their name.
Coord.: 139°10′E x 19°40′S.
Area: 4,900 sq. m. (12,700 sq. km.).
Alt.: Workabunga (used in 1940 edition), Workoboongo, Wakobungo, Waukaboonia, Waggabundi (name of a cattle ranch), Waggaboonyah (Spelling adopted for mountain range), Kabikabi (a valid alternative name heard in discussion among a mixed group of old men at Mornington Island).
Ref.: Urquhart and O'Reilley in Curr, 1886; Parry-Okeden, 1897; Roth, 1897; Tindale, 1940, 1963 MS; Breen, 1969 MS.

Wakaja (*see* Northern Territory).

Wakaman 'Wakamən
Loc.: Head of Lynd River; north to Mungana and the vicinity of Chillagoe; east to Almaden and the Dividing Range, keeping in the low country; west to Dagworth; south to Mount Surprise (near Brooklands); at Crystalbrook and Bolwarra. Dixon combines this tribe with the Ewamin, whose discrete territory is southeast of Georgetown. He demonstrates that their languages are closely similar, if not identical, but statements of aborigines seem to make clear that they are separate. Parry-Okeden listed this tribe twice with different spellings, presumably from different sources unless one is intended for the Ewamin.
Coord.: 144°15′E x 17°30′S.
Area: 4,800 sq. m. (12,500 sq. km.).
Alt.: Wagaman, Wakkamon, Warkaman, Warkeeman, Warkeemin, Warkamin, Warkemon, Warkeemon, Wataman, Okenyika (a horde), Tjapatja (a horde).
Ref.: Parry-Okeden, 1897; Mathews, 1898 (gr. 6464), 1899 (Gr. 6445), 1900 (Gr. 6524, 6559); Richards, 1926; Sharp, 1938; Tindale, 1940; 1963 MS; Dixon, 1966, 1969 MS.

Wakara 'Wakara
Loc.: Southern side of upper Mitchell River; east to Mount Mulligan; west to Wrotham Park and Blackdown. Not to be confused with the Kokowara of Normanby River despite Mathews's name. According to Richards, they were a dominating tribe at the time of first contact in 1875 but he allowed them only 40 square miles of territory (he possibly meant 40 miles square). A separate horde or possibly a separate tribe, Wunjurika, lived to the west of Mount Mulligan but had entirely lost their identity in the Wakara by about 1890 and are not separately listed here. Apparently this tribe was placed too far to the northeast by McConnel. In the 1940 work the name was missed on the main map but it was present on the inset.
Coord.: 144°15′E x 16°45′S.
Area: 3,100 sq. m. (8,100 sq. km.).
Alt.: Wakura, Wakoora, Koko-wogura, Kookoowarra (of Mathews; means "bad speakers"), Wun-yurika.
Ref.: Mowbray in Curr, 1886; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6464); Richards, 1926; Davidson, 1938; McConnel, 1939–1940; Sharp, 1939; Tindale, 1940.

Wakawaka 'Waka'waka ('Wa:)
Loc.: Nanango north to Mount Perry behind the Coast Range; west to Boyne River, upper Burnett River, and Mundubbera; at Kingaroy, Murgon, and Gayndah. The small Kaiabara tribelet of the upper Boyne River may be a horde, but could be a detached portion of the Kabikabi. See additional notes under Kaiabara. Mathew (1910, 1914, and 1926) shows a large area in the west as belonging to this tribe; actually it is Djakunda and Wulili territory.
Coord.: 151°45′E x 25°50′S.
Area: 4,100 sq. m. (10,700 sq. km.).
Alt.: Waa (valid alternative), Wakka-wakka, Waka, Wakka, Woga, Wokka, Wakar, Wakkar, Wackar, Wakuwuka, Wogga, Wuka Wuka, ? Nukunukubara, Wapa (Kabikabi term meaning "inlanders"), Wa:bar (applied to several tribes), Mungar (spotted gum tree people); ['waka] = no.
Ref.: O'Connor in Curr, 1887; Mathew in Curr, 1887; Cameron, 1894; Shirley, 1897; Howitt, 1904; Ross in Cameron, 1904; Mathew, 1910, 1914, 1926, 1928; Mathews, 1910 (Gr. 6429); Tindale, 1940; Winterbotham, 1956 MS; Reeves and Miller, 1964.

Walangama 'Walaŋamə
Loc.: On Carron River and Walker Creek; west to Maggieville and Normanton; east to Croydon; south to head of Belmore Creek; north to Stirling keeping south of the Gilbert River. They are sometimes called ['Karan] because of their living in the scrublands. Sharp (1938) associated them with a name Okerkila. Roth (1897) recorded a late movement toward Normanton; in recent years they have joined the Araba and moved north to Vanrook where they live with the Kunggara. In post-European times Jangaa from the head of the Gilbert River moved into areas vacated by this tribe. The Bugulmara also were displaced by this shift.
Coord.: 141°55′E x 17°40′S.
Area: 3,200 sq. m. (8,300 sq. km.).
Alt.: Wollangama, Wollongurmee, Wollangama, Wallankammer, Wallenkammer, Wahlongman, Karan (scrublanders).
Ref. : Armit, Pogndestre and Palmer in Curr, 1886; Roth, 1897 (2 papers); Mathews, 1899 (Gr. 6445); Dutton, 1904; Tindale, 1938 MS, 1940, 1963 MS; Davidson, 1938.

Walmbaria 'Walmbaria
Loc.: On the islands of the Flinders group and on extensive reefs north of Princess Charlotte Bay visiting the mainland only at Bathurst Head and Cape Melville on sufferance.
Coord.: 144°15′E x 14°10′S.
Area: 50 sq. m. (130 sq. km.).
Alt.: Walmbar, Yalnga-bar (Yalnga = Cape Melville).
Ref.: Roth, 1910; Tindale, 1927 MS, 1940; Hale and Tindale, 1933.

Waluwara 'Waluwara
Loc.: From Roxborough Downs north to Carandotta and Urandangi on the Georgina River; on Moonah Creek to

near Rochedale; southwest to Pituri Creek; at Wolga. Waluwara is the name of the language. Breen (pers. comm.) says the people he worked with do not recognize Maula, the name under which the tribe appeared in my 1940 work.

Coord.: 138°45′E x 21°45′S.

Area: 7,100 sq. m. (18,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Walugara (valid alternative), Walukara, Elookera, Wollegarra, Waloo-kera, Warluwara, Wallawarra, Wolga (place name), Walgra, Didjadidja (horde at Roxborough), Kapula (horde at Carandotta), Panggara (horde at Moonah Creek), Pangara, Paringgara ("creek dwellers"), Yannalinka (? horde name at Carandotta), Maula (supposedly a valid name but not recognized today).

Ref.; curr, 1886; Roth, 1897, 1904; Edge, 1899 (2 papers); Tindale, 1940; Capell, 1963; Yallop, 1969; Breen, 1969 MS.

Wanamara 'Wanamara

Loc.: Headwaters of Flinders River, east to Richmond; south to the Divide and to Kynuna; west to the Williams River near Cloncurry; north to Cambridge Downs and Dalgonally. Their country is principally an open grassland with broad and sandy river channels. They did not have the rites of circumcision and subincision. Davidson (1938) shows a name Quippen-bura near Richmond on the eastern border of this tribe which may be an northeastern horde.

Coord.: 141°50′E x 21°10′S.

Area: 13,000 sq. m. (33,800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wunamara, Woonamurra, Woonomurra, Unamara, Oonoomurra, ? Quippen-bura.

Ref.: MacGillibray in Curr, 1887; Parry-Okeden, 1897; Roth, 1897, 1905; Giglioli, 1911; Kelly, 1935; Davidson, 1938; Sharp, 1939; Tindale, 1940.

Wangan 'Wangan

Loc.: Capella north to near Blair Athol; east to Peak Ranges; west to Drummond Range; at Peak Downs.

Coord.: 147°40′E x 22°50′S.

Area: 3,000 sq. m. (7,800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Babbinburra (a horde between Mistake Creek and Clermont).

Ref.: Muirhead in Curr, 1887; Tindale, 1940.

Wanji (*see* Northern Territory)

Wanjuru 'Wanjuru

Loc.: South of the mouth of Russell River; inland toward Babinda; south to Cooper Point and Innisfail; rain forest dwellers; 13 on northeastern part of NE map.

Coord.: 146°0′E x 17°25′S.

Area: 200 sq. m. (500 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wanjar.

Ref.: Parry-Okeden, 1897; Tindale, 1938 MS, 1940; Dixon, 1966, 1969 MS.

Warakamai 'Warəkamai

Loc.: Coast at Halifax Bay; inland to the slope of the Coast Range; north to Ingham and Lucinda Point; south to the Black River 20 miles (32 km.) north of Townsville. Seven hordes are listed by Cassady (1886).

Coord.: 146°15′E x 18°55′S.

Area: 600 sq. m. (1,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Waragamai, Wargamay, Wargamaygan, Bungabara (name of one of seven hordes), Ikelbara (a horde name), Herbert River tribe.

Ref.: Reeves in Fison and Howitt, 1880; Cassady and Johnstone in Curr, 1886; Giglioli, 1911; Tindale, 1940; Doolan, 1964 MS; Dixon, 1966.

Warungu 'Waruŋu

Loc.: Headwaters of Burdekin River, southeast to near Charters Towers and southwest along the Clarke River; west to the Dividing Range; east to the inland foot of the Coast Range and to the big southern loop of the Burdekin. Very little is known of these people and it is possible another tribe occupying a portion of this area has escaped record. The suggested Warrialgona equation is doubtful.

Coord.: 146°0′E x 19°30′S.

Area: 9,600 sq. m. (25,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: ? Warrialgona (['warungu] = woman).

Ref.: Atherton in Curr, 1886; Lukin in Curr, 1886; Davidson, 1938; Tindale, 1940, 1963 MS; Doolan, 1964 MS; Dixon, 1966, 1969 MS.

Wik-

Loc.: Aggregate of small tribes from Watson River south to Holroyd River; east to Rokeby. For a detailed map, see McConnel (1939–1940:55), also notes in this work under the dominant one, the Wikmunkan. One tribe of this group is listed under the name Mimungkum. On the map, ten smaller areas are indicated by numbers; the largest one, Wikmunkan is indicated by name.

Wikampama 'Wikampama

Loc.: Middle Archer River; north to Watson River; 10 on NE map. The name Wikmumin has been reported from this area and could represent a separate small tribe, the possibilities may include the Mimungkum (which see).

Coord.: 142°10′E x 13°20′S.

Area: 1,200 sq. m. (3,100 sq. km.).

Alt.: Kokiala (name of a creek), Kokala.

Ref.: McConnel, 1930, 1939–1940; Sharp, 1939; Hale in Capell, 1963.

Wikapatja 'Wikapatja

Loc.: A small tribe centered on the mangrove islands of Archer River delta, now extinct; 1 on the NE map.

Coord.: 141°40′E x 13°25′S.

Area: 100 sq. m. (260 sq. km.).

Alt.: None has been reported.

Ref.: McConnel, 1939–1940.

Wikatinda 'Wikatinda

Loc.: A small tribe on the coast from Archer River south for about 8 miles (13 km.); virtually extinct; 2 on NE map.

Coord.: 141°35′E x 13°35′S.

Area: 200 sq. m. (500 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wik Tinda, Adinda (*sic*).

Ref.: McConnel, 1939–1940; Thomson, 1946; Simmons, Graydon and Gajdusek, 1958; Capell, 1963.

Wikepa 'Wikepa

Loc.: A small tribe near Cape Keerweer; nearly extinct, but a few were living on the mission at Aurukun in 1958; 3 on NE map.

Coord.: 141°40'E x 13°45'S.

Area: 300 sq. m. (800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wik-Eppa.

Ref.: McConnel, 1939–1940; Simmons, Graydon and Gajdusek, 1958.

Wikianji 'Wikianji

Loc.: A small tribe related to the Wikmunkan on the midreaches of the Holroyd River. It is said to have been in process of becoming a separate tribe; 7 on NE map.

Coord.: 142°10'E x 14°25'S.

Area: 600 sq. m. (1,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wikianyi, Wik-Iyena.

Ref.: McConnel, 1939–1940; Sayers and Godfrey, 1964; Tindale, 1967 MS.

Wik-kalkan 'Wik'kalkan

Loc.: Coast north of Cape Keerweer; 4 on NE map. Shortly before her death McConnel informed me that she had found a note suggesting that Wik-kalkan was the proper name of this tribe; the term Wikngatara means "my language" and was applied by her in error.

Coord.: 141°40'E x 13°50'S.

Area: 300 sq. m. (800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wik-ngatara (erroneous term), Wik Älkän, Wik-kalkin, Wik-nätara, Algan, Ngadara.

Ref.: McConnel, 1939–1940, 1950, 1953, and verb. comm.; Tindale, 1940; Thomson, 1946; Simmons, Graydon and Gajdusek, 1958; Capell, 1963.

Wikmean 'Wikmean

Loc.: Inland from Cape Keerweer; 9 on NE map.

Coord.: 142°0'E x 13°55'S.

Area: 600 sq. m. (1,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: None has been reported.

Ref.: McConnel, 1939–1940.

[Wik-] Mimungkum (*see* Mimungkum).

Wikmunkan 'Wikmunkan

Loc.: From Holroyd River north to Archer River; inland. This is the dominant Wik tribe; the Wikianji and Ajabakan (Bakanu) are said to be southern small tribes in process of separating from the rest of the Wik- group and carry the overall tribal area to the Edward River. Rev. W. F. MacKenzie refers to "Wikmungken"-speaking people called Minungkum whose territory is about 12 miles (19 km.) inland below Cape Keerweer and the Kendall River in an area 8 by 10 miles (12 by 16 km.) locally known as "Ti-Tree." This has been listed as a separate small Wik-tribe in this work.

Coord.: 142°50'E x 13°50'S.

Area: 3,200 sq. m. (8,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Munkanj (valid variant), Munkan, Munkanu (Ajabatha term), Munkanj (Gilbert River term), Monkanu, Munggano, Wikmungkan, Wikmungken, Wik Mongkan, Wik Monkan, Wik-Mungken, Wik-Mongken, Munggan ['muŋkan]-hill or mountain in several languages.

Ref.: McConnel, 1930, 1931, 1939–1940, 1950, 1953; Thomson, 1933, 1935, 1936, 1938, 1946; Tindale, 1940, 1963 MS; Worms, 1950; Simmons, Graydon and Gajdusek, 1958; MacKenzie, 1960 MS; Homans and Schneider, 1962; Needham, 1962, 1963 (2 papers); Berndt, 1963; Pittman et al., 1964; Sayers and Godfrey, 1964; Jackes, 1969.

Wiknantjara 'Wik'nantjara

Loc.: Between mouths of the Holroyd River; 6 on NE map.

Coord.: 141°40'E x 14°20'S.

Area: 300 sq. m. (800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wik-Ngencherra, Wik-Natjerra, Ngandjara.

Ref.: McConnel, 1939–1940; Simmons, Graydon and Gajdusek, 1958; Needham, 1962, 1965.

Wiknatanja 'Wik'natanja

Loc.: Coast at mouths of Kendall River; 5 on NE map.

Coord.: 141°35'E x 14°0'S.

Area: 300 sq. m. (800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wik-Ngartona, Wik-Natan, Wik-ngatona.

Ref.: McConnel, 1939–1940; Simmons, Graydon and Gajdusek, 1958.

Winduwinda 'Winduwinda

Loc.: East of Duyfken Point to Archer River; inland to head of Embley River; twelve or more hordes or incipient small tribes each with a name terminating in [-ŋit]; Winduwinda is a valid embracing name and apparently the equivalent of one of the lower gulf tribal terms. Following is a list of the twelve principal -ngit. Synonyms and variant spellings are given within parentheses after the accepted form of each name. No attempt has been made to estimate the approximate area occupied by each such group. Roman numerals on the map indicate the general position of each within the whole Winduwinda area. The following arrangement is based on the views of an [A'retiŋet] man of the Hay River area:

I. Tanikuit (Tainikudi, Tani-kutti, Dainiguid, Tannagootee). North side of Albatross Bay.
II. Ndruangit. North side of Mission River.
III. Ndwangit (Ndwongit). North side of Mission River.
IV. Ngawangati (Ngawataingeti, Ungauwangati). Lower Mission River.
V. Alingit (Lengiti, Lenngiti, Alngid, Limretti [? typographical error]. Weipa and east.
VI. Mamangit (Mamangiti, Mamngaid). South side of Albatross Bay.
VII. Latamngit (Lätamngit). West bank of Hay River.
VIII. Nggot (Gott). South side of Embley River.
IX. Aretinget (Aretingit, Aritingiti, Adetingiti). Upper Hay River and across to Pera Head.
X. Ndraangit (different locality to Ndruangit). Coast near False Pera Head.
XI. Leningiti (Laini-ngitti, not the same as "Lengiti" of Weipa, Leningit) West of lower Watson River and at Aurukun.
XII. Anjingit (Andjingit, Anyingit, Anjingat, Andyingati ? Anangit). Coast just north of Archer River.

Coord.: 141°50′E x 13°0′S.
Area 1,100 sq. m. (2,900 sq. km.).
Alt.: Windawinda, Ngwatainggeti (has been applied to whole tribe), Wikwija ("bad speech"—name given by Wikmunkan), Mbalidjan (may be a horde name), Ndorndorin (a horde name).
Ref.: Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6559, 6491); Roth, 1910; McConnel, 1939–1940, 1950; Tindale, 1940, 1960, MS 1963 MS; Simmons, Graydon and Gajdusek, 1958, MacKenzie, 1960 MS, Capell, 1963; Hale, MS (Quoted in Wurm, 1865).

Wiri 'Wiri
Loc.: On Coast Range behind Mackay; inland to Nebo and heads of Suttor and Bowen rivers; on Connor and Denham ranges; principally inhabitants of rain scrub country but extending west into drier country.
Coord.: 148°35′E x 21°25′S.
Area: 2,000 sq. m. (5,200 sq. km.).
Alt.: Widi (valid alternative), Wierdi.
Ref.: Kelly, 1935; Tindale, 1940.

Wongkadjera 'Woŋkadjera
Loc.: At Glenormiston and Herbert Downs; on Malvina Creek; north toward Roxborough. Their northern horde probably was called Nambila-nambila.
Coord.: 138°50′E x 22°55′S.
Area: 2,300 sq. m. (6,000 sq. km.).
Alt.: Wonkajara, Wonkatyeri, Wonkoyara.
Ref.: Roth, 1897, 1904, 1906; Coghlan, 1898; Breen, 1969 MS.

Wongkamala (*see* Northern Territory).

Wongkumara 'Woŋkumara
Loc.: Cooper Creek east of Nappa Merrie and Orientos to the Wilson River at Nockatunga. In postcontact times at Chastleton and NCarcowlah where they mixed with uncircumcised Kalali. Mathews (1905) used the tribal term as a general name for several tribes with similar languages along Cooper Creek.
Coord.: 141°50′E x 27°35′S.
Area: 4,500 sq. m. (11,700 sq. km.).
Alt.: Wangkumara (valid variant), Wonkamara, Wonkomarra, Wonkamarra, Wonkamura, Wonkamurra, Wonkubara, Wanggumara, Papagunu (rude Jandruwanta name, means "dog dung"), Balpamadramadra (? horde at Nappa Merrie), Jaramarala (? horde at Baryulah).
Ref.: Myles in Curr, 1886; Mathews, 1899 (Gr. 6445), 1900 (Gr. 6448), 1905 (Gr. 6454); Giglioli, 1911; Elkin, 1931; Kelly, 1935; Tindale, 1940; Australian Encyclopedia, 1958; Wurm, 1963; Breen, 1969 MS.

Wulgurukaba 'Wulguru'kaba
Loc.: On Palm Islands and Magnetic Island; on Ross River; east nearly to Cape Cleveland; west for about 20 miles (30 km.) beyond Townsville ['wulguru] = man. Great Palm Island is called ['Burugu'man]; the last survivor of the island horde died in 1962. A large settlement of mainland people is there now.
Coord.: 146°45′E x 19°15′S.
Area: 1,000 sq. m. (2,600 sq. km.).
Alt.: ['Buruku'man] (valid alternative pronunciation of island name), Korambelbara (name applied by Warakamai), Mun-ba-rah.
Ref.: Gregroy, 1865; Cassady in Curr, 1886; Meston, 1898; Gribble, 1932; Tindale, 1940, 1963 MS.

Wulili 'Wulili
Loc.: Headwaters of Auburn River and Redbank Creek; north to Walloon and Camboon and on the ranges east of Dawson River; eastern boundary near Eidsvold. Omitted in error from my 1940 work. Mathews (1910) included the tribal territory in his "Wakka" language area (see other notes under Koreng-goreng). The reduplicated form of the name, shown below, was on a manuscript map that originated with L. P. Winterbotham.
Coord.: 150°35′E x 25°20′S.
Area: 3,200 sq. m. (8,300 sq. km.).
Alt.: Wilili, Wilililee, Willillee, Wuli-wuli (murun = man).
Ref.: Mathew, 1910, 1928; Winterbotham, 1956 MS; A. H. Hall, 1970 MS.

Wulpura 'Wulpurə
Loc.: On the main range west of Mount Romeo and Boolbun; at the head of Daintree River on the high Mount Windsor tableland; rain forest dwellers. According to D. C. Watson, they were a small people five feet (152 cm.) in stature and weighed about 100 pounds (220 kg.); each year they traveled from South Mossman to Julatten, Carbine, McLeod River, down the Daintree River and back to South Mossman.
Coord.: 145°0′E x 16°5′S.
Area: 900 sq. m. (2,300 sq. km.).
Alt.: Wolpa (name of range west of Mount Romeo), Wulpurara, Wulbur-ara, Walpoll, Wulurara, Woora (place name on South Mossman River), Kokowaldja, Koko-baldja (language name), Waldja.
Ref.: Parry-Okeden, 1897; Roth, 1910; Davidson, 1938; McConnel, 1939–1940; Tindale, 1940; Watson, 1965 MS (through J. McNally).

New South Wales

Anaiwan — 'Anaiwan

Loc.: New England tableland from Guyra and Ben Lomond south to Uralla and Moombie Range; northwest to Tingha; at Bendemeer and Armidale.

Coord.: 151°30′E x 30°30′S.

Area: 3,200 sq. m. (8,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Anaywan, Anewan, Nowan, Enni-won, Yenniwon, Ee-na-won, En-nee-win, Eneewin, Inuwan, Inuwon, Nee-inuwon, Enuin.

Ref.: Wyndham, 1889; Mathews, 1896 (Gr. 6425), 1897 (Gr. 6431, 6567), 1898 (Gr. 6468), 1901 (Gr. 6502), 1903 (Gr. 6490); Buchanan, 1901; MacPherson, 1902, 1904; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Capell, 1956; Walker, 1964 MS; Court in Wurm, 1966.

Arakwal — 'Ara':kwal

Loc.: From Ballina and northern bank of Richmond River to Cape Byron; south to Ballina where they met Widje hordes of the Badjelang; inland to Lismore, Casino, and Coraki. A vocabulary principally identified with this tribe is given by Rankin; one horde was called "Bullina" (after which Ballina is named).

Coord.: 153°20′E x 28°50′S.

Area: 700 sq. m. (1,800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Naiang, Coo-al, Kahwul, Njung, Nyung, Lismore tribe, Kogung, Yawkum-yore (['ji:kum] = no), Jawjumjeri.

Ref.: Edwards, Ross and Hogan in Curr, 1887; Livingstone in Threlkeld, 1892; Rankin, 1900; Evans, 1903; Hargrave, 1903; Tindale, 1940, and MS.

Awabakal — 'Awabakal

Loc.: Lake Macquarie, south of Newcastle, N.S.W. (not Port Macquarie). The Awabakal are the central one of a series of tribes to which the arbitrary term Kuringgai has been applied by Fraser.

Coord.: 151°30′E x 33°5′S.

Area: 700 sq. m. (1,800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Awaba (place name of Lake Macquarie), Awabagal, "Lake Macquarie, Newcastle" tribe, Kuringgai (see above), Minyowa (horde at Newcastle), Minyowie, Kuri (general term meaning "man" in several tribes north of and around Sydney.

Ref.: Threlkeld, 1834, 1892; Mueller, 1882; Fraser, 1892; Fraser in Threlkeld, 1892; Mathews, 1897 (Gr. 6477); Larmer, 1899; Enright, 1901; Howitt, 1904; Wurm, 1963.

Badjalang — 'Badjələŋ

Loc.: From northern bank of Clarence River to Richmond River; at Ballina; inland to Tabulam and Baryugil. Coastal hordes (Widje) go inland only to Rappville. The phonetic spelling of the name as given here is a record of the preference of a man of the tribe encountered in 1938. An anonymous note (Science of Man, 12 (1911), 214) says that the boundary between the dialect spoken on the Clarence River, presumably Badjalang and that of the Richmond River comes at a place called Moonim, which is near Coraki. Rankin (1900:132) indicates a strong break in language between this tribe and the one at Lismore.

Coord.: 152°55′E x 29°15′S.

Area: 2,300 sq. m. (6,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Badjelang, Budulung (paidjal = badjal = man), Buggul (*g* read as *dj*), Paikalyung, Paikalyug, Bandjalang, Bandjalong, Bunjellung, Bundela, Bundel, Widje (horde or hordes at Evans Head), Watchee, Woomargou.

Ref.: Bundock, 1889; Livingstone in Fraser, 1892; Mathews, 1897 (Gr. 6567, 6573), 1898 (Gr. 6468, 6457), 1900 (Gr. 6572), 1907 (Gr. 6511); McDougall, 1900–1901; Evans, 1903; Hargrave, 1903; MacPherson, 1904; Anonymous, 1911; Tindale, 1940; Smythe, 1948–1949, 1965; Capell, 1956, 1965; Rose, 1956; Australian Encyclopedia, 1958; Calley, 1958; Ryan, 1964; Wurm, 1965; Holmes, 1966; Holmer and Holmer, 1969; Sharpe, 1969.

Banbai — 'Ba:nbai

Loc.: An area embracing Ben Lomond, Glencoe, Marowan, Mount Mitchell, and Kookabookra (MacPherson). They also occupied the Boyd River valley. Hoddinott (1967) points to similarities in the languages of the Banbai and Kumbainggiri tribes.

Coord.: 152°10′E x 29°55′S.

Area: 2,300 sq. m. (6,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Bahnbi, Ahnbi, Dandi [*sic*].

Ref.: Mathews, 1903 (Gr. 6490); MacPherson, 1904; Brown, 1918; Robertson, 1928; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Hoddinott, 1967.

Baranbinja — 'Barənbinja

Loc.: Bourke to Brewarrina on northern bank of Darling River.

Coord.: 146°15′E x 29°50′S.

Area: 1,200 sq. m. (3,100 sq. km.).

Alt.: Barren-binya, Parran-binye, Burranbinya, Burrunbinya, Barrumbinya, Burrumbinya, Barrunbarga (typographical error), Burranbinga, Burrabinya.

Ref.: Pechey, 1872; Ridley, 1875; Honery in Ridley, 1878; Mathews, 1903 (Gr. 6501), 1907 (Gr. 6469); Howitt, 1904; Richardson, 1910; Schmidt, 1919; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Tindale, 1940.

Baraparapa — 'Bərap:ə'ra:pə

Loc.: Chiefly on southern tributaries of the Murrumbidgee River from above Hay, N.S.W., to Kerang, Vic.; at Cohuna, Gunbower, Brassi, Conargo, and across the river from Carrathool. Mathews, 1902 (Gr. 6487) may have transposed

the positions of this tribe and the Wembawemba. In his 1904 paper he carries this tribal territory down river to Moulamein. He evidently worked with two separate hordes of this tribe. Beveridge (1884) lists his Boora Boora as though it was a tribe separate from this one.

Coord.: 144°45'E x 35°20'S.

Area: 3,600 sq. m. (9,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Burrabura-ba, Baraba-baraba, Barraba-barraba, Bareber Bareber, Birraba-birraba, Burreba-burreba, Boora-birraba, Burrappa, Burrapper, Bureba, Burabura, Booraboora, Burapper, Barappur, Karraba (typographical error), Boort (a place name), ['perapa] = [barapa] = no.

Ref.: Eyre, 1844, 1845; Parker in Eyre, 1844; Robinson, 1846 MS; Beveridge, 1862, 1884; Ridley, 1875; Eyre in Smyth, 1878; Houston in Smyth, 1878; Cameron, 1885; Mickie and Sandy in Curr, 1887; Newland, 1889; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6468), 1902 (Gr. 6487), 1903 (Gr. 6548), 1904 (Gr. 6574); Tindale, 1940.

Barindji 'Barindji

Loc.: In mallee, mulga, swamp, and sand country parallel to and east of Darling River from Moira to within 30 miles (48 km.) of Euston; eastward to near Ivanhoe; at Manara Range, Albermarle, Carowra, Kilfera, and Manfred. The term is said to mean "forest people" but may have originated in the name of a creek, the Paroo, and be related to former tribal links. The Darling River aborigines called them Mamba—"devils"—and "regarded them with the most abject terror" (Peckey, 1872:146). Their water often was obtained from the roots of water mallee (*Eucalyptus*) trees and *Hakea,* hence their camping places were widely dispersed and often were casual. Eight hordes were listed by Cameron (1885) namely Lagerung, Murro, Milparo, Boanjilla, Pularli, Nielyi-gulli, Kurlkgulli, Karndukul. Not to be confused with the Parundji of the Paroo River.

Coord.: 143°30'E x 32°50'S.

Area: 9,000 sq. m. (23,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Barrengee, Beriait, Berri-ait (not the Barinji of Cameron), Paru, Paroo, Bpaaroo (name of creek flowing into Darling River, not the Paroo River), Bpaa'roon-jee (in part, by Maraura tribe).

Ref.: Pechey, 1872; Cameron, 1885; Newland, 1889, 1926; Fraser in Threlkeld, 1892; Richards, 1903; Howitt, 1904; Tindale, 1940.

Barkindji 'Ba:kəndji

Loc.: Darling River from Wilcannia downstream nearly to Avoca and extending 20 to 30 miles (30 to 50 km.) on each side of the river. Teulon's account shows them at Bourke, but his remarks probably apply specifically to the Naualko; the apparent error was noted by Curr (1886). Cameron (1885) gives seven hordes: Kairongo, Lamon, Waimbo, Mothingo, Karndilke, Pulali (apparently not to be confused with the Pularli of the Barindji tribe), and Murkurilla. These were the people whom Mitchell called "Occa" at Wilcannia. His name is based on a mishearing of the name of their section of the Darling River namely ['Ba:ka].

Coord.: 142°25'E x 32°40'S.

Area: 7,500 sq. m. (19,500 sq. km.).

Alt.: Barkinji, Barkinjee, Barkunjee, Bahkunji, Pakindji, Pa:kindzi, Bakandji, Bahkunjy, Barkinghi, Parkungi, Parkengee, Parkingee, Bakanji, Bakandi, Bargunji, Bagundji, Bagandji, Bpaa'gkon-jee, Kurnu, Kūrnū, Kornoo (name applied to language of several Darling River tribes; see also Kula), Kaiela (name given by Kureinji—means "northerners"), Wimbaja (means "man" in several river languages), Bandjangali(!).

Ref.: Mitchell, 1838; Bonney, 1884; Cameron, 1885, 1902; Teulon et al. in Curr, 1886; Newland, 1889, 1895, 1926; Fraser in Threlkeld, 1892; Mathews, 1895 (Gr. 6475), 1898 (Gr. 6464, 6569, 6468), 1900 (Gr. 6524), 1902 (Gr. 6487), 1905 (Gr. 6543); Krause, 1902; Richards, 1903; Howitt, 1904; Richardson, 1910; Giglioli, 1911; Brown, 1918; Tindale, 1940, 1946, and MS; Berndt, 1947; Australian Encyclopedia, 1958; Wurm, 1963; Capell, 1963.

Bidawal (*see* Victoria).

Bigambul (*see* Queensland).

Birpai 'Birpa:i

Loc.: Mouth of Manning River at Taree, inland to near Gloucester; principally on south side of river, also on the Forbes, upper Hastings, and Wilson rivers. Some of the data given by Branch (1877) relate to the adjoining Ngaku tribe.

Coord.: 152°15'E x 31°50'S.

Area: 2,800 sq. m. (7,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Birripai, Birripi, Brippai, Bripi, Birrapee, Birippi, ? Waw-wyper.

Ref.: Curr, 1886; Branch in Curr, 1887; Wingham Magistrates in Curr, 1887; Livingstone in Threlkeld, 1892; Fawcett, 1897; Cohen, 1897; Mathews, 1897 (Gr. 6477), 1898 (Gr. 6468), 1901 (Gr. 6502); Brown, 1898, 1900; Radcliffe-Brown, 1929, 1930; Enright, 1932, 1934; Tindale, 1940; Ryan, 1964.

Dainggati 'Daiŋgati

Loc.: From about Point Lookout south to the MacLeay River headwaters and about Mount Royal Range; inland to Dividing Range and Walcha; east to crests of coast ranges. According to MacPherson the southwestern area around Walcha and Ingleba was occupied by the "Himberrong," which seems to have been a horde. Radcliffe-Brown called this horde Amberu and considered it and the Burgadi to be separate tribes. Henderson's account (1851:2, 96–180) gives a picture of the people of the area of this tribe in the 1830s. The name Yunggai represents a problem. It seems to be equivalent to this tribe but Mathews (1897:169; Gr. 6567) groups Dainggati with the coastal tribes rather than with the New England Anaiwan. Additional data would be most useful in this area.

Coord.: 151°50'E x 31°5'S.

Area: 3,500 sq. m. (9,100 sq. km.).

Alt.: Djaingadi, Dang-getti, Danghetti, Danggadi, Dhangatty, Thangatti, Thangatty, Dangati, Dangadi, Yuungai, Yunggai, Tangetti, Tang-gette, Burugardi (inland horde), Burgadi, Boorkutti, Nulla Nulla, Amberu (see above), Himberrong, Jang (coastal name for this tableland tribe, meaning "bad folk"), Yung.

Ref.: Henderson, 1851; B——, 1897; Mathews, 1897 (Gr. 6567), 1898 (Gr. 6468), 1900 (Gr. 5624), 1901 (Gr. 6502), 1904 (Gr. 6451); MacPherson, 1904; Radcliffe-Brown, 1929, 1930; Enright, 1937, 1939; Tindale, 1940, and MS; Walker,

1964 MS; Holmer, 1966; See, 1968; Holmer and Holmer, 1969.

Danggali (*see* South Australia).

Darkinjang 'Darkinjaŋ

Loc.: South of watershed of Hunter River, from well south of Jerry's Plains extending east toward Wollombi and Cessnock; at Putty, and ranging over portions of the Macdonald and Colo rivers. Near Wisemans Ferry on the Hawkesbury River (Mathews); western boundary (based only on Wiradjuri tribe data) was on the divide east of Rylstone. Enright (1901) included the territory of the Daruk in their range.

Coord.: 150°50'E x 33°5'S.

Area: 1,800 sq. m. (4,700 sq. km.).

Alt.: Darginjang, Darkinung, Darknung.

Ref.: Mathews, 1897 (Gr. 6430, 6567), 1898 (Gr. 6468), 1900 (Gr. 6524), 1903 (Gr. 6489), 1904 (Gr. 6451); Enright, 1901, 1937; Tindale, 1940; Elkin, 1946.

Daruk 'Ďaruk

Loc.: Mouth of the Hawkesbury River; inland to Mount Victoria, Campbelltown, Liverpool, Camden, and Penrith; at Windsor. Note that Enright (1901) included the Daruk territory in the area he listed for the Darkinjang. Color plates 10, 13, 14 are relevant.

Coord.: 150°35'E x 33°35'S.

Area: 2,300 sq. m. (6,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Dharruk, Dharrook, Dhar'rook, Darrook, Dharug, Broken Bay tribe.

Ref.: Hunter, 1793; Collins, 1798; W. H. F., 1840; Tuckerman in Curr, 1887; Mathews, 1892 (Gr. 6440), 1897 (Gr. 6430), 1898 (Gr. 6468), 1900 (Gr. 6579), 1901 (Gr. 6465, 6565), 1902 (Gr. 6563); Mathews and Everitt, 1900 (Gr. 6579).

Djilamatang (*see* Victoria).

Djiringanj 'Djiriŋanj

Loc.: From Cape Dromedary (Kajan) south to beyond Bega; inland to the sharp scarp of the Dividing Range east of Nimmitabel. This tribe was omitted in error from Tindale (1940). Howitt (1904) used the term Yuin to embrace this tribe and the Thaua; the word ['juin] means man; farther north, as among the Tharawal, it means "yes."

Coord.: 149°45'E x 36°30'S.

Area: 1,200 sq. m. (3,100 sq. km.).

Alt.: Dyirringan, Jeringin, Yuin (in part).

Ref.: Fraser, 1882; Mathews, 1896 (Gr. 6428), 1898 (Gr. 6468), 1900 (Gr. 6524), 1902 (Gr. 6563), 1902 (Gr. 6487), 1909 (Gr. 6441); Howitt, 1904 (as Yuin); Capell, 1956.

Eora 'Eora

Loc.: Northern shores of Port Jackson (Collins). Extended north to the edge of the plateau overlooking the Hawkesbury River and south to Botany Bay and the St. George River (see special note in text regarding Eora hordes). This tribe was closely linked with the Tharawal of which their language was only a dialect. The southern hordes at Botany Bay used some words very different from those spoken at Port Jackson.

Coord.: 151°5'E x 33°50'S.

Area: 700 sq. m. (1,800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Eo-ra (['eora] = men or people), Ea-ora, Iora, Yo-ra, Kameraigal (*fide* McCarthy, 1946, and pers. comm. 1958, is a hordal name; he preferred Eora as the term for the tribe), Kem:arai (name of the northern portion of Port Jackson), Kemmaraigal, Camera-gal, Cammera, Camerray-gal, Cammeray, Kemmirai-gal, Gweagal (name of horde on southern side of Botany Bay), Bedia-mangora, Gouia-gul, Gouia, Botany Bay tribe (horde), Wanuwangul (horde near Long Nose Point, Balmain, and Parramatta), Kadigal (horde on south side of Port Jackson), Caddiegal.

Ref.: Hunter, 1793; Collins, 1798–1802; Barrington, 1802; Dumont d'Urville, 1832–1833; Huntingdon, 1873; Malone in Ridley, 1878; Suttor, 1897; Thornton, 1899; Howitt, 1904; Anonymous, 1908; Giglioli, 1911; Walton, 1931; McCarthy, 1946, pers. comm., 1958; Tindale and Lindsay, 1963.

Gandangara 'Gandaŋara

Loc.: At Goulburn and Berrima; down Hawkesbury River (Wollondilly) to about Camden. Feld seems to record their later-day movements rather than their original tribal limits. Their tribal name incorporates terms meaning "west" and "east."

Coord.: 150°0'E x 34°20'S.

Area: 4,100 sq. m. (10,700 sq. km.).

Alt.: Gundungurra, Gundungari, Gundanora; Gurragunga, Burragorang.

Ref.: Rowley in Ridley, 1878; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6468), 1900 (Gr. 6579), 1901 (Gr. 6465, 6565), 1902 (Gr. 6563), 1903 (Gr. 6490), 1904 (Gr. 6451), 1908 (Gr. 6555); Mathews and Everitt, 1900; Anonymous, 1907, 1909; Capell, 1956.

Geawegal 'Geawegal

Loc.: Northern tributaries of the Hunter River to Murrurundi; at Muswellbrook, Aberdeen, Scone, and Mount Royal Range. Affiliated with the coastal Worimi. The grammar and vocabulary published by Hale (1845), following Threlkeld (1834), relates principally to this tribe. The ascription of it to Kamilaroi by Hale is an unexplained error, although the languages are closely related. Hale indicated the dominance of unvoiced consonants in the two languages he studied, hence the best spelling of this tribal name could well be Keawekal or Keawaikal ("no sayers").

Coord.: 151°0'E x 32°0'S.

Area: 3,300 sq. m. (8,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Keawaikal, ['keawai] = no, Keawekal, Geawagal, Geawe-gal, Garewagal (not Gweagal, a horde of the Eora between Botany Bay and Port Jackson).

Ref.: Peron, 1807; Threlkeld, 1834; Hale, 1845; McDonald in Ridley, 1878; Rusden in Fison and Howitt, 1880; Rankin, 1901; Howitt, 1904; Enright, 1937.

Jeithi 'Jeiði

Loc.: North of the Murray River from west of Tocumwal to near Howlong; north to Lake Urana, Jerilderie, and Lockhart; also along Yanko and Billabong Creeks. Originally they extended farther east but were being displaced by Wiradjuri during the earliest days of white settlement. Their country is open *Eucalyptus* woodland with stands, sometimes dense, of native pines (*Callitris*). They had a moiety system.

Little is known of them and even the above name, first mentioned by Richards, may be in doubt. A vocabulary by Gordon implies they traveled as far west as Deniliquin; there were some differences in dialect between the several hordes.

Coord.: 145°55′E x 35°25′S.

Area: 5,000 sq. m. (13,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Yeidthee (['wiri] = no, ['bu:ri] = man), Pikkolatpan (a horde ?, but see Kwatkwat in Victoria list).

Ref.: McLean in Curr, 1887; Gordon in Curr, 1887; Curr, 1887; Richards, 1902; Parkes, 1952 MS.

Jiegera 'Jiegera

Loc.: Lower Clarence River from Grafton to the sea; northern boundary not clearly established. Radcliffe-Brown mentions this tribe under the name of "Youngai," ['Ju:ngai], under which name it also appears in the AIAS list of 1969.

Coord.: 153°10′E x 29°35′S.

Area: 500 sq. m. (1,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Yiegera, Jeigir, Yegera, Youngai, Jungai.

Ref.: Bruce in Curr, 1887; Radcliffe-Brown, 1929, 1930; Smythe, 1948; Ryan, 1964.

Jitajita 'Jiṭajiṭə

Loc.: Northern side of Lachlan River from near Booligal to vicinity of Balranald, west to Carrawathal. A survivor in 1950 who spoke during a reenactment of the Sturt Expedition used the term ['Jiṭə'jiṭə] but also varied his pronunciation to ['Hiṭə'hiṭə]. Evidently they were closely related to the Muthimuthi (which see).

Coord.: 144°0′E x 33°45′S.

Area: 4,800 sq. m. (12,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ita-ita, Ithi-ithi, Iti-iti, Eethie-Eethie, Eethee Eethee, Eetha-eetha, Yetho, Yit-tha, Yitsa, ['Hiðə hiðə] (['jita] = ['i:ta] = no), Tjuop (valid alternative).

Ref.: Smyth, 1878; Macdonald in Curr, 1886 (note correction in his list of errata, vol. 3); Cameron in Mathews, 1898; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6468), 1908 (Gr. 6460); Cameron, 1899; Larmer, 1899; Howitt, 1904; Giglioli, 1911; Tindale, 1940; Berndt, 1947; Clayton, on 5AN radio station, 10 January 1950.

Jotijota 'Jo:ṭi'jo:ṭa

Loc.: Murray River from east of Cohuna to Echuca and a point 20 miles (30 km.) by river west of Tocumwal in Victoria; along Tullah Creek to Yielima; at Tuppal, Conargo, and Deniliquin in New South Wales; they were reported in 1842 as visiting the Murrumbidgee River. Much of their country is open savannah woodlands with *Eucalyptus* trees. Curr (iii:567) included two of the four hordes (Ngarrimowro and Woolithiga) in his Pangerang horde list.

Coord.: 144°50′E x 35°50′S.

Area: 1,200 sq. m. (3,100 sq. km.).

Alt.: Yotayota, Yorta yorta (['jo:ṭa] = no), Yoorta (also applied by some to part of the Pangerang tribe), Moira (place name), "Gunbowers" (name of a place, now Gunbower), Gunbowerooranditchgoole (horde name; ['kuli] = man), "Loddon tribe," Ngarrimouro (name of a horde), Ngarrimowro, Arramouro, Woollathura (horde name), Wollithiga, "Echuca tribe" (applied to hordes south of the Murray River).

Ref.: Tuckfield, 1844; Hinkins, 1845, 1884; Blandowski, 1857; Lewis, 1859; Strutt in Smyth, 1878; Curr, 1887; James and Chanter, 1897; Baeyertz, 1898; Bride, 1898; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6468), 1902 (Gr. 6487), 1903 (Gr. 6514); Stone, 1911; Tindale, 1938 MS, 1940; Capell, 1956; Massola 1958.

Jukambal 'Jukambal

Loc.: From Glen Innes northeastward across New England to Drake, Tenterfield, and near Wallangarra. Western hordes, including those of the upper Severn River, Beardy River, Stonehenge, and Bolivia, are best considered a separate tribe called Ngarabal (which see). The true Jukambal live east of a line joining Glen Innes and Tenterfield. Ridley found people speaking the language of this tribe on the Macintyre River in 1855, perhaps members of the Kwiambal tribe. Most of the -bal tribes share very similar languages.

Coord.: 152°10′E x 29°15′S.

Area: 1,300 sq. m. (3,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Jukambil, (['juka] = no), Yukambal, Yukumbul, Yukumbil, Yacambal, Yookumbul, Yookumbil, Yookumbill, Yoocumbill, Ukumbil, Yookumble, Yoocomble, Ucumble, Yurimbil (misprint), Yukumba.

Ref.: Anonymous (Tenterfield) and Lowe in Curr, 1887; Meston, 1892 MS; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6468), 1902 (Gr. 6563); Wyndham, 1889; Small, 1898; MacPherson, 1902, 1904, 1939; Brown, 1918; Radcliffe-Brown, 1929, 1930; Tindale, 1940; Walker, 1964 MS.

Kalibal 'Kalibal

Loc.: Macpherson Range from near Unumgar, N.S.W., to Christmas Creek, Qld.; east to upper Nerang and south to Mount Cougal and Tweed Range, Tyalgum, and the Brunswick River divide. A rain forest frequenting people.

Coord.: 153°5′E x 28°15′S.

Area: 900 sq. m. (2,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Murwillumbah (horde southwest of that town), Moorung-moobar (horde northwest of Murwillumbah).

Ref.: Bray, 1900, 1901; Tindale, 1940.

Kambuwal (*see* Queensland).

Kamilaroi 'Kamila'roi

Loc.: Walgett, N.S.W., to Nindigully, Qld.; near Talwood and Garah; at Moree, Mungindi, Mogil Mogil, Narrabri, Pilliga, Gunnedah, Bingara, Tamworth, Quirindi, Bundella, Barraba, Gwabegar, and Come-by-Chance; on headwaters of the Hunter River. The grammar and vocabulary published by Hale (1845) ostensibly of this tribe relates to the Geawegal of the lower Hunter River (which see). Mathews (1904) with a broad-brush type of statement suggested the Kamilaroi language extended to Jerry's Plains this including about one half of the Geawegal territory and also some Wonnarua country. In his 1917 paper he included Boggabilla, which is well within Bigambul territory, in his Kamilaroi tribe area; perhaps a slip of the pen. Color plates 5, 7 are relevant.

Coord.: 140°35′E x 30°15′S.

Area: 29,000 sq. m. (75,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Kamilarai, Kamilari, Kamilroi, Kamilarai, Kamularoi, Kaamee'larrai, Kamileroi, Koomilroi, Komleroy, Gamilaroi, Gamilroi, Kahmilaharoy, Kamilary, Gumilroi, Gummilroi, Gummilray, Kimilari, Karmil, Kamil (['kamil]

= no), Comleroy, Ghummilarai, Cammealroy, Kahmilari, Kakmilari (typographical error), Cumilri, Cam-ell-eri, Cummilroy, Cummeroy, Gunnilaroi, Kāmilarai (name applied by the Wiradjuri), Camel Duhai, Yauan (mystic language name), Tjake (mystic language name), Tyake.

Ref.: Breton, 1833; Mitchell, 1838; (not Hale, 1845); Bunce, 1856; Ridley, 1861, 1863, 1875, 1886; Pechey, 1872; Ridley in Fison, 1874; Bridgman in Smyth, 1878; Greenway in Ridley, 1878; Fison and Howitt, 1880; Mueller, 1882; Howitt, 1884, 1885, 1902 (2 papers), 1904, 1908; Fraser, 1882, 1892; Wyndham, 1889; Bucknell, 1896, 1899; W., J. C., 1896; Mathews, 1894 (Gr. 6396), 1895 (Gr. 6475), 1896 (Gr. 6425), 1897 (Gr. 6414, 6426, 6431, 6567), 1898 (Gr. 6400, 6417, 6457, 6468, 6476), 1900 (Gr. 6524), 1902 (Gr. 6487), 1903 (Gr. 6489), 1904 (Gr. 6451), 1906 (Gr. 6542), 1907 (Gr. 6510, 6513), 1908 (Gr. 6460), 1912 (Gr. 6493), 1917 (Gr. 6438); Fawcett, 1898; Bootle, 1899; Greenway, 1901, 1902, 1909–1912; Cameron, 1902; Howitt, 1902, 1904, 1908; Vernon, 1902; Withnell, 1902; Richards, 1903; MacPherson, 1904; Nasaby in Howitt, 1904; Parker, 1905; Brown, 1910; Richardson, 1910; Bucknell, 1912; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Tindale, 1940; Elkin, 1945; Berndt, 1947; Worms, 1950; Capell, 1956; Wurm, 1963; Tindale and George, 1971.

Karenggapa 'Kareŋgapa

Loc.: Mount Bygrave and Woodburn Lake, Qld.; Tibooburra, N.S.W.; at Yalpunga and Connulpie Downs; on the Bulloo River about Bulloo Lakes; southwest to near Milparinka; east to Therloo Downs. They practiced only circumcision as an initiation rite.

Coord.: 142°45'E x 29°15'S.

Area: 5,500 sq. m. (14,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Karengappa, Karrengappa, Kurengappa.

Ref.: Curr, 1886; Reid in Curr, 1886; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6464); Tindale, 1940.

Kawambarai 'Kawambarai

Loc.: Upper Castlereagh River, the middle Macquarie River, and part of Liverpool Plains south to near Dubbo. Richardson says they are closely related to the Wiradjuri. The data given by Tibbetts appear to belong with this tribe. The burbung ceremony described by Mathews (1896) on Bulgeraga Creek was held in the territory of this tribe. Mathews (1903) encountered them at Gunnedah, which is east of their real country.

Coord.: 148°30'E x 31°30'S.

Area: 8,000 sq. m. (20,800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Kawamparai (said to be language name, ['kawam] = ['guin] = no), Koinbere, Koinberi, Gawambarai, Goinberai, Koinberri, Guinbrai, Guinberai, "Mole tribe," Cooin-bur-ri, Wirriri (a valid alternative name for the tribe ['wir:i = no]), Wirriwirri, Wooratherie (of Tibbetts).

Ref.: Barlow, 1873; Ridley, 1863, 1875; Dubbo Magistrates in Curr, 1887; Gunther in Curr, 1887; Rouse in Curr, 1887; Mathews, 1896 (Gr. 6433), 1902 (Gr. 6487), 1903 (Gr. 6489); Tibbetts, 1900; Richardson, 1910; Capell, 1956.

Kitabal 'Kitabal

Loc.: Headwaters of Clarence, Richmond, and Logan rivers on main Dividing Range; Killarney to Urbenville, Woodenbong, Unumgar, and Tooloom; at Rathdowney and about Spicer Gap, Qld.; south to near Tabulam and Drake. On the 1940 map the boundary was incorrectly shown. According to some information, it may be a dominant horde of the Jukambe, along with the Biri:n and six other hordes. Radcliffe-Brown, however, associates it with the Jukambal as a subtribe, and Mathews, who implies it is a tribe, extends the territory to Allora, which is incorrect. Despite the corrections, the area occupied seems to be of tribal rather than hordal size. The vocabulary gathered by Thomas (1900) closely parallels one gathered by me in 1938 and my informants at Woodenbong insisted that Kitabal was their proper tribal name. See additional notes under Jukambe, Queensland.

Coord.: 152°25'E x 28°25'S.

Area: 1,700 sq. mi. (4,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Kidabal, Kidjabal, Kit(t)a-bool, Kittabool, Kitabool, Kitapul, Gidabul, Gidjoobal, Kuttibul, Noowidal.

Ref.: Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6468, 6444), 1907 (Gr. 6511, 6508); Thomas, 1900; Hargrave, 1903; Howitt, 1904; Mathew, 1926, 1928; Radcliffe-Brown, 1929, 1931; Tindale, 1938 MS, 1940; Winterbotham, 1956 MS; Rose, 1956; B. and H. Geytenbeek, 1964; H. Geytenbeek, 1964; Oates et al., 1964; Pittman et al., 1964; Wurm, 1966.

Koamu (*see* Queensland).

Kula 'Ku:la

Loc.: Chiefly on the western bank of the Darling River from near Bourke to Dunlop, Warrego River to Enngonia, and Barringun; west to vicinity of Yantabulla. Much of the literature of this tribe is recorded under the name Kornu, which is a less valid term than Kula.

Coord.: 145°20'E x 29°45'S.

Area: 4,900 sq. m. (12,700 sq. km.).

Alt.: Noolulgo, Kurnu (name applied to language of this and several other Darling River tribes), Gu:nu, Guerno, Kornu, Kornoo, Cornu, Koonoo, Kuno, Guno, Gunu (['wimbadja] = man).

Ref.: Taplin, 1871; Charnock in Pechey, 1872; Pechey, 1872; Ridley, 1873, 1875; Honery in Ridley, 1878; Bonney, 1884; Fraser, 1892; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6468), 1902 (Gr. 6487), 1904 (Gr. 6500, 6451, 6480), 1906 (Gr. 6542), 1907 (Gr. 6515), 1909 (Gr. 6544); Howitt, 1904, 1908; Thomas, 1907; Brown, 1918; Tindale, 1940; Capell, 1956.

Kumbainggiri 'Kumbaiŋgiri

Loc.: Lower course of Nymboida River and across the range toward Urunga, Coff (Korff) Harbour, and Bellingen; at South Grafton and Glenreagh; along the coast south from near One Tree Point; at Woolgoolga and Nambucca Heads. MacPherson's map is in error in placing the tribe entirely away from the coast. Confusion arises because Bellingen township is on the Bellinger River.

Coord.: 152°55'E x 30°10'S.

Area: 2,300 sq. m. (6,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Kumbainggeri, Kumbaingir, Kumbaingeri, Kombaingheri, Kombinegherry, Kumbangerai, Koombanggary, Koombanggherry, Koombainga, Coombangree, Coombyngura, Coombyngara, Coombargaree, Kombinegherry, Gumbaŋgar, Gunbaiŋgar, Gumbaingar, Guinbainggiri, Coomba-

gorce, Gumbanggar, Bellinger tribe, Bellingen tribe, Nimboy (a horde), Woolgoolga (a horde), Orara (name of a river).

Ref.: Howitt, 1884, 1904; Palmer, 1884; Rudder, 1896; C., J. C., 1896; Harper, 1897; Mathews, 1897 (Gr. 6567), 1898 (Gr. 6468), 1900 (Gr. 6526, 6572), 1901 (Gr. 6502), 1903 (Gr. 6478, 6490), 1907 (Gr. 6508, 6521), 1909 (Gr. 6479), 1910 (Gr. 6482); Brown, 1900; McDougall, 1900–1901; MacPherson, 1904; Anonymous, 1908; Buckland, 1912; Radcliffe-Brown, 1929; Enright, 1934, 1939; Tindale, 1940; Smythe, 1948–1950; Australian Encyclopedia, 1958; Wurm, 1963; Ryan, 1964; Hoddinott, 1967.

Kureinji 'Kureinji

Loc.: From near Euston on the northern bank of the Murray River downstream to Wentworth. This seems to be the tribe mentioned in this area by Charles Lockhart in 1862 but not named.

Coord.: 142°25'E x 34°15'S.

Area: 1,700 sq. m. (4,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Kareingi (valid alternative), Karin, Kerinma, Karinma, Karingma, Grangema, Garnghes, Orangema (misprint), Kinenekinene, Kianigane, Keramin, Kemendok, Pintwa, Jungeegatchere.

Ref.: Robinson, 1846 MS; Lockhart, 1862 MS, (in N.S.W. archives); Fison and Howitt, 1880; Cameron, 1885; Curr, 1886; Mathews, 1889 (Gr. 6464, 6468); Howitt, 1904; Stone, 1911; Brown, 1918; Tindale, 1940.

Kwiambal 'Kwiambal

Loc.: Lower Severn River, Fraser Creek, and Ashford. This may have been only a large hordelike group, but its range is of tribal size for the area and the -bal suffix has precedents to the east and north. These people were perhaps the Yukumba (Jukambal) speakers met by Ridley a day's journey north of Warialda in 1855.

Coord.: 151°15'E x 29°25'S.

Area: 800 sq. m. (2,100 sq. km.).

Alt.: Koi, Kweembul, Quicumble, Queenbulla (now a place name).

Ref.: Ridley, 1861; Magistrates in Curr, 1887; Wyndham, 1889; Lauterer, 1897; MacPherson, 1904; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Walker, 1964 MS.

Maljangapa 'Maljaŋapa

Loc.: Milparinka, N.S.W., and head of Yancannie Creek; east to beyond Mount Arrowsmith, south to about Mootwingee and Sturt Meadow. (In the 1940 edition the territory listed included in error that of the Ngurunta, which see). In early accounts the tribal area is sometimes given as extending too far to the east presumably because of post-European migration. They practiced only circumcision as a rite of male initiation.

Coord.: 141°30'E x 30°40'S.

Area: 5,900 sq. m. (15,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Maljangaba, Malya-napa, Mulya-napa, Mulyanappa, Milya-uppa, Mullia-arpa, Muliaarpa, Malynapa, Malja:pa, Malyapa, Maljangaba, Nalyanapa (perhaps typographical error), Malgangara (? *lapsus calami*), Karikari (['kari] = yes), Bulalli, Bulali (means "Hill People"; ['bula] = hill, a general term).

Ref.: Bonney, 1884; Reid and Morton in Curr, 1886; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6464); Howitt, 1904; Giglioli, 1911; Elkin, 1931; Tindale, 1940, and MS; Berndt and Berndt, 1946; Worms, 1950; Australian Encyclopedia, 1958; Wurm, 1963; Beckett, 1967.

Maraura Ma'rau'ra

Loc.: From Wentworth on northern bank of Murray River downstream to Chowilla and Ral Ral, So. Aust., on western and the Anabranch of the Darling River to Popilta Lake; on the main Darling River upsteam to Avoca. Color plate 6 is relevant. Taplin (1879;168) records a southward migration down the Darling River, to the above location, between 1831 and 1836. Moorhouse in a letter dated 1842 cited the name of the country northeast of Lake Bonney, known to his Kaurna tribe helpers as Mettelittela Yerta, which can best be translated as "the stolen land" or "the land of thieves." Five hordes have been mentioned with the following original spellings: Condelkoo, Boolkarlie, Moattilkoo, Bullalre, and Toopparlie. Lockhart indicated that in 1857 they frequented Lake Victoria in summer and the back plains in winter after rains had filled small waterholes.

Coord.: 141°30'E x 33°45'S.

Area: 2,200 sq. m. (5,700 sq. km.).

Alt.: Mareawura (valid pronunciation of name), Mareaura, Maroura, Marowra, Marowera, Marraa' Warree', Marrawarra, Waimbio (['wimbaia] = ['wimbadja] = man), Wimbaja, Wiimbaio (there is said to be a Wa-imbo horde in the neighboring Barkindji tribe), Berlko (language name), Ilaila ([i:la] = no).

Ref.: Eyre, 1845; Lockhart, 1862 MS (N.S.W. archives); Holden in Taplin, 1872, 1879; Goodwin in Smyth, 1878; Taplin, 1872, 1879; Moorhouse in Taplin, 1879; Fison and Howitt, 1880; Bulmer in Curr, 1886; Fraser in Threlkeld, 1892; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6464); Richards, 1903; Howitt, 1904; Brown, 1918; Tindale, 1939, 1940, 1941, and MS.

Milpulo 'Milpulo

Loc.: Northwest of the Darling River from Wilcannia downstream, probably no farther than Tandou Lake. Little known; they presumably came in to the river during extra dry seasons; at other times depending on water from the roots of mallee and other trees in the manner of the Danggali. The name as given is possibly not the original one since in languages to the south the term ['milipulun] has the significance of "aggressive strangers." As with the Barindji, the people living in the mulga scrub country were regarded with abject terror by the people living along the Darling. On the 1940 map this tribe was included doubtfully with the Naualko. Mathews has two myths belonging ostensibly to this people, one describes the formation of Lake Boolaboolka which is situated far to the east of the territory allowed in this account. The other relates to intertribal contact and hostility in the vicinity of Albemarle.

Coord.: 142°25'E x 31°55'S.

Area: 3,500 sq. m. (9,100 sq. km.).

Alt.: Milpulko, Mailpurlgu, Mamba.

Ref.: Pechey, 1872; Howitt, 1904; Boultbee in Howitt, 1904; Mathews, 1908 (Gr. 6460); Tindale, 1940.

Minjungbal 'Minjəŋbal

Loc.: From Cape Byron north to Southport, Qld.; inland to Murwillumbah and Nerang Creek. Fraser unaccountably

gives the Clarence River as domain of his Minyung tribe.
Coord.: 153°25′E x 28°15′S.
Area: 600 sq. m. (1,600 sq. km.).
Alt.: Minjangbal (valid variant heard at Woodenbong in 1938; ['minjung] = what; lit. "people who say minjung," ['mi:bin] = man), Minyung, Minyowa, Gendo (language name applied by adjoining people), Gando Minjang, Gandowal, Ngandowul, Cudgingberry (horde at Cudgen), Coodjingburra.
Ref.: Bray and Fowler in Curr, 1887; Fraser, 1892; Livingstone in Threlkeld, 1892; Bray, 1899, 1901; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6468), 1901 (Gr. 6502); Hargrave, 1903; Evans, 1903; Dutton, 1904; Tindale, 1940; Rose, 1956; Calley, 1958.

Morowari 'Morowari
Loc.: Barringun, N.S.W., and Enngonia on Warrego River; Brenda, and Weilmoringle on Culgoa River; at Milroy; south to near Collerina. Extensively in New South Wales extending north to Mulga Downs and Weela (Weelamurra) in Queensland. In the famous dispute between Howitt and Mathews, the latter was more nearly correct in the placing of this tribe.
Coord.: 146°25′E x 29°0′S.
Area: 6,300 sq. m. (16,400 sq. km.).
Alt.: Murawari (valid alternative), Murawarri, Murrawarri, Muruworri, Muruwurri, Murueri, Moorawarree, Moorawarrie, Marawari.
Ref.: Ridley, 1873; Barlow, 1874; Honery in Ridley, 1878; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6468, 6442), 1903 (Gr. 6501), 1905 (Gr. 6454), 1907 (Gr. 6469, 6423), 1909 (Gr. 6544, 6550); Howitt, 1908; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Tindale, 1940; Worms, 1950; Capell, 1956; Australian Encyclopedia, 1958; Wurm, 1963.

Muthimuthi 'Muṫi'muṫi
Loc.: On Murrumbidgee River at Balranald; southwest to Murray River; west to near Lake Benanee; at Reedy Lake; north to west of Carrawathal. Their word for "no" = ['jeṭo] from which it may be inferred they are closely related to the neighboring people of the Lachlan River including the Jitajita—the basis of their name = ['muṫ] = ['muth] = tongue or speech. The pronunciation of their name is that preferred by my informants in 1938; the spelling as Madi madi by Hercus is not useful.
Coord.: 143°20′E x 34°25′S.
Area: 2,200 sq. m. (5,700 sq. km.).
Alt.: Muti muti, Mutte Mutte, Matimati, Madi-madi, Mataua, Moorta Moorta, Matthee-matthee, Bakiin (of tribes to the south, means "stealthy marauders by night").
Ref.: Robinson, 1846 MS; Smyth, 1878; Cameron, 1885; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6468); Richardson, 1899; Howitt, 1904; Stone, 1911; Brown, 1918; Tindale, 1940; and MS; AIAS, 1966; Hercus, 1970.

Narinari 'Na:ri'na:ri
Loc.: Southern bank of the Lachlan River from Booligal to near Balranald; up the Murrumbidgee River to Hay; south to about Boooorban. According to Cameron, the Narinari were also called Wathiwathi; my information suggests there were two separate tribes.
Coord.: 144°25′E x 34°30′S.
Area: 3,500 sq. m. (9,100 sq. km.).
Alt.: None has been reported.
Ref.: Cameron, 1885; Tindale, 1940.

Naualko 'Naualko
Loc.: Dunlop to Murtee on upper Darling River; on lower Paroo River north to Lake Tongo. Possibly only a northern portion of the Barkindji (which see also), but their word for "yes" implies they are a discrete unit and Bonney differentiates between them. Howitt makes this the central tribe of his artificial concept, the Karamundi "nation." The people described by Newland on his cattle properties at Marra and Warlo, under the name Wampangee, were of this tribe. Their language was a dialect of Kurnu, the language also of the Kula tribe. They did not practice either circumcision or subincision as initiation rites.
Coord.: 144°5′E x 31°10′S.
Area: 10,000 sq. m. (26,000 sq. km.).
Alt.: Nawalko (['naua] = ['nawa] = yes), Ngunnhalgu, Ngunnhlgri (misprint), Unelgo, Bungyarlee (of Bonney, 1884), Wampandi (lit. "I don't understand"), Wampangee, Wompungee, Wombungee.
Ref.: Bonney, 1884; Teulon in Curr, 1886 (see note under tribal heading Barkindji); Newland, 1889; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6464, 6468), 1909 (Gr. 6550), 1912 (Gr. 6554); Boultbee in Howitt, 1904; Tindale, 1940, and MS.

Ngaku 'ŋa:ku
Loc.: On the Macleay River; south to Rollands Plains; north to Macksville; inland to near Kemp Pinnacle Mountain; on the coast from Trial Bay south to Point Plomer. Radcliffe-Brown placed this tribe south of the Ngamba instead of on the coast north of them. The Yarraharpny mentioned by Henderson (1851) was probably a northern horde of this tribe between the mouth of the Macleay River and about Nambucca. Hodgkinson mentions this horde and five others identified with places within the limits of this tribal territory.
Coord.: 152°40′E x 31°0′S.
Area: 1,800 sq. m. (4,700 sq. km.).
Alt.: Niungacko (language name at Trial Bay).
Ref.: Hodgkinson, 1845; Henderson, 1851; Spencer and Branch in Curr, 1887; Kemp, 1899; Verge, 1907; Radcliffe-Brown, 1929, 1930; Tindale, 1940.

Ngamba 'ŋamba
Loc.: From Manning River north to Port Macquarie and vicinity of Rolland Plains; inland limits uncertain.
Coord.: 152°40′E x 31°35′S.
Area: 900 sq. m. (2,300 sq. km.).
Alt.: Ngambar, Ngeunbah.
Ref.: Radcliffe-Brown, 1929, 1930; Enright, 1937–1946; Tindale, 1940.

Ngarabal 'ŋarabal
Loc.: West of a line from near Tenterfield to Glen Innes; on Beardy River. Closely related to the Jukambal of which they may be a western series of hordes. Both MacPherson and Radcliffe-Brown accept the Ngarabal as a separate tribe.
Coord.: 151°35′E x 29°30′S.

Area: 1,000 sq. m. (2,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ngarabul, Ngarrabul, Narbul, Marbul (presumed to be mishearing or typographical error).

Ref.: Gardner, 1854 MS; MacPherson, 1902, 1904, 1939; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Tindale, 1940; R. B. Walker, 1964 MS.

Ngarigo 'ŋarigo

Loc.: Monaro tableland north to Queanbeyan; Bombala River from near Delegate to Nimmitabel; west to divide of the Australian Alps. The Wiradjuri considered the Ngarigo and Walgalu as one people using the name Guramal which has the basic meaning of ['gurai] or "hostile people." Canberra, the capital city of the federal capital territory is very close to the boundary line between this and the Ngunawal tribe. In winter these tableland people sometimes came down to the surrounding territories for shelter, hence their reputation for aggressiveness.

Coord.: 148°50'E x 36°25'S.

Area: 6,000 sq. m. (15,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ngarigo (name of language), Ngarego, Ngarago, Garego, Currak-da-bidgee, Ngaryo (typographical error), Ngarico (probable typographical error), Ngarigu, Ngarrugu, Ngarroogoo, Murring (means men), Bemeringal (of coastal tribes means "mountain men"), Guramal, Ngurəmal, Gurmal (of Wiradjuri), Bradjerak (of southern coastal tribes, ['bəra] = man, ['djerak] = savage or angry), Brajerak, Brajeraŋ, "Bombala tribe," "Menero tribe," "Cooma tribe."

Ref.: Lhotsky, 1835 (2 papers), 1839; Fison and Howitt, 1880; Howitt, 1884, 1888, 1904; Queanbeyan Police Magistrate in Curr, 1887; Bulmer in Curr, 1887; Du Vé in Curr, 1887; Fraser in Threlkeld, 1892; Helms, 1896; Jardine, 1901; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6468), 1908 (Gr. 6570); Gale, 1927; Tindale, 1940, and MS; Broinowski, 1950; Parkes, 1952; MS, MASSOLA, 1968; K. Hancock, 1970 pers. comm.

Ngemba 'ŋe:mba

Loc.: South bank of Barwon and Darling rivers from Brewarrina to Dunlop; on Yanda Creek; south to head of Mulga Creek; on Bogan River. Mathews implies that the southern boundary was a little farther south than as given to me in 1938. These were the people who possessed the famous fish traps in the Darling River at Brewarrina. The name of this tribe should not be confused with the language name of the Weilwan, which is Ngiumba.

Coord.: 146°5'E x 30°30'S.

Area: 6,600 sq. m. (17,200 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ngeumba, Negunbah, Ngiamba, Ngaiamba, Gaiamba, Nyamba, Ugumba (typographical error).

Ref.: Ridley, 1862; Fraser, 1892; Mathews, 1903 (Gr. 6398), 1904 (Gr. 6451), 1907 (Gr. 6423, 6510, 6513), 1908 (Gr. 6540, 6495), 1909 (Gr. 6550); Thomas, 1906; Enright, 1937; Tindale, 1940; Dunbar, 1943, 1944, 1945; Berndt, 1947; Wurm, 1963.

Ngunawal 'ŋunawal

Loc.: Queanbeyan to Yass, Tumut to Boorowa, and east to beyond Goulburn; on highlands west of the Shoalhaven River. Wiradjuri people came to Yass after white settlement began. The Ngunawal were closely related to the Wodiwodi of Wollongong. Canberra, the federal capital is very near their southern boundary and thus this tribe has claims to have been the one actually on the site of the capital. The Ngarigo were the people immediately to the south also with a boundary passing close to Canberra.

Coord.: 149°10'E x 34°55'S.

Area: 4,200 sq. m. (10,900 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ngunuwal, Ngoonawal, Wonnawal, Nungawal, Yarr, Yass tribe, Lake George, Five Islands tribe, Molonglo tribe, ['gur:agang = no], Gurungada.

Ref.: W. H. F., ca. 1840; Eyre, 1845; Cameron, 1885; Bench of Magistrates in Curr, 1887; Browne in Curr, 1887; Curr, 1887; Mathews, 1896 (Gr. 6428), 1898 (Gr. 6468), 1902 (Gr. 6563), 1904 (Gr. 6574), 1908 (Gr. 6570); Howitt, 1904; Gale, 1927; Tindale, 1938 MS; Parkes, 1952 MS; Capell, 1956.

Ngurawola (*see* Queensland).

Parundji 'Paru:ndji

Loc.: Paroo River and Cuttaburra and Kulkyne Creek from Goorimpa north to Brindingabba, Berawinna Downs, and Hungerford, at Wanaaring and Yantabulla. This tribe is to be distinguished from the Barindji who live east of the Darling River. They practiced neither circumcision nor subincision as initiation rites.

Coord.: 144°15'E x 29°35'S.

Area: 8,000 sq. m. (20,800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Paruindji (valid variant), Paruindi, Paruinji, Paroinge (read *g* as *dj*), Barundji, Barungi, Barinji, Bahroonjee, Baroongee, Bahroongee, Barrengee, Parooinge, Barunga.

Ref.: Bonney, 1884; Scott in Cameron, 1885; Scrivener in Curr, 1886; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6444, 6464, 6468); Howitt, 1904; Brown, 1918; Tindale, 1940; Australian Encyclopedia, 1958.

Tatitati (*see* Victoria).

Tharawal 'Ťarawal

Loc.: From south side of Botany Bay and Port Hacking to north of Shoalhaven River. Inland to Campbelltown and Camden. Howitt (1885:811) arbitrarily applied the name Tharawal to people of the Thaua tribe who live 175 miles (280 km.) farther south.

Coord.: 150°55'E x 34°10'S.

Area: 450 sq. m. (1,200 sq. km.).

Alt.: Darawa:l, Carawal (Pacific islands phonetic system, c = th), Turawal, Thurawal, Thurrawal, Thurrawall, Turuwal, Turuwul, Turrubul, Turuwull, Ta-ga-ry (['tagara] = north), Five Islands tribe.

Ref.: Collins, 1798; Dumont D'Urville, 1832–1833; W. H. F., ca. 1840; Ridley, 1875, 1878; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6457, 6468), 1900 (Gr. 6579), 1901 (Gr. 6565), 1902 (Gr. 6563), 1904 (Gr. 6451), 1907 (Gr. 6520); Howitt, 1904; Giglioli, 1911; Bucknell, 1912; Capell, 1956, 1965; Australian Encyclopedia, 1958; McCarthy, 1958; Megaw, 1967.

Thaua 'Ťaua ('Ťauaira)

Loc.: From north of Merimbula south to Green Cape; west to the scarp of the Dividing Range. Their hordes were divided into two groups, the ['Katungal] "sea coast people," and the ['Baianbal] or ['Paienbara], the "tomahawk people,"

those who lived in the forests; a third group, the Bemerigal or mountain people at Cooma belonged to the Ngarigo with whom the inland Thaua had some associations. An early writer whose reference I have lost described the Twofold Bay people, whom he called Nulliker, as diminutive in stature as compared with inland aborigines. They had folded bark canoes and ventured out to sea. Their huts were trigonal bark shelters.

Coord.: 149°40′E x 36°55′S.

Area: 800 sq. m. (2,100 sq. km.).

Alt.: Thawa, Thauaira, Thurga (language name applies also to tribes as far north as the Wandandian), Thoorga, Du:rga, Durga, Dhu:rga, Tharawal (of Howitt, 1885:811), Tadera-manji, Guyanagal (lit. southerner), Guyangal-yuin (['uin] = ['juin] = man), Murring (inland term means "men," see Wandandian tribe), Katungal (sea people, a general term), Baianga (tomahawk people), Paiendra (error for Paienbra), Paienbera ("tomahawk people," name applied to inland hordes by southern tribes).

Ref.: Fraser, 1882; Howitt, 1885, 1904; Ridley in Curr, 1887; Mathews, 1902 (Gr. 6563), 1903 (Gr. 6501); Tindale, 1940, and MS; Capell, 1956; Australian Encyclopedia, 1958; Wurm, 1963.

Ualarai — U'alarai

Loc.: On Narran River from Narran Lake (Terewah) to Angledool; southeast to near Walgett; on Birrie and Bokhara rivers, southwest to Brewarrina; their western boundary fell between the Culgoa and Birrie rivers. Contrary to the statement of Mathews (1902) almost all their territory was within the bounds of New South Wales; Koamu people speak a similar dialect which may have confused him. Through errors introduced by Fraser (1892), it has been confused with a different tribe, Weraerai, north of the upper Gwydir River, with which its synonymy seems to have become somewhat mixed. Presence there of a white settlement called Yallaroi may have been a factor. Richardson's reference to his "Youallerie" at Ipswich, Qld., is perhaps a lapse or a reference to a place not marked on present-day maps.

Coord.: 147°25′E x 29°30′S.

Area: 4,600 sq. m. (12,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Yualarai, Yualloroi, Yowaleri, Uollaroi, Youallerie, Yualari, Yualai, Yualeai, Yerraleroi, Yowalri, Yuolary, Euahlayi, Yourilri, Youahlayi, Jualjai, Juwaljai, Yuwalyai, Wallarai, Wolleroi, Walleri, Woleroi, Wollaroi, Gingi (name of a station on bank of Barwon River opposite Walgett), Brewarrana tribe ([u'al] = ['wol] = ['wal] means "yes"; the correct Ualarai negative is ['wongo]; Radcliffe-Brown was in error in recording "yual" as meaning "no").

Ref.: Ridley, 1861, 1873, 1875; Barlow, 1873; Honery in Ridley, 1878; Fraser, 1882, 1892; Hammond in Curr, 1887; Wyndham, 1889; Tully, 1896; Quinn, 1897; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6468, 6442), 1902 (Gr. 6487), 1903 (Gr. 6481, 6489), 1907 (Gr. 6580); Parker, 1896, 1898, 1905; Richardson, 1899; Greenway, 1901; Howitt, 1904; Giglioli, 1911; Brown, 1918; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Tindale, 1940; Elkin, 1955; Capell, 1956; Australian Encyclopedia, 1958; Wurm, 1963.

Wadikali — 'Waḍkali

Loc.: Yandama and Callabonna creeks; east to Milparinka and Naryilco; at Lake Pinaroo, Tilcha, and Yandama. The important trade route carrying baler shell ornaments and axes from Cloncurry in return for millstones and Parachilna ochre was along Yandama Creek with the Wadikali as important intermediaries. Evidently these are the people of Evelyn Creek indicated on earlier maps.

Coord.: 141°15′E x 29°15′S.

Area: 6,400 sq. m. (16,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wadigali, Evelyn Creek tribe.

Ref.: Schmidt, 1919; Hale and Tindale, 1925; Elkin, 1931; Tindale, 1940, and MS.

Walbanga — 'Walbaŋa

Loc.: Cape Dromedary north to near Ulladulla; at Braidwood, Araluen, and Moruya. Inland on the Shoalhaven River. One of the coastal tribes between the Wandandian and Thaua who spoke dialects of the Thurga (Durga) language.

Coord.: 149°50′E x 35°45′S.

Area: 2,500 sq. m. (6,500 sq. km.).

Alt. : Thurga (language name, based on ['urga] = ['u:ga] = no; applies also to tribes as far south as Thaua), Thoorga, Bugellimanji (horde), Bargalia (a place name near Moruya), Moruya tribe.

Ref.: Larmer, 1899; Mathews, 1902 (Gr. 6563), 1903 (Gr. 6501), 1904 (Gr. 6451); Howitt, 1904; Tindale, 1940.

Walgalu — 'Walgalu

Loc.: Headwaters of the Murrumbidgee, and Tumut rivers; at Kiandra; south to Tintaldra; northeast to near Queanbeyan. Parkes obtained some details from a Wiradjuri man at Brungle under the name Guramal or Gurmal. These notes also apply in part to the Ngarigo. Both tribes were to him ['guarai], or hostile people. The Walgalu spent their summers in the Bogong Mountains ['Bu:ga:ŋ] southeast of Tumut. This tribe was omitted in error from my 1940 work. Mrs. J. M. Flood has drawn my attention to Howitt's note saying that the Walgalu went as far as Kauwambal on the upper Murray River, which she identifies as between Mount Kosciusko and Mount Cobberas. It can perhaps be assumed that they extended their bogong-gathering forays by following the highlands along the eastern border of Djilamatang territory.

Coord.: 148°40′E x 35°40′S.

Area: 2,600 sq. m. (6,800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Walgadu, Wolgal, Wolgah, Tumut tribe, Tumut River people (['mur:iŋ] = men), Guramal (of Wiradjuri—"hostile men"), Gurmal.

Ref.: Howitt, 1883, 1884, 1904; Queanbeyan Police Magistrate in Curr, 1887; Bulmer in Howitt, 1904; Mathews, 1907 (Gr. 6520), 1908 (Gr. 6570), 1909 (Gr. 6441); Tyrrell, 1933; Parkes, 1952 MS; Massola, 1968; Flood, 1973 verb. comm.

Wandandian — 'Wandandian

Loc.: Ulladulla to Shoalhaven River and Nowra. Fraser (1882) applied the name Murring meaning "men" to all the tribes between Shoalhaven River and Cape Howe; it is not a tribal term. Note the misprints: Jerry Bay = Jervis and Crookhaven = Shoalhaven in the Mackenzie accounts.

Coord.: 150°15′E x 35°5′S.

Area: 1,400 sq. m. (3,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wandandian, Tharumba (valid alternative), Kurialyuin (northern men), Murraygaro, Jervis Bay tribe.

Ref.: Ridley, 1873, 1875; Mackenzie in Ridley, 1878; Fraser, 1882; Dawsey in Curr, 1886; Mathews, 1896 (Gr. 6428), 1898 (Gr. 6468), 1903 (Gr. 6501); Howitt, 1904; Enright, 1907.

Wanjiwalku 'Wanjiwalku

Loc.: From near Milparinka to White Cliffs; west nearly to Mount Arrowsmith; east to near Tongo Lake; at Yancannia and east of Lake Bancannia. Both this group and the Maljangapa, adjoining tribe to the west, speak one language (Wanjiwalku) but are separate tribes. The Maljangapa came east to Yancannia when the first settlers appeared there. They practiced only circumcision as a rite of initiation.

Coord.: 142°40′E x 30°25′S.

Area: 8,000 sq. m. (20,800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Weyneubulkoo, Wonipalku, Wanyabalku, Wonjimalku, Pono, Pernowie, Pernowrie, Kongait, Tongaranka.

Ref.: Bonney, 1884; Crozier in Curr, 1886; Morton in Curr, 1886; Newland, 1889, 1926; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6464); Howitt, 1904; Tindale, 1938 MS, 1940.

Watiwati (*see* Victoria).

Weilwan 'Weilwan

Loc.: Southern side of Barwon River from Brewarrina to Walgett; south along Marra Creek and the Castlereagh, Marthaguy, and Macquarie rivers; south to Quambone and to near Coonamble. One of the several hordes of the Weilwan was the Waiabara. The Kawambarai (Koinberi) on upper Castlereagh River and on part of Liverpool Plains were a distinct tribe not recognized in my 1940 work. Color plate 8 is relevant.

Coord.: 147°40′E x 30°30′S.

Area: 5,000 sq. m. (13,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wailwan, Wilwan, Wallwan, Wailwun (['weil] = ['wail] = no), Wilawun, Weilwun, Waal-won, Wile Wan, Wali, Waljwan, Ngiumba (name of language), Wahoon (misprint).

Ref.: Bunce, 1856; Ridley, 1861, 1873, 1875; Honery in Ridley, 1878; Curr, 1886; Fraser in Threlkeld, 1892; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6468), 1903 (Gr. 6481); Quinn, 1897; Richardson, 1899, 1900, 1904, 1910; Giglioli, 1911; Bucknell, 1912; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Tindale, 1940; Elkin, 1945; Berndt, 1947; Capell, 1956; Wurm, 1963.

Wembawemba 'Wembawemba

Loc.: On Loddon River from Kerang, Vic., north to Swan Hill; on Avoca River south to near Quambatook; northeastward to Booroorban and Moulamein, N.S.W.; near Barham; at Lake Boga and Boort, Vic. Stone lists five hordes centered at Towaninnie, Meelool Station, Lake Boga, Gonn, and Bael Bael. The horde at Gonn on the Murray River had a name Dietjenbaluk (Deitchenballuk) which Stone says meant "always shifting" while the Melool horde had a name indicating they were a quarrelsome group.

Coord.: 144°0′E x 35°20′S.

Area: 3,200 sq. m. (8,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: (['wemba] = ['wamba] = ['womba] = no), Wambawamba (valid alternative), Wamba, Womba, Weumba, Waamba, Waimbiwaimbi, Gourrmjanyuk (horde at Lake Boga), Gorrmjanyuk.

Ref.: Godfrey in Smyth, 1878; Munro in Smyth, 1878; Smyth, 1878; Curr, 1887; Fawcett in Curr, 1887; Moulamein Magistrates in Curr, 1887; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6468), 1902 (Gr. 6487), 1903 (Gr. 6489); Howitt, 1904; Stone, 1911; Tindale, 1938 MS, 1940; Berndt, 1947; Hercus, 1966, 1970.

Weraerai 'Weraerai

Loc.: North side of Gwydir River from Moree to Bingara; northward to Warialda and Gilgil Creek; west to Garah. At Yallaroi; on Macintyre River from Inverell to north of Wallangra. The horde at Blue Nobby (Djinibal) was considered to be a separate tribe by MacPherson. Because of a blunder by Fraser (1892) it has been confused with a different tribe, Ualarai of the Narran River.

Coord.: 150°30′E x 29°20′S.

Area: 4,100 sq. m. (10,700 sq. km.).

Alt.: ['wirai] = ['werai] = no, Wiraiarai, Weraiari, Wirri-Wirri, Wirra:arai, Warlarai, Wolroi, Wolleri, Waholari, Wolaroo, Walarai, Juwalarai, Walari, Wolaroi, Woolaroi, Ginniebal (read g as dj), ? Mooran Mooran.

Ref.: Ridley, 1861, 1873; Barlow, 1873; Greenway in Ridley, 1878; Honery in Ridley, 1878; Fraser, 1892; Meston, 1892 MS; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6468), 1903 (Gr. 6489); Bootle, 1899; Gipps in Thomas, 1900–1901; Greenway, 1901; McGuire, 1901, 1902; MacPherson, 1904; Richardson, 1904; Tindale, 1940; Wurm, 1963.

Widjabal 'Widjəbal

Loc.: Upper Richmond River from north of Kyogle south to near Casino, east to Dunoon; not to Coraki; an inland rain forest tribe. The coastal Widje horde or hordes of the Badjalang, who lived near Coraki, seem to have no direct relationship, but the inland hordes, called Watji, may have belonged to this tribe and not the Badjalang.

Coord.: 153°0′E x 28°40′S.

Area: 600 sq. m. (1,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Noowidal, Nowgyjul, Waibra, Ettrick tribe, Watji, Watchee.

Ref.: Edwards in Curr, 1887; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6468); Thomas, 1900; Hargrave, 1903; Tindale, 1938 MS, 1940.

Wiljakali 'Wiljakali

Loc.: Barrier Range; west to Olary, So. Aust.; at Silverton, Mutooroo, Boolcoomata; northeast to Mootwingee, north to the southern limits of Sturt Meadows. From the statements of Howitt (1904:675) and some new information, it is proper to regard this tribe as having resisted adoption of the circumcision rite that was being actively forced upon them by the Ngadjuri before the middle of the nineteenth century. They were then retreating southward. Howitt made the Wiljakali a member of his artificial concept the Itchumundi "nation."

Coord.: 141°0′E x 31°55′S.

Area: 8,400 sq. m. (21,800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wilyakali, Wiljali, Wiljagali, ? Willoo, Bo-arli, Bulali ("Hill people" ['bula] = hill, a general term).

Ref.: Shaw in Taplin, 1879; Bonney, 1884; Dix in Curr, 1886; Howitt, 1904; Anonymous, 1908; Tindale, 1940, and MS; Wurm, 1963.

Wiradjuri 'Wiradjuri (Wi'rađuri)

Loc.: On the Lachlan River and south from Condobolin to Booligal; at Carrathool, Wagga-Wagga, Cootamundra, Cowra, Parkes, Trundle; east to Gundagai, Boorowa, and Rylstone; at Wellington, Mudgee, Bathurst, and Carcoar; west along Billabong Creek to beyond Mossgiel; southwest to near Hay and Narrandera; south to Howlong on upper Murray; at Albury and east to about Tumbarumba. They visited Yass for ceremonies with the Ngunawal tribe. The northwestern boundary was incorrectly drawn on the 1940 map. Brough Smyth shows that members of the tribe were on the Murray River at Albury, and Howitt (1884) mentions them as on the lower Tumut River but they were usurpers there in earliest white settlement times. Wiradjuri was one of the largest tribal groupings in Australia, with many hordes. Howitt mentions several of these local groups of the tribe, for example—Narrandera (prickly lizard), Cootamundra (Kutamundra) from kutamun turtle, Murranbulla or Murringbulle (maring-bula, two bark canoes), and there were many others. Differences in dialect were evident in some areas, notably around Bathurst and near Albury. Maintenance of a cycle of ceremonies that moved in a ring around the whole tribal area tended to assist tribal coherence despite the large occupied area.

Coord.: 147°30'E x 33°50'S.

Area: 48,900 sq. m. (97,100 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wiradyuri, Wiradhuri, Wiraduri, Wiradjeri, Wirra' jerre', Wiradhari, Wirra-dhari, Wirradhurri, Wirra-dthoorree, Wirraidyuri, Wirraddury, Wiraijuri, Wirraijuri, Wiiratheri, Wirrathuri, Wiradthuri, Wiradthery, Wirathere, Wiratheri, Wiragere, Wuradjeri, Wira-durei, Wira-shurri, Wirradgerry, Weradgerie, Woradgery, Waradgeri, Wiraturai, Wiradurei, Wirrajerry, Weorgery, Woradjera, Wooradgery, Woorajuri, Woradjerg, Weerarthery (said to be Kamilaroi name), Wirotheree, Wiratheri, Wooratheri, Wooratherie, Wiiradurei, Wirra-dthooree, Warradjerrie, Waradgery, Wayradgee, Wirrajeree, Wirradjery, Wir-ra' jer-ree, Wirrai-yarrai, Wirrach-arree, Wiradjwri (typographical error), Warrai Durhai, Wirraidyuri, Kunamildan (of the Thaua, means "come by night," i.e., night raiders), Wagga tribe (a horde).

Ref.: Taylor, 1844; Hale, 1845; Watson in Hale, 1845; Robinson, 1846; Brass plate of King Billy Griffith, 1866; Barlow, 1873; Günther in Ridley, 1873; Ridley, 1873, 1874, 1875; Watson in Ridley, 1873; Lane in Smyth, 1878; Smyth, 1878; Withers in Smyth, 1878; Howitt, 1882, 1884, 1904; Mueller, 1882; Fraser, 1882, 1892; Cameron, 1885, 1899, 1900, 1902; Archer in Curr, 1887; Bathurst Magistrates in Curr, 1887; Bayles in Curr, 1887; Byrne in Curr, 1887; Cameron in Curr, 1887; Curr, 1887; Foley in Curr, 1887; Günther in Curr, 1887; Keightly in Curr, 1887; Pearce in Curr, 1887; Sutton in Curr, 1887; Fraser in Threlkeld, 1892; Günther in Threlkeld, 1892; Mathews, 1895 (Gr. 6471, 6475), 1896 (Gr. 6416, 6428, 6471), 1897 (Gr. 6433, 6434, 6567), 1900 (Gr. 6524), 1901 (Gr. 6432, 6473), 1902 (Gr. 6563), 1904 (Gr. 6574, 6451), 1907 (Gr. 6580, 6423, 6520), 1908 (Gr. 6460), 1909 (Gr. 6441); Maiden, 1896, N——., G. C., 1896; Lauterer, 1897; Bootle, 1899; Richardson, 1899, 1910; Dulhunty, 1900; Sharpe, 1901; McGuire, 1901; Richards, 1902; Walker, 1904; Parker, 1905; Anonymous, 1906; Mitchell, 1904, 1906; Giglioli, 1911; Bucknell, 1912; Brown, 1918; Gribble, 1922; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Tindale, 1940; Berndt, 1947; Capell, 1963.

Wodiwodi 'Wodi'wodi

Loc.: North of Shoalhaven River to Wollongong; Illawarra district.

Coord.: 150°40'E x 34°35'S.

Area: 1,000 sq. m. (2,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Woddi Woddi, Illawarra (a regional name).

Ref.: Ridley, 1875; Malone in Ridley, 1878; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6468); Brown and Brown, 1899; Bucknell, 1912.

Wongaibon 'Woŋaibon (Wo'ŋaibon)

Loc.: Headwaters of Bogan River; on Tigers Camp and Boggy Cowal creeks. At Narromine, Nyngan, Girilambone, Cobar, and Gilgunnia; south to Trundle, only visiting the Wiradjuri territory on the Lachlan River and Little Billabong Creek during very dry times; at Trida; west to Ivanhoe and near Neckarboo Range. The 1940 map showed an incorrectly drafted southern boundary based on the version by Mathews (1905) which included the Lachlan River where they were latecomers and trespassers.

Coord.: 146°30'E x 32°0'S.

Area: 27,000 sq. m. (70,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: ['woŋai] = no, Wongai-bun, Wonghibone, Wonjhibon, Wonjibone, Wongi-bone, Wonghibon, Wonghi, Wungai, Wuzai (z = substitute for ng symbol by Ridley), Wozai, Wo'yaibun (typographical error), Mudall.

Ref.: Ridley, 1873, 1875; Cameron, 1885, 1899, 1900, 1902, 1903; Balfe in Curr, 1887; Obley Magistrates in Curr, 1887; Mathews, 1896 (Gr. 6416), 1898 (Gr. 6468), 1902 (Gr. 6487), 1903 (Gr. 6481), 1904 (Gr. 6451), 1905 (Gr. 6543), 1907 (Gr. 6423); Richardson, 1899, 1910; Cameron in Howitt, 1904; Howitt, 1904; Walker, 1904; Brown, 1918; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Tindale, 1940, and MS; Berndt, 1947; Capell, 1956.

Wonnarua 'Won:arua

Loc.: Upper Hunter River from a few miles above Maitland west to Dividing Range. The southern boundary with the Darkinjang is on the divide north of Wollombi.

Coord.: 150°50'E x 32°35'S.

Area: 2,000 sq. m. (5,200 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wonnuaruah, Wannerawa, Wonarua, Wonnah Kuah (typographical error).

Ref.: Miller in Curr, 1887; Mathews, 1897 (Gr. 6430), 1898 (Gr. 6468); Fawcett, 1898; Science of Man, 1899; Enright, 1901; Tindale, 1940.

Worimi 'Worimi

Loc.: Hunter River to Forster near Cape Hawke along coast; at Port Stephens; inland to near Gresford; about Glendon Brook, Dungog, head of Myall Creek and south to Maitland. Cohen's information implies a differentiation between the Worimi and the Kattang in 1838. Threlkeld's 1834 grammar is principally from the inland Geawegal with whom they were affiliated. Some of the hordelike names listed by Mathews 1897 (Gr. 6488), including Bahree, probably belong to this and adjoining tribes. Elkin lists four

local groups, Garuagal, Maiangal, Gamipingal, and Buraigal, the last-named probably being the same as Bahree.

Coord.: 151°55′E x 32°30′S.

Area: 1,500 sq. m. (3,900 sq. km.).

Alt.: Warrimee, Warramie, Gadang, Kattang (language name), Kutthung, Guttahn, Cottong, Wattung, Watthungk, Kutthack, Gingai, Gringai (a name nominated by Howitt), Gooreenggai, Port Stephens tribe, Pt. Stevens [*sic*] tribe, Molo (? horde), Bahree (? horde), Karrapath (? horde), Carapath, Warrangine (? horde at Maitland), Wannungine.

Ref.: Threlkeld, 1834, 1892; Boydell in Fraser, 1882; Branch in Curr, 1887; Scott in Howitt, 1888; Hooke in Howitt, 1889; Mathews, 1897 (Gr. 6430, 6477, 6567), 1898 (Gr. 6468); Cohen, 1838, 1897; Enright, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1907, 1932, 1933, 1937, 1939; Bennett, ca. 1902, 1929; Boydell in Howitt, 1904; MacPherson, 1904; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Elkin, 1932; Firth, 1932; Tindale, 1940; Holmer, 1966; see, 1968; Holmer and Holmer, 1969.

Victoria

Baraparapa (*see* New South Wales).

Bidawal 'Bi:ḍəwəl
Loc.: Coast between Green Cape, N.S.W., and Cape Everard (Point Hicks); inland to Delegate, N.S.W., and on headwaters of Cann and Bem rivers, chiefly in rain forest and wet sclerophyll country inhospitable to others. Two fullblood men survived in 1964 with mixed descendants living in 1970 at Nowa Nowa. Mathews placed the western boundary at Cape Conran but this area belonged to the Krauatungalung.
Coord.: 149°20'E x 37°20'S.
Area: 2,700 sq. m. (7,000 sq. km.).
Alt.: Birdhawal, Birtowall, Bidwell, Bidwill, Bidwelli, Biduelli, Beddiwell, Maap (['ma:p] = man), Muk-dhang (language name where ['mək] = good and ['ðaŋ] = speech), Kwai-dhang (language name given by Krauatungalung means "rough speech").
Ref.: Parker, 1843; Smyth, 1878; Fison and Howitt, 1880; Howitt, 1884, 1904; Bulmer in Curr, 1887; Curr, 1887; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6468), 1907 (Gr. 6483), 1908 (Gr. 6474, 6570), 1909 (Gr. 6474), 1916–1918 (Gr. 6472); Tindale, 1940, 1964 MS, 1970 MS.

Brabiralung 'Bərabəra'luŋ
Loc.: Mitchell, Nicholson, and Tambo rivers; south to about Bairnsdale and Bruthen. This is one of the five Gippsland tribes grouped together as the Kurnai ['Ga:nai, 'Ka:nai].
Coord.: 147°20'E x 37°30'S.
Area: 2,400 sq. m. (6,200 sq. km.).
Alt.: Brabrolung (['bəra] = man), Brabrolong, Brabirrawulung, Brabriwoolong, Wakeruk (Fison and Howitt, 1880:34), Bundah Wark Kani (i.e., ['ka:nai]), Bundhul Wark Kani (horde name), Muk-thang (language name), Gippsland dialect (of Thomas MS), ['ka:nai] = man.
Ref.: W. Thomas, 1862 MS; Bulmer in Smyth, 1878; Howitt in Smyth, 1878; Smyth, 1878; Fison and Howitt, 1889; Bulmer in Curr, 1887; Curr, 1887; Hagenauer in Curr, 1887; Mathews, 1902 (Gr. 6401); Howitt, 1891, 1904; Tindale, 1940.

Braiakaulung 'Bəraiakau'luŋ
Loc.: Providence Ponds, Avon and Latrobe rivers; west of Lake Wellington to Mounts Baw Baw and Howitt. One of the five tribes associated as the Kurnai; its name is based on a place name today known as Briagolong, where the *i* is still pronounced with the sound of the *ai* dipthong.
Coord.: 146°40'E x 37°50'S.
Area: 2,600 sq. m. (6,800 sq. km.).
Alt.: Brayakaulung, Braiakolung, Breagalong, Brayakau, Nulit (name applied to language spoken by several associated tribes), Brayakaboong (the term signifies "men of the west").
Ref.: Smyth, 1878; Fison and Howitt, 1880; Bulmer in Curr, 1887; Curr, 1887; Howitt, 1904; Anonymous, 1909 (11(6):120); Tindale, 1940.

Bratauolung 'Bəratauoluŋ
Loc.: From Cape Liptrap and Tarwin Meadows east to mouth of Merriman Creek; inland to about Mirboo; at Port Albert and Wilson Promontory. One of the five tribes associated as the Kurnai.
Coord.: 146°30'E x 38°35'S.
Area: 1,900 sq. m. (4,900 sq. km.).
Alt.: Brataua, Bradowooloong, Brataualung, Bratanolung [*sic*] (presumably misprint), Tarrawarracka, Tarrawarrachal, Nulit.
Ref.: Smyth, 1878; Fison and Howitt, 1880; Bulmer in Curr, 1887; Curr, 1887; Howitt, 1891, 1904; Tindale, 1940.

Bungandıtj (*see* South Australia).

Bunurong 'Bunəroŋ
Loc.: From Mordiallac near Melbourne southeast to Anderson Inlet; on Western Port Bay and on Mornington peninsula; a coastal tribe; inland to near Dandenong Range; east to about Warragul. In the 1940 map the area of two hordes of the Wurundjeri were incorrectly drawn as Bunurong territory, following Smyth. The Bunurong spoke a dialect very close to Woiwuru, the language of their northern neighbors.
Coord.: 145°30'E x 38°20'S.
Area: 3,000 sq. m. (7,800 sq. km.).
Alt.: Boonurrong, Boonoorong, Boonoor-ong, Boon-oorrong, Boongerong, Bunwurung, Bunwurru (language name ['bu:n] = no, ['wur:u] = lip or speech), Bunuron (man = [kulin]), Putnaroo, Putmaroo, Thurung (name applied by eastern neighbors = "tiger snakes," they came sneaking about to kill us), Toturin (general term applied to several tribes in west by the Kurnai = "black snake"), Gippsland dialect (of Thomas, 1862), Mordialloc tribe (corruption of a place name).
Ref.: Thomas, 1839 MS, 1854, 1862 MS; Byrne, 1848; Smyth, 1878; Thomas in Smyth, 1878; Green in Bonwick, 1883; Mathews, 1902 (Gr. 6401), 1903 (Gr. 6514), 1904 (Gr. 6451); Howitt, 1904; McCrae, 1911, 1917; Mathew, 1911; Tindale, 1940; Allchin, 1957; Massola, 1968.

Djilamatang 'Djilamaṭaŋ
Loc.: west of Mount Kosciusko and on the upper headwaters of the Murray River. At enmity with the Jaitmathang, Walgalu, and Ngarigo, who, on the only occasion in post-European times when there was intertribal action in the

Albury area, united to exterminate the Djilamatang people (see also Duduroa). T. W. Mitchell, M.L.A., confirmed that data passed to Curr and Smyth by his grandparent belonged to this tribe and he supplied further details of boundaries.

Coord.: 148°O'E x 36°20'S.

Area: 1,500 sq. m. (3,900 sq. km.).

Alt.: Waananga = no, ['djere] = man.

Ref.: Lane in Smyth, 1878; Mitchell in Smyth, 1878; Mitchell in Curr, 1887; Howitt, 1904; Mitchell, 1954 (verb. comm.).

Duduroa 'Ďuďuroa

Loc.: Mitta Mitta and Keiwa rivers; at Tallangatta, and along the Murray valley from Jigellic and Tintaldra to Albury. Regarded by Howitt (1904) as a horde of the Jaitmathang; if hordal status is correct, the Djilamatang are probably to be regarded as third one. Massola (1962) also considered this and the Jaitmathang to be one tribe, but there are grounds for belief they were separate. One unidentified name, Dhooroomba, listed by Mathews (1898:67) may belong here.

Coord.: 147°20'E x 36°15'S.

Area: 1,800 sq. m. (4,700 sq. km.).

Alt.: Dhudhuroa, Tharamirttong, Tharamittong, Tharomattay, Jeenong-metong (strong-footed ones), Dyinning-middhang, Ginning-matong (initial *g* read as *dj*), Theddora mittung (hordal term, see Jaitmathang).

Ref.: Lane, 1859; Wilson, 1859; Lane in Smyth, 1878; Howitt, 1884, 1904; Helms, 1895; Maiden, 1896; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6468), 1904 (Gr. 6451), 1907 (Gr. 6515), 1908 (Gr. 6570), 1909 (Gr. 6441); Massola, 1962.

Gunditjmara 'Gu:nditj'mara

Loc.: At Cape Bridgewater and Lake Condah in the west; Caramut and Hamilton in north; Hopkins River in the east; at Warrnambool, Woolsthorpe, Port Fairy, and Portland. Three principal hordes at Lake Condah, Port Fairy, and Woolsthorpe. The name used is the best available. The language name could be an acceptable alternative.

Coord.: 142°O'E x 38°5'S.

Area: 2,700 sq. m. (7,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Dhauhurtwurru (language name), Ku:nditjmara, Gournditch-mara (['Gu:nditj] = name of Lake Condah ['mara] = ['ma:r] = man), Gurnditschmara, Nil-can-cone-deets, Kuurn-kopan-noot (descriptive language name), Kirurndit, Tourahonong, Weeritch-Weeritch, Ngutuk (means "thou," name given by an adjacent tribe), Villiers tribe, Spring Creek tribe (a horde called Mopor, around Woolsthorpe), Port Fairy tribe (a horde along coast, its dialect called Peekwhuurong).

Ref.: Robinson, 1846 MS; Craig, 1859; Lydiard et al., 1859; Green in Smyth, 1878; McLeod in Smyth, 1878; Musgrove in Smyth, 1878; Smyth, 1878; Stähle in Fison and Howitt, 1880; Dawson, 1881; Howitt, 1885, 1904; Stähle in Howitt, 1885; Curr, 1887; Robertson in Bride, 1898; Semon, 1899; Mathews, 1903 (Gr. 6514), 1904 (Gr. 6451, 6505), 1905 (Gr. 6553); Giglioli, 1911; Tindale, 1940.

Jaadwa 'Ja:dwə

Loc.: Horsham and Upper Wimmera River; south to Morton Plains and Grampians, west to Mount Arapiles and Mount Talbot; east to beyond Glenorchy and Stawell; north to near Warracknabeal and Lake Buloke. Their term for man was ['dərua]. Tribal movements were toward the south, reaching almost to Casterton and Hamilton at time of first white contacts. Lake Buloke was a center where members of several tribes met for ceremonies. Stone (1911) gives "Dallundeer" as the Wembawemba name for this tribe; this is a locality name (now Toolondo). His Mount Albert locality is probably Mount Talbot. The track to the stone ax mine near Harrow passed through Toolondo.

Coord.: 142°20'E x 36°40'S.

Area: 3,500 sq. m. (9,100 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ja:rewe, Mukja:dwen, Yardwa-tyalli (['jaadwa] and ['ngalanja] in southern hordes = no), Yartwur, Yarawain, Mukjarawaint, Ngengenwuru, Ngenngen-wurro, Nandatjali (language name ['nanda] = good, ['jali] = speech), Nundatyalli, Knindowurrong (i.e., clear speakers, term claimed by several tribes), Knindowurong, Knenkorenwurro, Knen-knen-wurrong, Kneu-Kneu-wurro (misprint), Milang-burn, Djappuminyou (a horde); Djappuninyou (typographical error), (kuli = name for man), Dallundeer (of Wembawemba), Bulukwuro (horde at Lake Buloke), Boolucburer, Portbulluc (horde at Mount Zero), Morton Plains tribe, Brapkut (name of speech of southern hordes), Murra-murra-barap (horde at Glenorchy).

Ref.: Parker, 1842, 1844; Eyre, 1844, 1845; Robinson, 1844; Ridley, 1875; Eyre in Smyth, 1878; Parker in Smyth, 1878; Smyth, 1878; Howitt and Fison, 1884; Curr, 1887; Howitt, 1903, 1904; Mathews, 1903 (Gr. 6514), 1904 (Gr. 6451); Stone, 1911; Davidson, 1938; Tindale, 1940, and MS; Massola, 1970.

Jaara (Lewuru) 'Ja:rə ('Lewur:u)

Loc.: Upper Loddon and Avoca rivers; east to about Castlemaine, west to St. Arnaud and near Lake Buloke; north to about Boort; south to Daylesford and Dividing Range and the eastern headwaters of the Wimmera River. At Emu, Natte Yallock, and Stuart Mill. Not to be confused with the Jardwa. Fourteen hordes were reported by Parker (1843, 1844). There were slight differences in dialect between them and some southwestern people were said to speak Tjedjuwur:u where ['tjedju] = no and ['wur:u] = speech.

Coord.: 143°40'E x 36°40'S.

Area: 6,000 sq. m. (15,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Lewurru (language name ['le:] = no, ['wur:u] = lip or speech), Yaura, Yarrayowurro, Yayaurung, Jajaorong (['jajae] = ['jeje] = yes), Jajaurung, Jajowurrong, Jajowurong, Jajowrong, Jarjoworong, Jajowerang, Jajowrung, Jajow(e)rong, Jajoworrong, Tjedjuwuru, Tyeddyuwurru, Jarrung Jarrung, Ja-jow-er-ong, Djadjawuru, Djadjawurung, Djendjuwuru, Tarrang, Tarra, Jurobaluk, Yabola, Monulgundeech (lit. "men of the dust"), Monulgundeedh, Pilawin (horde in Pyrennes), Yang (place name = Avoca), Lunyingbirrwurrkgooditch.

Ref.: Parker, 1843, 1854; Parker in Smyth, 1878; Eyre, 1844; Robinson, 1844, 1846 MS; Stanbridge, 1858, 1861; Ridley, 1875; Chauncy in Smyth, 1878; Smyth, 1878; Stanbridge in Smyth, 1878; Thomas in Smyth, 1878; Curr, 1887; Wilson in Curr, 1887; Baeyertz, 1898; Howitt, 1904; Mathews, 1904 (Gr. 6560), 1905 (Gr. 6553); Giglioli, 1911; Mathew, 1911; Stone, 1911; Tindale, 1940, and MS; Raffaelo, 1947 (quoting 1853–1854 report); Capell, 1956; Massola, 1969.

Jaitmathang 'Jaitmathaŋ

Loc.: Headwaters of Mitta Mitta and Tambo rivers; some of sources of the Ovens River; the Indi River to "Tom Groggin Run" (Howitt); south to Omeo and Mount Delusion. According to Mathews (1904, 1909), whose view is accepted, Howitt's "Theddora horde" was a separate tribe, the Duduroa, although Massola (1962) has suggested that the Jaitmathang and the Duduroa belonged to the one tribe. The Jaitmathang lived most of the year on the lower plateaus visiting the heights only as snow melted in spring.

Coord.: 147°35'E x 36°50'S.

Area: 3,000 sq. m. (7,800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ya-itma-thang, Muddhang (Mitta Mitta horde), Mudthang, Kandangoramittung (horde on the Omeo plains), Jandangara, Gundanara, Gundanora, Brajerak (name applied by coastal tribes; has a rude meaning), ['karanga] = no, ['juni] = man.

Ref.: Huon in Victoria Legislative Council Report, 1859; Wills, 1859; Smyth, 1878; Bulmer in Curr, 1887; Helms, 1895; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6468), 1902 (Gr. 6401), 1907 (Gr. 6515), 1909 (Gr. 6441); Howitt, 1904; Giglioli, 1911; Massola, 1962, 1968.

Jarijari 'Jari'jari

Loc.: Western bank of Murray River from above Chalka Creek to Annuello; south to Lake Korong (Hopetoun) and Pine Plains; northwest to near Redcliffs.

Coord.: 142°20'E x 35°10'S.

Area: 1,900 sq. m. (4,900 sq. km.).

Alt.: Jere jere, Yari-yari, Yarree Yarree, Yarre-yarre, Yerri-yerri, Yerre-yerre, Yerry-yerry, Yairy-yairy, Nyerri-nyerri, Yariki-luk (Wotjobaluk term).

Ref.: Blandowski, 1858; Beveridge, 1862, 1884; Jaimeson in Smyth, 1878; Smyth, 1878; Fraser in Threlkeld, 1892; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6464); Howitt, 1904; Donaldson, 1956 MS.

Jotijota (*see* New South Wales).

Jupagalk 'Ju:pagalk

Loc.: Along the Avoca River and Tyrrell Creek; north to Sea Lake; south to Charlton; east to Gonn, west of Kerang; southwest to Lake Buloke; north to beyond Towaninnie; several hordes. Howitt (1884) indicates their language was related to that of the Jaara (his Jajowrong).

Coord.: 143°10'E x 35°55'S.

Area: 1,700 sq. m. (4,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Jambajamba (['jamba] = no), Yamba, Yambayamba, Yuppila, Yupa-galk-wournditch ("people of the native box [*Bursaria spinosa*] country"), Yow-ew-nil-lurn, Towanninny (a place name, now Towaninnie), Mallenjerrick ("people of the mallee").

Ref.: Robinson, 1844; Eyre, 1845; Howitt, 1884, 1904; McCarthy in Curr, 1887; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6468); Stone, 1911; Tindale, MS.

Katubanut 'Katubanu:t

Loc.: Rain forest covered plateau and rugged coastline of Cape Otway peninsula, probably centering on Apollo Bay. Little known and became extinct a few years after white occupation. The tribal name was said to mean "King Parrot language." It was used by people to the west and may have been a derogatory term. Rain forests of their country were called ['jarowaitj]. Remarks about this tribe are made in the chapter detailing Comments.

Coord.: 143°5'E x 38°45'S.

Area: Not known.

Alt.: Yarro waetch (ecological term of form ['jarowaitj] applied to cold rain forests of Cape Otway by aborigines to the west), ? Pallidurgbarran.

Ref.: Addis, 1844 (in Great Britain, House of Commons, Papers, p. 283); Morgan, 1852; Dawson, 1881.

Kirrae 'Kir:ae (Kirawiruŋ)

Loc.: Warrnambool and Hopkins River east to about Princetown on the coast; inland to Lake Bolac and Darlington; east to beyond Camperdown. There are names of twelve hordes speaking slight dialects. According to Cary, the original name was Manmait but this name is of hordal style; one horde, the Dantgurt, became of more importance than the others after white settlement. Other hordes apparently included the Colongulac, Jarcoort, Elingamait, Barrath, Warnambu:l (Pertobe), Bolaga, Tooram, Narragoort, and the Coonawanee.

Coord.: 143°5'E x 38°10'S.

Area: 1,900 sq. m. (4,900 sq. km.).

Alt.: Kirawirung (valid alternative), Kirraewuurong, Konoug-willam (? typographical error), Manmait, Dantgurt, Dautgart, Tantgort, Targurt, Dyargurt, Jarcoort (apparently the horde at Jancourt), Bolaga (horde at Lake Bolac), Bolagher, Mount Shadwell tribe, Colongulac tribe (a horde), Warntalliin (lit. "rough language," a name given them by western tribes), Ngutuk (of neighboring tribes; means "you"), Ngutung. Word for man = ['ma:r].

Ref.: Eyre, 1844, 1845; Hurst, 1844; Robinson, 1844; Tuckfield, 1844; Scott in Smyth, 1878; Smyth, 1878; Dawson, 1881; Curr, 1887; Goodall in Curr, 1887; Cary, 1898; Tuckfield in Cary, 1898; Tuckfield and Mossman, 1898; Howitt, 1904; Mathews, 1904 (Gr. 6485); Massola, 1962.

Kolakngat 'Kolakŋat ('Kolidjon)

Loc.: Vicinity of Lake Colac and Lake Corangamite; inland boundary south of Cressy. It is possible that Kolidjon was the original name rather than the one conventionally preferred.

Coord.: 143°30'E x 38°25'S.

Area: 900 sq. m. (2,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Kolidjon (valid alternative), Kolac-gnat, Kulidyan, Lolijon, Colijon, Koligon (read *g* as *dj*), Coligan, Lolifon (f is a misprint), Kolae (misprint for Kolac, a place name), Colac-conedeet (horde name), Karakoi, Karakoo, Bungilearney Colagiens, ['tharoŋ] = man.

Ref.: Mossman, 1841; Tuckfield, 1844; Eyre, 1844, 1845; Parker in Eyre, 1844; Hurst, 1844; Robinson, 1844; Murray, 1859; Thomas, 1862 MS; Dennis in Smyth, 1878; Smyth, 1878; Dawson, 1881; Bonwick, 1883; Wedge in Bonwick, 1883; Cary, 1898; Mossman in Cary, 1898; Tuckfield in Cary, 1898; Bride, 1898; Mathews, 1904 (Gr. 6485).

Krauatungalung 'Krauətuŋaluŋ

Loc.: Cape Everard (Point Hicks) to Lakes Entrance; on Cann, Brodribb, Buchan, and Snowy rivers; inland to about

Black Mountain. One of the five tribes artificially grouped as the Kurnai.

Coord: 148°35'3 x 37°35'S.

Area: 2,200 sq. m. (5,700 sq. km.).

Alt.: Kroatungolung, Krow-ithun-koolo, Krowathun-Koolung, Krauatun-kurnai, Muk-dhang (['mək] = good, ['ðaŋ] = speech, own language name), Gunggala-dhang (language name given by Bidawal), Thangkwai (language name given by others, means "rough speech"), Thangguai, Thang quai, Karnathun, ['ngatban] = no, ['ka:nai] = man.

Ref.: Smyth, 1878; Fison and Howitt, 1880; Bulmer in Curr, 1887; Turner, Staple and Shaw, 1900; Mathews, 1902 (Gr. 6401), 1907 (Gr. 6483); Howitt, 1891, 1904; Anonymous, 1909; Tindale, 1940.

Kurnai 'Ka:nai, 'Ga:nai

Collective name for five tribes in Gippsland. *See* Brabralung, Braiakaulung, Bratauolung, Krauatungalung, Tatungalung.

Alt.: Kurmai (typographical error), Guna.

Kurung 'Kuruŋ

Loc.: west side of Port Phillip Bay between Werribee River and Geelong; inland up Moorabool River to Dividing Range; westward toward Ballarat; at Ballan. Cary considered the people of Ballarat to be a horde of the Wathaurung and this seems to be confirmed by the vocabularies.

Coord.: 144°25'E x 37°45'S.

Area: 1,300 sq. m. (3,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Kurunjang, Kurung-jang-baluk, Coorong, Jibberin (language name), Bacchus Marsh dialect, Barabal (name sometimes applied to whole tribe, more accurately a dominant horde between Werribee and Indented Head), Barrabool, Barabull, Yawangi (based on native name, Ja:wang of the You Yang Hills).

Ref.: Thomas, 1839 MS, 1862 MS; Lodge in Thomas, 1862 MS; Curr, 1887; Cary, 1898; Davenport in Bride, 1898; Thomas in Bride, 1898; Howitt, 1904.

Kwatkwat 'Kwatkwat

Loc.: South bank of the Murray River in a strip extending from above the Goulburn River junction to Barnawartha and the King and Ovens rivers junction; south to Indigo Creek. Curr implies the Pikkolatpan belong with hordes south of the river (but see Jeithi in N.S.W.).

Coord.: 145°55'E x 36°5'S.

Area: 1,800 sq. m. (4,700 sq. km.).

Alt.: Quart-Quart, Emu Mudjug tribe, Pikkolatpan (where ['pik:or] = emu).

Ref.: Robinson, 1844; Reid in Smyth, 1878 (ii: 8, 68); Curr, 1887; Tindale, 1940, and MS.

Latjilatji 'Latjə'latji

Loc.: Chalka Creek to Mildura on southern bank of Murray River; at Kulkyne; ranging about 50 miles (80 km.) south from river to near Murrayville and Pine Plains. On Smyth's map the name of this tribe apparently is transposed with that of his "Darty Darty" (i.e., Tatitati). Eyre gives a vocabulary of the tribe under the name Boraipar, placing them east of Moorunde and indicates their word for no is "latto" ['latjə]. Beveridge (1889:172) suggests this tribe and the Watiwati had a common boundary, which is not borne out by other data. Curr (1887) gathered a vocabulary from them at Kulkyne.

Coord.: 141°45'E x 34°40'S.

Area: 3,500 sq. m. (9,100 sq. km.).

Alt.: Laitchi-Laitchi, (['latji] = ['latjə] = no), Litchy-Litchy, Sitchy Sitchy (misreading of Litchy Litchy, Leitchi-Leitchi, Laitche, Latjoo-Latjoo, Lutchye-Lutchye, Latyu-latyu, Latyoo-Latyoo, Litchoo-Litchoo, Laitci-laitci, Laci-Laci, Laitu-Laitu, Laitu, Walkandwani (name given by tribes to the west), Baluk-mernen ("people of the sandhills"; name applied by the Wotjobaluk), Boraipar, Banju-bunan, Wortongi (means "man"), Woortongi.

Ref.: Eyre, 1845; Beveridge, 1862, 1884, 1889; Smyth, 1878; Curr, 1887; Corney in Curr, 1887; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6464, 6468); Howitt, 1904; Giglioli, 1911; Brown, 1918; Tindale, 1938 ms, 1940, 1964 MS; Donaldson, 1956 MS (letter).

Marditjali 'Marditjali

Loc.: Naracoorte, So. Aust. to Goroke and the western vicinity of Mount Arapiles; on Mosquito Creek; south to Struan, Apsley, and Edenhope, north to Bangham, Kaniva, and Servicetown. This is a small tribe distinct from Jaadwa. Their term for man is ['ba:ŋg]. Their language was known to western tribes as Wintjabarap, this was derived from the hordal name Wintjintanga in the west of Marditjali territory. Western tribes sometimes applied the name Marditali as a general term to the Ngarkat of the mallee desert country of South Australia. It is possible that the real name of this people has not been recovered since in western languages ['marti] means "abrupt" or "hard to understand" and ['tjale] means "speech" or "language," hence may not have been of their own devising. No better term, however, has been discovered.

Coord.: 141°10'E x 36°45'S.

Area: 2,000 sq. m. (5,200 sq. km.).

Alt.: Worangarait (['wora] = plain country, ['ngara] = to exist in—name applied by Bunganditj), Worangarit, Wragarait, Wintjabarap (language name), Lake Wallace tribe, Keribial-barap, ['tjal:e] = language, speech, Witjintanga (a hordal name), Wichintunga.

Ref.: Hartmann in Smyth, 1878; Smith, 1880; Curr, 1887; Tindale, 1939 MS, 1940; Tindale in Condon, 1955.

Minjambuta 'Minjambuta

Loc.: Upper reaches of the Buffalo, King, Ovens, and Broken rivers east of Violet Town; south to the Dividing Range. Very little is known about them save Mathews's indication that their language was similar to that of the Duduroa. By their social organization they were indicated to be related to southern tribes. Initiation rites were described by Mathews (1904:336) but without specific association with the tribal name. Their boundaries are drawn principally by exclusion from surrounding known tribal areas.

Coord.: 146°30'E x 36°50'S.

Area: 2,400 sq. m. (6,200 sq. km.).

Alt.: Minyambuta (given as a language name), Mogullumbitch.

Ref.: Mathews, 1904 (Gr. 6451), 1909 (Gr. 6441); Howitt, 1904; Massola, 1962.

Ngarigo (*see* New South Wales).

Ngarkat (*see* South Australia).

Ngintait (*see* South Australia).

Ngurelban 'ŋurelban

Loc.: Along the Campaspie River, extending north to near Echuca; western boundary not well known, probably no farther than Gunbower; from Tatura south along the Goulbourn River to Old Crossing (Mitchellstown) north of Seymour. The northwestern horde, Pimpandoor, stood rather apart and contended with others of the tribe.

Coord.: 144°45'E x 36°40'S.

Area: 3,000 sq. m. (7,800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Gunn-el-ban, Gnurellean, Nouralung-bula, Mouralung-bula (probably typographical error), Nguralung-bula, Noorillim, Ngooraialum (northern horde), Ngurilim, Ooraialum (tone deaf to initial ng), Oorilim, Woo-ral-lim, Oorallim, 3 Panyool, Paboinboolok (horde at Lake Cooper), Pimpandoor (horde at Colbinabbin), Panpandoor.

Ref.: Great Britain, House of Commons, 1844; Tuckfield, 1844; Eyre, 1845; Eyre in Smyth, 1878; Curr, 1887; Le Souef in Curr, 1887; Howitt, 1904; Dredge in Parris, 1950; A. A. C. Le Souef MS in possession of J. C. LeSouef; Tindale, MS.

Pangerang 'Paŋgəraŋ

Loc.: In the broad valley of the lower Goulburn west to the Murray River east and west of Shepparton; at Wangaratta, Benalla, and Kyabram; south to Toolamba and Violet Town. Not at Albury as stated incorrectly in the 1940 edition. There were eight well-defined hordes the names of which generally terminated in [-pan] or [-ban]. Curr and Mathews both show that Pangerang hordes extended a little way downriver from Echuca on both banks; these western hordes were called Jabalaljabala by downriver tribes. Three of Curr's Pangerang hordes are separated as the Kwatkwat. The hordes shown by Curr north of the Murray River belong to other tribes. Color plates 43–46 are relevant.

Coord.: 145°40'E x 36°25'S.

Area: 2,600 sq. m. (6,800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Panggarang, Pangorang, Pangurang, Pine-gorine, Pine-go-rine, Pinegerine, Pinegorong, Bangerang, Banjgaranj, Pallaganmiddah, Jabalajabala (['jabala] means no; name applied to western Pangerang hordes), Yaballa, Yabula-yabula, Waningotbun (horde at Kotupna), Maragan (perhaps Maraban, horde name), Owangutha (horde name), Yurt (name applied by northerners and the Ngurelban, ['jurta] = ['juta] = no) Yoorta, Moiraduban (horde name), Moitheriban.

Ref.: Eyre, 1844, 1845; Robinson, 1844; Tuckfield, 1844; Lewis, 1859; Locke in Smyth, 1878; Mitchell in Smyth, 1878; Smyth, 1878; Curr, 1883, 1887; LeSouef in Curr, 1887; Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6524), 1903 (Gr. 6514); Howitt, 1904; Giglioli, 1911; Mathew, 1911; Tindale, 1940; Capell, 1963.

Tatitati 'Tatitati ('Tuŋgut)

Loc.: From 8 miles (13 km.) below Euston to 15 miles (25 km.) above Murrumbidgee junction chiefly on southern bank of the Murray River but extending north to Benanee. Smyth on his map apparently transposed this name with his "Litchy-Litchy" (i.e., Latjilatji). Cameron (1885) indicated the tribe as principally on the northern side of the river; other information places them only on the southern bank. Robinson in 1846 encountered them at Lake Benanee (Benearne). Richardson, perhaps following Smyth, lists them as near Lake Victoria which seems to be too far downriver.

Coord.: 142°55'E x 34°45'S.

Area: 900 sq. m. (2,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Tunggut (valid alternative), Tataty (['ta:ti] = no), Tatatha, Tat(h)i, Ta-ta-thi, Tar-tarthee, Ta-tathi, Taatatty, Darty-Darty, Nimp-mam-wern (lit. Light lip).

Ref.: Great Britain, House of Commons Paper, 1844; Eyre, 1845; Robinson, 1846 MS; Beveridge, 1862, 1884; Smyth, 1878; Cameron in Howitt, 1884, 1904; Cameron, 1885; Fraser in Threlkeld, 1892; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6464); Richardson, 1899; Howitt, 1904; Tindale, 1940; Donaldson, 1956 MS.

Tatungalung 'Tatuŋaluŋ

Loc.: Coast along Ninety Mile Beach and about Lakes Victoria and Wellington from Lakes Entrance southwest to mouth of Merriman Creek, also on Raymond Island in Lake King. Hagenauer (1878) indicates four horde names and Howitt another. This is one of the five tribes artificially associated as the Kurnai.

Coord.: 148°25'E x 38°5'S.

Area: 700 sq. m. (1,800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Tatungolung, Tatoongolong, Tatunga, Tirthung, Tatung, Tirtalawakani (kani = man, tatung = south), Boul-boul (horde name?), Nulit (dialect name, shared with Bratauolung).

Ref.: Hagenauer in Smyth, 1878; Howitt in Smyth, 1878; Smyth, 1878; Fison and Howitt, 1880; Bulmer in Curr, 1887, Curr. 1887; Howitt, 1891, 1904; Tindale, 1940.

Taungurong 'Ťauŋguroŋ

Loc.: Goulburn River valley upstream from the northern vicinity of Seymour at Mitchelltown. Near Violet Town, northeast to Mansfield, south to Kilmore. At Alexandra; west to hills southeast of Heathcote. A horde called Natrakbulok, which lived in the country east of Seymour and south to near Yea, was sometimes reckoned as belonging to the Ngurelban.

Coord.: 145°35'E x 37°10'S.

Area: 2,600 sq. m. (6,800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ta-oungurong, Taguwuru, Thagunworung, Thaguwurru, Daguwura, Taguniorung, Targunwurung, Tongworonga, Jhongworong, Tauonyirong, Darngoorang, Ngurai-alum (language name shared with Ngurelban), Gnurellean, Yawang-illam, Yowang-illam (ta:gun = no), Butherabaluk (eastern horde), Bootheraboolok, Nerboolok (horde at Kilmore), ? Moogulum-buk, Mogullum-bitch.

Ref.: Baylie, 1843 (quoted by Massola, 1958); Eyre, 1844, 1845; Parker, 1844; Tuckfield, 1844; Blandowski, 1858; Ridley, 1875; Eyre in Smyth, 1878; Green in Smyth, 1878; Smyth, 1878; Curr, 1887; Bride, 1898; Mathews, 1902 (Gr. 6401), 1903 (Gr. 6489, 6503); Howitt, 1904; Mathew, 1911; Dredge in Parris, 1950; Capell, 1956; Massola, 1958, 1962, 1968; Hercus, 1966.

Tjapwurong 'Tjapwuroŋ

Loc.: At Mount Rouse; west to Hamilton, east to Hopkins River and Wickliffe; north to near Mount William, Stawell,

Ararat, and the Dividing Range; eleven named hordes, some speaking slight dialects. Color plates 10 and 12 are relevant.

Coord.: 142°40'E x 37°30'S.

Area: 2,700 sq. m. (7,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Tyapwuru, Tyapwurru (wurong = mouth and speech), Chaap Wuurong, Chaapwurru, Djabwuru, Pirt-kopan-noot (northern dialect name at Ararat), Pirt-kopen-noot (a dialect), Purteet-chally (lit. "fight seekers"), Punoinjon (name of a lake), Nutcheyong (horde at Moyston), Buninjon (Buninyong, place name), Kolor (place name of Mount Rouse), Kolor Kuurndit, Kooloor, Kolorer, Girriwurra (horde near Maroona), Hopkins River Tribe, Wonnin dialect, Bolakngat (eastern name), Bolagher (apparently based on name of Lake Bolac but may apply to northwestern horde of the Kirrae), Knindowurong (i.e., "clear speakers," a term claimed also by the Jaadwa).

Ref.: Sievewright in Eyre, 1845; Thomas, 1862 MS; Gray in Smyth, 1878; Smyth, 1878; Dawson, 1881; Curr, 1887; Mathews, 1902 (Gr. 6401), 1903 (Gr. 6503), 1904 (Gr. 6451, 6505); Tindale, 1940, and MS; Massola, 1957; 1961, 1970; Hercus, 1966.

Warkawarka 'Warkə'warkə

Loc.: Tyrrell Creek and Lake Tyrrell south to Warracknabeal and Birchip; west to Hopetoun; on Morton Plains.

Coord.: 142°40'E x 35°40'S.

Area: 2,000 sq. m. (5,200 sq. km.).

Alt.: Werkawerka, Waikywaiky (['warki] = ['warka] = no), Weki-weki, Wengenmarongeitch, Mirdiragoort, Booroung, Boorong, Wirtu (means "man"), Wirtoo.

Ref.: Stanbridge, 1858; Beveridge, 1862, 1884; Smyth, 1878; Curr, 1887; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6468); Howitt, 1904; Tindale, 1940.

Wathaurung 'Waṭauruŋ

Loc.: South of Geelong toward Cape Otway; northwest to Lake Burrambeet, Beaufort, and Ballarat; about Princetown and upper Barwon River; also east of Geelong to Queenscliff.

Coord.: 143°55'E x 38°0'S.

Area: 3,000 sq. m. (7,800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wadthaurung, Waitowrung, Wudthaurung, Woddowrong, Waddorow, Wadawio, Wadourer, Woddowrong, Wollowurong, Woddowro, Wudjawuru, Witowurrung, Wothowurong, Watorrong, Witaoro (kuli = man), Wudjawurung, Witowurung, Witowur(r)ong, Witowro, Witoura, Wadjawuru, Wuddyawurru, Wuddyawurra, Witouro, Witswrong (typographical error), Wittyawhuurong, Warra, Wardy-yallock (horde in Pitfield area), Borumbeet Bulluk (horde at Lake Burrambeet speaking a slight dialect), Bengali (horde near Geelong), Buninyong (place name, location of a northern horde).

Ref.: Parker, 1843; Addis, 1844; Eyre, 1844, 1845; Great Britain, House of Commons, 1844; Parker, 1844; Tuckfield, 1844; Thomas, 1862 MS, Ridley, 1875; Buckley quoted by Thompson in Smyth, 1878; Eyre in Smyth, 1878; Smyth, 1878; Dawson, 1881; Wedge, 1883; Cary, 1898, 1904; Mossman in Cary, 1898; Thomas in Bride, 1898; Tuckfield in Cary, 1898; Davenport in Bride, 1898; Fraser, 1902; Mathews, 1902 (Gr. 6401), 1903 (Gr. 6489, 6503), 1904 (Gr. 6485); Howitt, 1904; Tindale, 1940; Massola, 1962, 1968; Hercus, 1966.

Watiwati 'Waṭi'waṭi

Loc.: Murray River between a point 15 miles (24 km.) above Murrumbidgee Junction and Swan Hill; at Piangil; extending northward to about Moolpa, N.S.W. According to Cameron, the name Narinari is also applied to this tribe but there is some evidence to show they are separate peoples. According to Stone, the Wembawemba called the dialect of the Watiwati tribe Burrea.

Coord.: 143°25'E x 35°5'S.

Area: 2,000 sq. m. (5,200 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wathiwathi (waṭi = no), Watthiwatthi, Wattewatte, Watty-watty, Wotti-wotti, Withaija, Wohdi Wohdi, Woani (means "man"), Woonyi, Dacournditch (horde between Tyntynder and Swan Hill), Biangil (place name Piangil).

Ref.: Robinson, 1846 MS; Beveridge, 1862, 1884, 1889; Smyth, 1878; Howitt, 1883, 1904; Cameron, 1885, 1903; Beveridge in Curr, 1887; Curr, 1887; Macredie in Curr, 1887; Fraser in Threlkeld, 1892; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6464, 6468), 1908 (Gr. 6460); Stone, 1911; Mathew, 1911, 1928; Brown, 1918; Robertson, 1928; Donaldson, 1956 MS.

Wembawemba (*see* New South Wales).

Wotjobaluk 'Wotjobalək

Loc.: Wimmera River, Lakes Hindmarsh and Albacutya; Outlet Creek; south to Dimboola, Kaniva, and Servicetown; west to beyond Yanac; east to Warracknabeal and Lake Korong; north to Pine Plains. Hartmann listed eleven known hordes. They ranged west into part of the country regionally known as the Tatiara or Tjatijala. Mathews (1902 [GR. 6401]) arbitrarily used the term as a language name. His 1904 version (Gr. 6501) under this tribal name is based on data from a northeastern horde close to Warkawarka. There the term for man is [kuli] whereas his Buibatjali dialect is based on a more southern horde that used the term ['wutju] = ['wotjo] for man.

Coord.: 141°45'E x 35°50'S.

Area: 4,800 sq. m. (12,500 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wotjo-ba-laiuruk (lit. "men and women"), Wuttyabullak, Wuttyuballeak, Buibatjali (dialect name), buibatyalli, Wattyabullak, Woychibirik (name for man = ['wotjo]), Woitu-bullar (plural of man as used in Baraparapa tribe), Tjatijala (regional name west of Lake Hindmarsh), Tyattyalla, Djadjala, Iyattyala (misprint), Kurm-me-lak (horde name = Gromiluk), Wimmera tribe, Gourrbaluk (Gour = Lake Hindmarsh, name used by Wembawemba), Gnallbagootchyourl (Ngalbagutja = Lake Albucutya, name applied to northern hordes of tribe by the Wembawemba), Malikunditj (name given by northern tribes), Malleegunditch.

Ref.: Francis in Smyth, 1878; Hartmann in Smyth, 1878; Spieseke in Smyth, 1878; Wilson in Smyth, 1878; Howitt, 1885, 1888, 1904; Curr, 1887; Haynes in Curr, 1887; Robertson in Bride, 1898; Mathews, 1902 (Gr. 6401), 1903 (Gr. 6481, 6489, 6501, 6503, 6514); Thomas, 1904; Parker, 1905; Stone, 1911; Tindale, 1940, and MS; Massola, 1962, 1968, 1970; Hercus, 1966, 1970.

Wurundjeri (Woiworung) 'Wurundjeri ('Woiworuŋ)

Loc.: Yarra and Saltwater rivers; at Melbourne; north to Mount Disappointment, northwest to Macedon, Woodend, and Lancefield, east to Mount Bawbaw; at Healesville; south

only to near Mordialloc, Warragul, and Moe. According to Howitt (1889), the tribal name is an ecological one based on the name of the white gum (*Eucalyptus viminalis*). Seven hordes or clans were referred to by Stewart in a document dated 10 June 1836, but the names seemingly were not mentioned again. Mount Macedon people were a little different and generally camped apart from members of the eastern hordes of the tribe.

Coord.: 145°25′E x 37°40′S.

Area: 4,800 sq. m. (12,500 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wurunjeri, Wurunjerri, Urunjeri, Wurunjerri-baluk, Wurrundyirra-baluk, Wurrunjeri, Oorongie (where *g* is to be taken as *dj*), Woiworung (language name, a valid alternative; woi = worung = speech), Woiwurung, Woiwurong, Woiwurrong, Woiwurru (['woi] = no, ['wur:u] = lip), Woewo-rung, Wooeewoorong, Warorong, Warerong, Wairwaioo, Wawoo-rong, Wawoorong, Warwaroo, Waarengbadawa, Wainworra, Wowerong, Wawurong, Wawurrong, Wavoo-rong, Gungung-willam, Ngarukwillam, Kukuruk (name of a northern horde), Mort Noular (language name), Coraloon (corrupt spelling?), Yarra Yarra (Europeanized false name of principal river, the Beireirung, based on misreading of a misinterpretation of an exclamation, 'jan:a, "it flows"), Yarra Yarra Coolies (kulin = man), Yarra, N' uther Galla, Nuthergalla (['ngatha] = ['juða] = no, Melbourne dialect).

Ref.: Baylie, 1843; La Trobe, 1844; Parker, 1844; Byrne, 1848; Bunce, 1851, 1856; Thomas, 1839 MS, 1854, 1862 MS; Lloyd, 1862; Bunce in Smyth, 1878; Green in Smyth, 1878; Smyth, 1878; Green, 1879; Stewart in Bonwick, 1883; Howitt, 1884, 1885, 1889, 1904; Curr, 1886, 1887; Thomas in Bride, 1898; Mathews, 1902 (Gr. 6401), 1903 (Gr. 6514), 1904 (Gr. 6451); Giglioli, 1911; Mathew, 1911; Massola, 1960, 1968; Morgan, 1967.

South Australia

Antakirinja 'Anta'kirinja

Loc.: Headwaters of Hamilton, Alberga, Wintinna, and Lora rivers north to Kulgera in central Australia; south to Mount Willoughby, Arckaringa, and the Stuart Range north of Coober Pedy which is in Kokata country. Their boundary with the Matuntara falls generally at the northern margin of the blue-bush covered plains; they do not venture into the more wooded hilly country farther north; at their southern boundary the country drops away to gibber plains. They are said to speak ['Aluritja] by the Aranda, with rude implications. Another general term for their language is Aluna a term that they share with the Jangkundjara and Matuntara; it is a Pitjandjara or Kukatja-like speech. The data, ostensibly on this tribe, supplied by Giles in Taplin (1879) and again in Fison and Howitt (1880), relate to the southern Aranda. Movements since 1917 took a portion of the tribe southwest to Ooldea. Earlier movement was from west after massacre by them of some previous inhabitants of Mount Chandler district; they are closely related to the Jangkundjara. The tribal name has the general meaning of "westerners" where ['andakara] = west. An alternative that may be more valid is Ngonde, but this term has been said by some aborigines to embrace also the Jangkundjara, being applied to two hordes in the Everard Range area. East of Mount Chandler the country is known as Ngondejana. Western people call them Punjuru. See further discussion in main text.

Coord.: 134°0'E x 27°10'S.

Area: 24,500 sq. m. (63,700 sq. km.).

Alt.: Antakarinja, Antakerinya, Antakerrinya, Andagirinja, Andagarinja, Andekerinja (Aranda pronunciation), Andekarinja, Antekarinja, Andigarinya, Andigirinji, Antingari, Andigari, Andgari, Andegilliga, Andigarina, Antigari, Andigiri, Anjirigna, Anterrikanya, Antegarinya, Antakerrinya, Antigerinya, Andjirigna, Unterrgerrie (MS), Untergerrie, Aldolinga (i.e., Westerners), Ngonde, Tangara, Yandairunga, Njuntundjara (name applied by Jangkundjara), Walarangunja (horde name in eastern part of Everard Ranges), Walarenunga, Kadjilaranda (horde name north of eastern Everard Ranges), Aluna (language name of the southern hordes who speak like the Kokata).

Ref.: Giles in Taplin, 1879; Giles in Fison and Howitt, 1880; Howitt, 1885, 1891, 1904; Krichauff, 1886; Helms, 1896; Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6506 and 6448), 1901 (Gr. 6453); Kirkham in Howitt, 1904; Bates, 1918; Elkin, 1931, 1940; Tindale in C. Fenner, 1936; Tindale, 1937, 1940, 1957 MS, 1966; Berndt and Berndt, 1942, 1965; Berndt and Johnston, 1942; G. Gross, 1954 MS; Tindale in Condon, 1955; Condon, 1955; Berndt, 1959; Wurm, 1963; C. Berndt, 1965; T. Strehlow, 1965; A.I.A.S. report, 1966.

Arabana (Ngarabana) 'Arabana ('Ŋarabana)

Loc.: Neales River on the west side of Lake Eyre west to Stuart Range; Macumba Creek south to Coward Springs; at Oodnadatta, Lora Creek, Lake Cadibarrawirracanna, and the Peake. Their boundary with the Kokata on the west is marked by the margin of the scarp of the western tableland near Coober Pedy. There were hordal groupings and their term for a hordal territory was ['wadlu]; this has been mistaken for a tribal name. While Arabana today is the accepted term, I was informed by O. Siebert that Ngarabana is a better name; some earlier recorders were unable to write or hear initial sounds. Aborigines accept Arabana but admit their grandparents would have preferred Ngarabana.

Coord.: 136°0'E x 28°30'S.

Area: 19,500 sq. m. (50,700 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ngarabana, Arabuna, Arrabunna, Arrabonna, Arubbinna, Arapina (Iliaura modern pronunciation), Arapani, Urapuna, Urabuna, Urabunna, Urroban, Rabuna (an aberrant Aranda pronunciation), Wangarabana (['woŋka] = ['waŋka] = talk or speech), Wongkurapuna, Wangarabunna, Wonkurabana, Jendakarangu (a horde near Coward Springs), Nulla, Yendakarangu, Peake tribe (a horde), Anna Creek tribe (a horde).

Ref.: Taplin, 1879; East, 1889; Helms, 1896; Spencer and Gillen, 1900, 1904; Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6448); Bruce, 1902; Howitt, 1904; Howitt and Siebert, 1904; Parker, 1905; Eylmann, 1908; Strehlow, 1910; Spencer, 1912; Bates, 1918; Basedow, 1925; Elkin, 1931, 1940; Siebert, personal comm. 1936; Tindale in Fenner, 1936; Tindale, 1940; Wakerley in Berndt, 1941; Yallop, 1969.

Aranda (*see* Northern Territory).

Bunganditj 'Buŋanditj

Loc.: Glenelg and Wannon rivers, Victoria; at Dartmoor, Balmoral, Mount Zero, Casterton, Western Grampians; at Lake Mundi; west to Mount Gambier, Penola, Robe, and coast south of Cape Jaffa. At least five hordes in South Australia and others in western Victoria. Under pressure of Jaadwa people, they were contracting southward toward Casterton about the time of first white contacts. Visitors from the stoneless north were interested primarily in the stone ax factory site near Harrow and the black flint of Cape Northumberland beaches. The word for man was ['buŋ] at Mount Gambier, ['ba:ŋ] at Lake Wallace, changing to ['kuli] near the boundary with 'Jaadwa and Tjapwurong tribes, to ['tura:l] in the northwest and to ['koloin] at the Wannon River, indicating differences of dialect in the several hordes and differing degrees of association with adjoining tribes. Stewart in 1854 stated they had only 25 miles (40 km.) of coastline, a gross error, perhaps due to a misprint, since 125 miles (200 km.) would be closer to the mark. The Burhwundeirtch of Smyth apparently were the same people. Color plates 4 and 12 are relevant.

Coord.: 141°10'E x 37°35'S.

Area: 7,400 sq. m. (19,200 sq. km.).

Alt.: Pungandaitj (a valid pronunciation), Buanditj (valid short version), Bungandity, Bungandaitj, Bungandaetch, Bungandaetcha, Pungantitj, Pungandik, Buanditj, Boandik, Buandic, Booandik, Bangandidj, Buandik, Buandic, Boandiks, Bunganditjngolo (language name), Borandikngolo (misprint), Barconedeet, Bak-on-date, Smoky River tribe, Mount Gambier dialect, Nguro (of eastern tribes), Booandik-ngolo, Drualat-ngolonung.

Ref.: Eyre, 1845; Robinson, 1846 MS; Stewart, 1854 MS; Thomas, 1862 MS; Stewart in Fison, 1874; Stewart in Fison and Howitt, 1880; Stewart in Curr, 1887; Learmonth in Smyth, 1878; McLeod in Smyth, 1878; Officer in Smyth, 1878; Gray in Smyth, 1878; Fisher in Taplin, 1878; Smith, 1880; Curr, 1887; East, 1889; Learmonth in Bride, 1898; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6464), 1900 (Gr. 6448, 6524), 1903 (Gr. 6480, 6484), 1904 (Gr. 6505, 6451), 1906 (Gr. 6422); Howitt, 1904; Giglioli, 1911; Campbell, 1934; Tindale, 1940; Campbell et al., 1946; Tindale and Lindsay, 1963.

Danggali 'Daŋga:li

Loc.: Plains southwest of Broken Hill from near Tandou Lake, southwestward to Mount Bryan and Burra Creek, northwest of Morgan, So. Aust., chiefly in the more arid country extending generally eastward to within a few miles of the Darling River. Richards (1903) considered Nanja to be a Maraura man and formerly I accepted this, but it is probably more correct to consider his horde as part of the Danggali. They depended for much of the year on water from the roots of water mallee trees but came in to the Anabranch of the Darling in dry times. Eyre (1845) gives the general term Paritke for these scrub dwellers west and northwest of the Murray. Their language name was Jakumban and they extended eastward to the Darling. They were known farther east as the Jokajoka or Jakojako, a term based on ['ja:ko] their word for "no." Richardson indicated them as extending westward, presumably in the scrub country north of the Murray, as far as North West Bend (see further note under heading of Ngaiawang tribe in South Australia). In my 1940 work the territory of the Milpulo was incorrectly included as part of the Danggali tribal area.

Coord.: 140°45'E x 33°15'S.

Area: 9,800 sq. m. (25,500 sq. km.).

Alt.: Tungarlee, Tung-arlee, Dthang-gaa-lee, Dthang'gka (means upland), Dthang'gha, Paritke, Paridke, Momba (place name and location of one of four reported hordes), Nanja (name of a horde and a man of this tribe), Nanjara (horde name, best form), Nonnia, Nganya, "Scotia blacks," Nju:wiki (horde name), Yakumban, Yakkumbata, Yakayok, Jakojako, Jokajoka, Yokka Yokka, Yaak-yakko.

Ref.: Eyre, 1845; Bonney, 1884; Reid in Curr, 1886; Cudmore, 1894; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6464); Richards, 1903; Howitt, 1904; Tindale, 1940, 1941, and MS.

Dieri 'Dieri

Loc.: Cooper Creek between Killalapaninna and near Coongie; at Cowarie, Mulka, Lake Howitt, and Lake Hope; south to Lake Gregory and Clayton River and low country north of Mount Freeling. Tradition indicates that Dieri formerly lived in what is now Wongkanguru territory, themselves having been displaced by Wongkamala. Five-named hordes are listed by Howitt (1904). They practiced both circumcision and subincision as male rites of initiation.

Coord.: 139°0'E x 28°20'S.

Area: 8,400 sq. m. (21,800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Diari, Diyeri, Dieyerie, Deerie, Dieyrie, Dayerrie, Dthee-eri, Dickeri (misprint), Kunari (n.n. of Cooper Creek), Koonarie, Wongkadieri (Arabana term), Wonkadieri, Ti:ari (of southern Aranda), Urrominna (southern term for Dieri, Kujani, and Tirari—a general term).

Ref.: Meissel, 1871; Gason, 1874, 1879, 1888, 1895; Gason in Taplin, 1879; Fison and Howitt, 1880; Howitt, 1884, 1885, 1890, 1891, 1904; Kingsmill in Curr, 1886; East, 1889; Homann in Threlkeld, 1892; Wells, 1894; Helms, 1896; Stirling, 1896; Spencer and Gillen, 1897, 1904; Semon, 1899; Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6448 and 6528); Eylmann, 1908; Planert, 1908; Leonhardi, 1908, 1909; Siebert, 1910; Strehlow, 1910; Giglioli, 1911; Brown, 1914; Spencer, [1914]; J. Reuther, 1914 MS (in So. Aust. Museum); Gatti, 1930; Elkin, 1931; Tindale, 1934 MS; Tindale in Fenner, 1936; Fry, 1937; Tindale, 1940; Berndt and Vogelsang, 1939, 1941 (2 papers); Reuther and Strehlow (New Testament in Dieri); Berndt, 1953; Trefry, 1970.

Erawirung 'Erawiruŋ

Loc.: On the eastern bank of Murray River from above Paringa to Loxton and about 15 miles (40 km.) farther south in sandy country, away from the river. On the western side of river from Rufus Creek west to near Overland Corner. One of the small tribes collectively called Meru. Three hordes were listed by Shaw. They possessed mines of chert stone at Springcart Gully and south of Renmark and defended them. The chert appeared in horizons at Devon Downs rock-shelter.

Coord.: 140°35'E x 34°20'S.

Area: 1,300 sq. m. (3,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Jirau (valid alternative), Eraweerung, Eramwirrangu, Erawiruck, Jeraruk (name of a horde), Yerraruck, Yirau, Yiran (misprint), Pomp-malkie, Meru (['meru] = man, a general term), Juju (of the Maraura ['ju:] = no), Yuyu, You-you, Rankbirit (name of a horde), Wilu (name of a horde), Willoo.

Ref.: Shaw in Taplin, 1879; Fison and Howitt, 1880; Brown, 1918; Hale and Tindale, 1930; Tindale, 1939, 1940, and MS.

Jadliaura 'Jadliaura

Loc.: Eastern side of northern Flinders Ranges from Wertaloona south to Carrieton and Cradock; east to Frome Downs; at Holowilena Station on Siccus River; west to Arkaba and Hawker. They practiced circumcision as a male rite of initiation but resisted the introduction of the further rite of subincision. Sandstones suitable for millstones at Wertaloona attracted visitors from the north.

Coord.: 139°10'E x 31°25'S.

Area: 7,400 sq. m. (19,200 sq. km.).

Alt.: Yadliaura, Yadlikowera, Yaldikowera (error of transposition of d and l), Arkaba-tura (['Arkaba] = place name, ['tura] = man), Wonoka (place name), Eura (general term for several tribes).

Ref.: Gason in Curr, 1886; Green in Curr, 1886; Wills in Curr, 1886; Elkin, 1931, 1938; Tindale, 1940, 1964 MS; F. R. Warwick, 1964 pers. comm.

Jandruwanta 'Jandru'wanta

Loc.: South of Cooper Creek from Innamincka to Carraweena; on Strzelecki Creek. They practiced only the male rite of circumcision.

Coord.: 140°25'E x 28°20'S.

Area: 10,900 sq. m. (28,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Yandruwunta, Yandruwonta, Yantruwanta, Jendruwonta, Yandra Wandra, Yandrawontha, Yanderawantha, Yantowannta, Jandruwalda (valid alternative), Yanduwulda, Endawarra, Innamouka (poor version of place name, Innamincka).

Ref.: Gason, 1874, 1895; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6464), 1899 (Gr. 6445), 1900 (Gr. 6526 AND 6448), 1905 (Gr. 6454), 1907 (Gr. 6580), 1908 (Gr. 6492); Sharpe, 1901; Howitt, 1904; Howitt and Siebert, 1904; Eylmann, 1908; Strehlow, 1910; Basedow, 1925; Elkin, 1931; Tindale, 1940, and MS.

Jangkundjara 'Jaŋkundjara

Loc.: Musgrave Ranges east of Oparinna, on Officer Creek; north to near Mount Robert, east to Everard Ranges, south to latitude 28°30'. In 1917 (dated by the annular eclipse of 30 July 1916), a portion of the tribe moved south to Ooldea in company with a few Antakirinja at the end of a major drought, under threat of the attacks of Pitjandjara; their western and northern areas are now usurped by Pitjandjara. Their immediately pre-1917 boundary is that shown on the map; at still earlier date, according to statements, their western boundary was at Butler Dome 45 miles (100 km.) farther to the northwest. This is the Everard Range tribe of Helms and of White. Hordal names that may cause confusion include the Madodjara of the Tjundi area who shifted south toward Ooldea and the Ngonde Jangkundja of the Everard Range, living in the Mount Chandler area. The latter are also called the Walaringonda. The Ngonde Ngolajanu were in the north, formerly extending to Ayers Rock (Uluuru) but were driven south by the Pitjandjara in 1917. The Katjilaranda (Kartjilaranda) went west to Mount Lindsay and also claimed Kalaiapiti, the ceremonial place of the westernmost horde of the Pitjandjara.

Coord.: 131°55'E x 27°15'S.

Area: 22,000 sq. m. (57,200 sq. km.).

Alt.: Jangkundjadjara (extended form), Jangundjara, Jankundjadjara, Jankunzazara (z = an editorial substitution in *Oceania*, for *dj* symbol), Jankuntjatjara, Jankuntjatara, Jankundjindjara, Yankunjara, Yangundjadjara, Janggundjara, Jangwundjara (typographical error in first edition), Nankundjara (presumed typographical error in Rept. Aust. Inst. of Ab. Studies, 1965:19), Ankundjara, "Everard Range Tribe," Alinjera (means north), Kaltjilandjara (a Pitjandjara term for Jangkundjara, actually the name of their southwesternmost horde). Wirtjapakandja (see discussion in chap. 4).

Ref.: Wells, 1890, 1893; Helms, 1896; White, 1915, 1916; Black, 1915, 1920; Campbell and Lewis, 1926; Tindale and Hackett, 1933; Fry, 1934; Tindale, 1937, 1940, 1957 MS, 1963 MS, 1966 MS, 1972; Love, 1938 MS; Elkin, 1940; Berndt, 1959; T. G. H. Strehlow, 1965.

Jarildekald 'Jarildəkald

Loc.: East side of Lake Alexandrina and Murray River from Loveday Bay to Mobilong; on Narrung peninsula; east to Meningie and Cookes Plains (more than fifteen hordes). Indicated as 5 on SE map. The name is said to have originated in the phrase "Jarawalangan?" "Where shall we go?" said by a people who arrived on the seashore at the mouth of the Murray River from the interior, and did not know how to go on. The name Narrinyeri as used by Taplin is a general term for several tribes. His data when checked appears to belong principally to this tribe but the equating of Narrinyeri with Yaralde (Australian Encyclopedia, 1958) is wrong. The term Narinjeri means "belonging to men."

Coord.: 139°20'E x 35°30'S.

Area: 500 sq. m. (1,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Jaralde (valid alternative; short form), Jarildikald, Yarilde, Yaralde, Yarrildie, Jaraldi, Yarildewallin (Jaralde speech), Yalawarre, Lakalinyeri (horde at Point McLeay), Warawalde (a northern horde at Nalpa), "Piccanini Murray people."

Ref.: Penny, 1840 MS; Meyer, 1843, 1846; Taplin, 1872, 1873, 1878, 1879, and MS; Taplin in Fison, 1874; Taplin in Smyth, 1878; East, 1889; Eylmann, 1910; Black, 1917; Brown, 1918; Tindale, 1926–1941 MS, 1935, 1940; Tindale and Mountford, 1936; Tindale and Lindsay, 1963; Berndt, 1940 (3 papers), 1941, 1965; Harvey, 1943; Berndt and Berndt, 1965.

Jauraworka 'Jauraworka

Loc.: North of Cooper Creek to Haddon Downs and Cadelga; at Cordillo Downs; west into sandhills east of Goyder Lagoon; east to about Arrabury; southeast nearly to Innamincka, but that area is also claimed by the Ngurawola and doubts exist. They practiced circumcision, but not subincision, as an initiation rite for males.

Coord.: 140°25'E x 26°40'S.

Area: 5,600 sq. m. (14,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Yauroworka, Yarrawaurka, Yarrawurka, Yauroka, Yauarawaka, Yarroworka, Jaurorka, Yaurorka, Yarawuarka, Yerawaka, Yowerawoolka, Yowerawarrika.

Ref.: Gason, 1874, 1895; Cornish in Curr, 1886; Wimberley, 1899; Mathews, 1899 (Gr. 6445), 1900 (Gr. 6448, 6524, 6526), 1905 (Gr. 6454); Howitt, 1904; Howitt and Siebert, 1904; Eylmann, 1908; Elkin, 1931; Tindale, 1940.

Jeljendi 'Jeljendi

Loc.: Mulligan River south of Annandale to Alton Downs; east to Birdsville and Diamantina River; west to near Atna Hill. Color plate 15 is relevant.

Coord.: 138°45'E x 25°40'S.

Area: 6,900 sq. m. (17,900 sq. km.).

Alt.: Jeljujendi, Yelyuyendi, Yarleeyandee.

Ref.: Paull in Curr, 1886; Howitt, 1904; Howitt and Siebert, 1904; Strehlow, 1910; Tindale, 1940, 1945.

Karanguru 'Karaŋ

Loc.: South of Alton Downs on Eyre Creek; east to Pandi Pandi; on the Eleanor River; south to northern margin of Goyder Lagoon. Wells listed fourteen named hordes. Color plate 16 is relevant.

Coord.: 138°40'E x 26°25'S.

Area: 3,200 sq. m. (8,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Karangura, Kararngura, Kurangooroo, Andrawilla (native name of early police camp; now Andrewilla).

BLACK AND WHITE PLATES



1. Maroadunei, Ngandi tribe song maker and carrier of trade parcels of quartzite knives and spear blades in southern Arnhem Land. Helper of N. B. Tindale during his fieldwork in 1921–1922 on the Roper River and on Groote Eylandt, Northern Territory.

3. Four Djaui tribeswomen and two dogs on a double-ended raft, tide riding off Sunday Island, King Sound, Western Australia. Such a raft suggests minimal equipment required by the original landing parties arriving from mainland of Asia during Wisconsin Ice Age. E. J. Stuart photograph.





2. Wet season huts of Ingura tribe at Yetiba, Emerald River, Groote Eylandt, Northern Territory. They are roofed with stringybark and *Melaleuca* bark sheets, January 1922.

4. Barunguan man walking along a native track near mouth of Stewart River, Princess Charlotte Bay, Queensland. *Pandanus* and mangroves in distance indicate it skirts estuarine shoreline. Track is typical of others traversing great distances around Australia wherever pathway is restricted, February 1928.





5. Two Ngadadjara women returning to camp along a native path down Elder Creek, Warburton Ranges, Western Australia, carrying newly cut digging sticks, August 1935.



6. Ngadadjara women digging for roots in dried up temporary swamp, Warupuju, Warburton Ranges, Western Australia, August 1935.

7. Afternoon scene in wintertime camp of Ngadadjara at Warupuju, Warburton Ranges, Western Australia, August 1935.



8. Scene in same camp as pl. 7 as temperature drops an hour later. Bodies are freshly greased with kangaroo fat against chill of night, August 1935.





9. Early morning smoke pall over a camp of approximately one hundred Pitjandjara people of four hordes congregated at Poka on northern side of Trew Gap, Mann Ranges, South Australia, July 1933.



10. Women and children warming themselves at temporary fire set in debris under a mulga (*Acacia aneura*) shrub while traveling in early morning west of Poka in Mann Ranges, South Australia, July 1933.

11. Pitjandjara woman provides her husband with a drink fetched from Poka Rockhole in early morning. Tufts of dry mulga grass seen are placed in carved wooden vessel to limit splashing while being carried on the head. Mann Ranges, South Australia, July 1933.



12. Noonday halt during traveling. Podalja Waterhole, western end of Musgrave Ranges. Pitjandjara woman has almost whole of available water of a small supply in this one dish, June 1933.





13. Ngadadjara woman soaking lerp scale insects from infested mulga *(Acacia aneura)* twigs to make sugary drink for her family. Warupuju, Warburton Ranges, Western Australia, July 1935.



14. Noonday camp of men in shade of river red gum tree *(Eucalyptus camaldulensis)* at Warupuju to discuss forthcoming ceremonials in connection with initiation of young men, Elder Creek, Warburton Ranges, Western Australia, August 1935.

15. Children dig for corms of *Cyperus rotundus*, ['jelka] nut grass, on camping area at Cockatoo Creek in Walpiri tribe country, Northern Territory, August 1931.



16. Young unmarried Ngadadjara women at leisure beside never failing supply of water at Warupuju obtained from shallow holes dug in bed of Elder Creek, Warburton Ranges, Western Australia, August 1935.





17. Ngadadjara girls halt in their play to watch activities near the camp, Warupuju, Warburton Ranges, Western Australia, August 1935.



18. First generation half-caste aboriginal of Roper River, Northern Territory, with porcupine *(Echidna)* captured on Groote Eylandt, April 1922.

19. Ngadadjara women with new poles of mulga wood to be fashioned into digging sticks by controlled charring and scraping of chisel point at thicker end. Elder Creek, Warburton Ranges, Western Australia, August 1935.



20. Pintubi man of country west of Mount Liebig, Northern Territory selecting stick from a witjuti bush *(Acacia kempeana)* for making into highly prized composite hunting spear with lashed on wooden peg barb, similar to those traded to northwest of Western Australia as described in chapter 5.





21. Pintubi man straightening fire heated witjuti bush stick while holding sand in his palms to protect them from heat. His thick-soled feet need no protection. An older spear stands behind him. Mount Liebig, Northern Territory, August 1932.



22. Boy searching for water in rock crevice at Wiluwiluru, near Trew Gap, while Pitjandjara party was traveling across the Mann Ranges, South Australia, July 1933.

23. Pitjandjara woman and child watching burning of twig nest of house-building rats (*Leporillus conditor*). Dogs take the rats and with difficulty are made to surrender them to the people. Mallee (*Eucalyptus*) scrub on the plain west of Mount Crombie, South Australia, July 1933.



24. Ngadadjara women, with tired children at foot, searching for mulga poles suitable for new digging sticks. See also pl. 19.





25. Ngadadjara married woman collecting scattered seed of purslane on a flat, flooded earlier by rains of previous summer. Her equipment is a wooden dish or ['pana] and a pair of hands. Several other kinds of seed may be gathered in the same manner.



26. She spreads dry plants out on an ancient termitarium that has weathered down to ground level, tramples on them, and throws away dried stems and dross.

27. She winnows out dust.



28. She rocks mixed seed, gravel, and waste plant matter in dish, discarding the heavy and light particles that shift to right or left according to particular rocking techniques she employs. Carrying ring or head pad, a flat millstone or metate, and a short digging stick are evident.



Gathering and preparation of ['wakati], seed of purslane (*Portulaca oleracea*) as described in chapter 7. Collecting area was on Elder Creek, Warburton Ranges, August 1935.



29. The separate mounds of debris she leaves behind her on return to camp.



30. Behind her breakwind shelter of mallee *(Eucalyptus)* branches back home, she cleans the wakati, or purslane seed, by further rockings in her better dishes.

31. She picks out any remaining impurities from finished product.



32. Her son waits impatiently for the food he sees is about to be available. A so-called licking stone used to crush the oily seeds lies on the nether millstone before her. In this instance she prepared a solid oily cake from the crushed meal and cooked it in warm ashes before dividing the cake between husband and son.





33. Women on a grassed flood plain during dry season sweeping up grass seeds gathered about their nests by a small species of black ant.



34. A bean tree wood dish with longitudinal riffles and a raw harvest of seed.

35. Preliminary rocking of grass seed combined with winnowing to free it of dirt.



36. After being trodden and rubbed by semirotary movements of the woman's feet in the hole against the tree seen mid-right, the seed is rocked to separate chaff from grain.



Gathering and preparation of konakandi or grass seed bread among Iliaura people of Macdonald Downs. These scenes are shown in published 16mm film taken, as Macdonald Downs Reel 2, by University of Adelaide Anthropological Expedition, August 1930.



37. Woman engaged in wet milling grain. She is in the act of pushing away from her dampened grain, part of heap already on the stone, using flat upper millstone. Dish of water lies at her left.



38. Two women show similarities in their individual techniques. Notice dish to receive the crushed wet grain lies under the right side of nether millstone.

39. Having placed a molded loaf in ashes, a frame of glowing sticks over it helps to harden the crust before it is covered over with ashes for baking.



40. The cooked and still tender loaf is brushed clean of its coating of ashes.

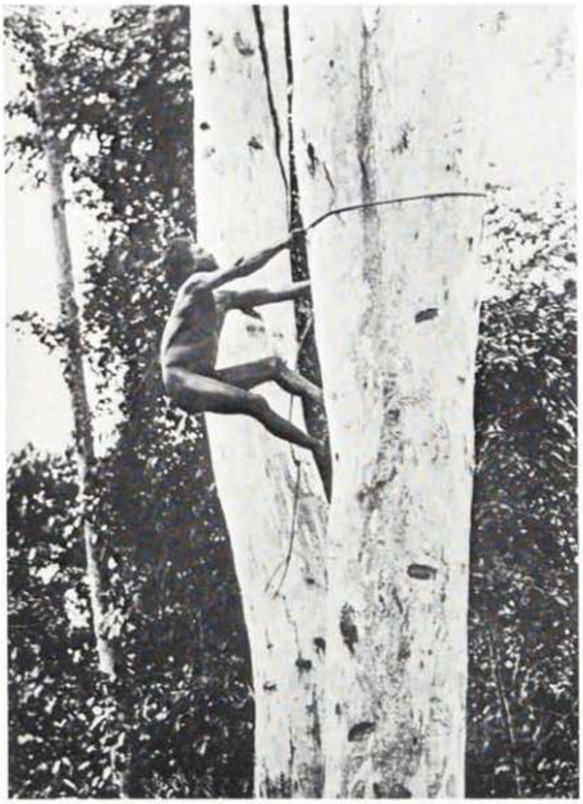




41. Looking across rain forest and coastal swamps to Hinchinbrook Island from vicinity of Mount Leach at boundary between Keramai and Bandjin territories, Queensland. At right is cycad palm *(Macrozamia)*, the poisonous fruits of which are crushed, leached in running water, the meal strained through special baskets, and then prepared as a food cake.

42. Water lilies (*Nymphaea stellata*) growing in deep billabongs or oxbow bend lakes in lower courses of tropical rivers in northern Queensland and Northern Territory. Photograph at Walmadja Lagoon on the Roper River. Seeds, stems, and root corms, as well as flowers, yield food. Mara tribe country.





43. Negritoid native of Atherton Plateau, Queensland, climbing rain forest tree by running up it using loop of cane. Much food in form of fruits and seeds was obtained from canopy. Photographer unknown, about 1890.



44. Strangling fig, one of several species yielding figs in rain forests. Photograph at Mona Mona in Tjapukai negritoid country, September 1938.

45. Bunya Mountain pines (*Araucaria bidwillii*) in Bunya Mountains, Queensland, territory of Waka-waka tribe. Harvests of this seed every third year led to trespass by surrounding tribes.



46. Ingura man chopping out cache of honey from native bees' nest in bloodwood tree at Emerald River, Groote Eylandt, Northern Territory, November 1921.





47. Five approach postures assumed by a Ngalia tribesman while stalking a feeding kangaroo in open spear grass country near 22° south latitude on Cockatoo Creek, Northern Territory, August 1931. The sequence starts with placing of the spear-thrower hook in the end of spear. Spear was finally launched from a distance of about 8 yards (7 m.). Each approach move was made only while the animal had its head down in the act of feeding.

Kangaroo cooking sequence at Warupuju, Warburton Ranges, Western Australia, August 1935. Ngadadjara tribe.



48. Kangaroo, killed near the camp has not been trussed for carrying on the head as happens when killed at a distance.



49. Man's wife piles brushwood over shallow oven pit 4 feet (just over 1 m.) long while he cuts open lower limbs to expose long sinews, using stone flakes chipped on the spot, used and discarded.

50. Levering out sinews using his wife's digging stick. Newly extracted long sinews, to be used in lashing his spear splicings, are to be seen tucked in his hair belt.



51. Singeing off of fur as brush fire heats sand about oven pit.





52. Completion of singeing process using long pole because of heat. His young son comes to see how meal is progressing. Heat contracts flesh of legs after which hind feet are cut off.

54. Old man Katabulka, who is shown again in pl. 69, cuts and distributes meat while children eat their shares. A layer of twigs and leaves keeps flesh from contact with ground.





53. Kangaroo, laid on its back in oven hole, is covered with hot ashes. Tidbits of flesh from feet are being placed in ashes to be eaten as man waits for cooking of kangaroo. Since all body openings were twitched shut after removal of intestinal contents, all body juices are retained within body of animal and, as steam, helps to cook the flesh.

55. The woman, shown also in pls. 25-32, strips meat from her share of rib cage with her teeth. When the animal is young or there is a shortage of meat, rib bones are pounded on stone to make a kind of mince. This is a favorite evening occupation of children.





56. Young Ngadadjara men prepare their weapons. Smoke fires toward the west herald the prospective arrival of strangers or ngatari. Warupuju, August 1935. Their camp has a breakwind placed to lift southeastern trade winds; dead fires show their camp has been occupied for several days and that it is after midafternoon. Similar unmarried men's camps are sketched in figs. 29 and 30.

58. The Nana tribesmen driven in from the west by lack of water stride nervously about with their spears at the ready as they identify themselves. A generation had elapsed since contact with their eastern neighbors, and there was some unfinished business about a promise of marriage. The old man Katabulka carried out a wooden dish of water as a sign of friendship. Spears were thrown, but, as signs of lessening anger, they were allowed to fall short.





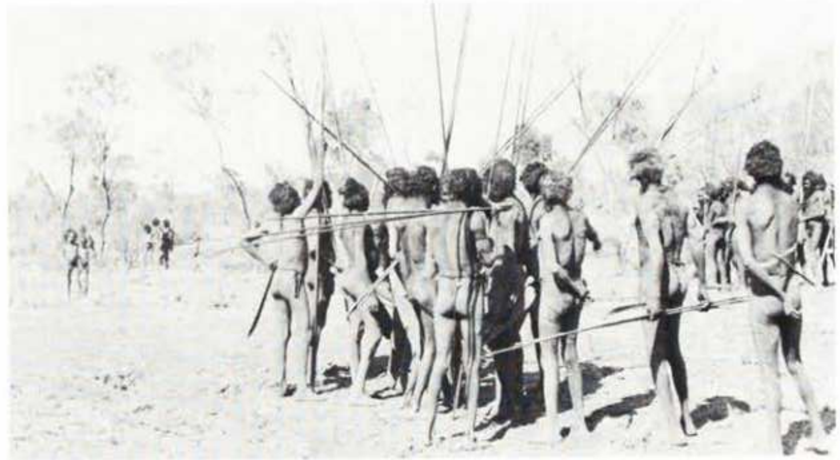
57. The Ngadadjara in the foreground confront the western strangers as they approach armed, with their womenfolk waiting in the distance.

59. A leading and highly tensed Nana visitor paced about, stiff-legged and shouting loudly, after the other men had calmed down and were exchanging information on their kinship status. Warupuju, Warburton Ranges, Western Australia, August 1935.





60. Armed men, their bodies decorated with red ochres, appear on the edge of the camping area at Mount Liebig. They sit down with their spears and spear-throwers ready to use and with additional spears behind them.



61. A body of Ngalia and Jumu men, fully armed, move toward them and the visitors stand also with spears in hand. Venturesome boys watch on the outskirts.

62. Ngoritjukurupa approaches the visitors, spear-thrower in hand, and talks with an old man visitor. As learned later, they talked of how the old man became partly hamstrung so that he walked lamely.



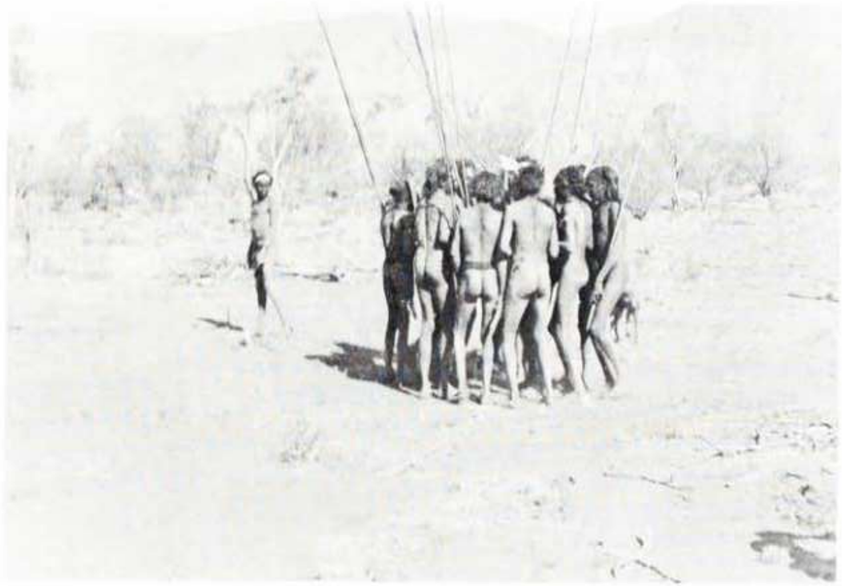
63. The Pintubi visitors, more at their ease, put their spears behind them and await a ceremonial welcome or reception.



First contact within memory of the Pintubi of the Kintore Ranges and their eastern neighbors the Ngalia and a few Jumu tribesmen at Mount Liebig, Northern Territory, August 1932.

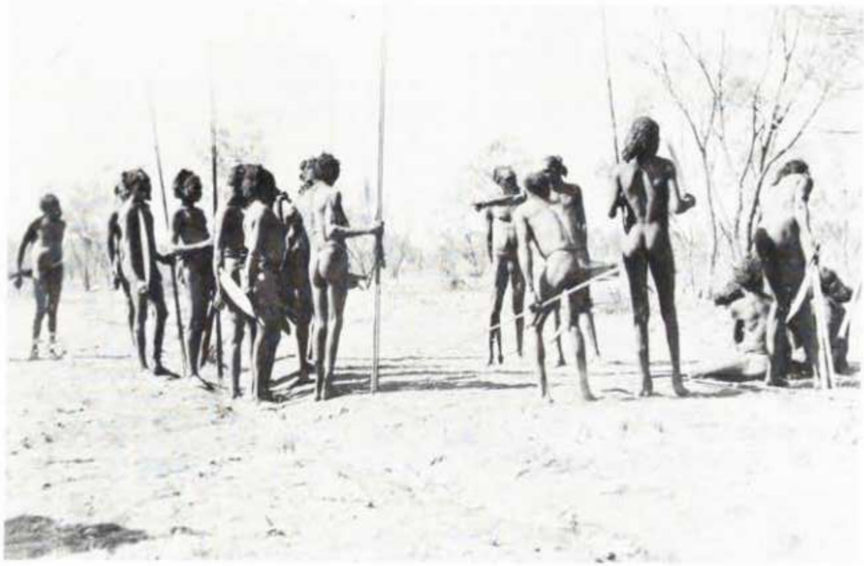


64. The resident Ngalia and Jumu parade in a body at the double and come together in a compact body shouting in unison.



65. The Ngalia men are in a closed circle as they shout.

66. They move slowly in a body toward the visitors and by totemic names and section terms establish the generation level of each person and hence their kinship status with respect to one another.

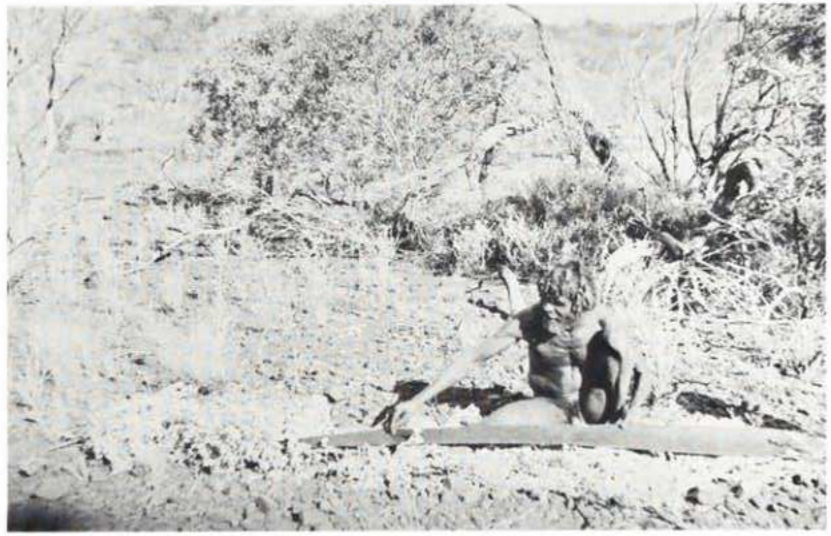


67. The Pintubi men now at ease are joined by children.





68. At Berumoi the younger brother of the hordal elder of the northernmost horde of Bentinck Island, Queensland, Kaiadilt tribe, stands on their source of wealth in stone, the best outcrop on the island of silcrete for bifacially chipped fist axes.



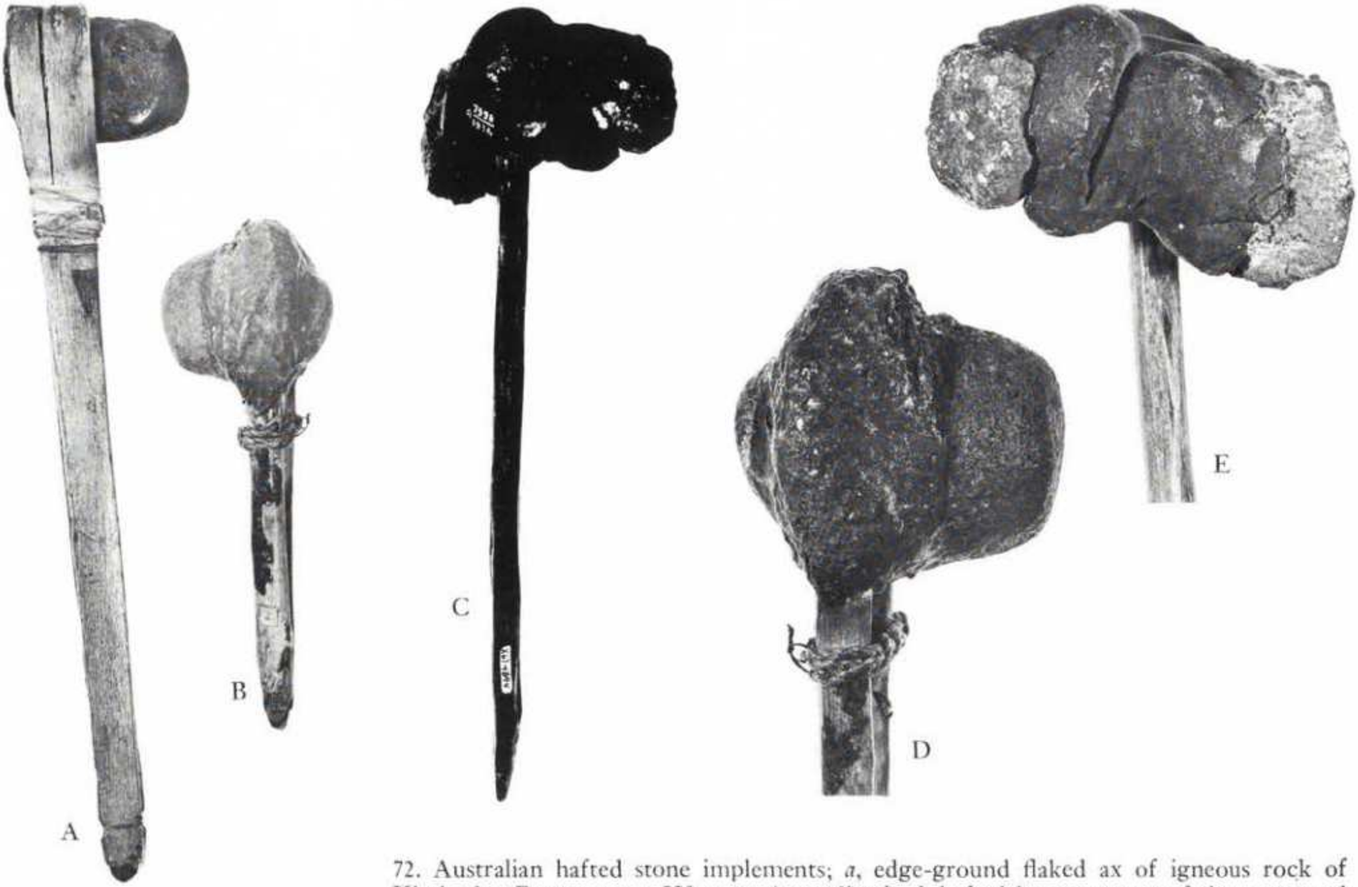
69. Katabulka, the elder of the horde at Warupuju, displays his inma walpalpa board of the tawalpa or crescent-marked wallaby *(Onychogale lunata)*, as indication of his right to the place Warupuju. Ngadadjara tribe, August 1935.

70. A young initiated youth of the Ngadadjara sits beside the Tawalpa totemic being, turned to stone, on a mulga flat a little south of the water at Warupuju, Warburton Ranges, Western Australia, August 1935.



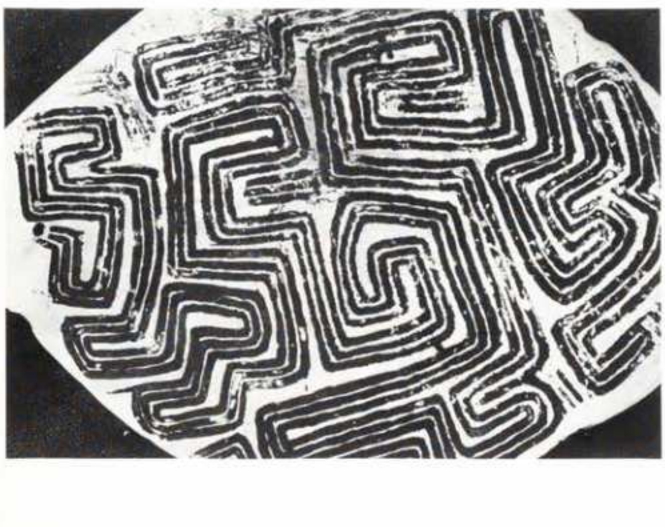
71. A Pintubi visitor at Mount Liebig in August 1932 demonstrates the number of sleeps on a journey west beyond Lake Macdonald to the place of birth of his wife; each place in his country is given a name.





72. Australian hafted stone implements; *a*, edge-ground flaked ax of igneous rock of Kimberley Ranges type, Western Australia; *b*, *d*, hafted hammerstone of the type used in grass seed preparation, hammer dressing of sandstone milling slabs and shaping by hammering of stone axes of the Cloncurry area, Queensland; *c*, ['kodja] ax with *karta* type cutting stone, right edge, and hammer, linked with *Xanthorrhoea* resin to a hardwood climbing stick, Western Australia; *e*, crude type of ['kodja], resin hafted, with hammer head to left and knapped cutting edge to right. Resin is shrinking with age and distorted by heat flow. (Specimens in Museum of Ethnic Arts, UCLA, Wellcome Collection.)

73. Pearl shell ornament of type called ['pirapira] from northwestern part of Western Australia and traded southeastward into the Western Desert where these ornaments become deformed by the scraping away of the edges in making of white powder used in rainmaking rites to cause appearance of rains of northwest monsoon. (Specimen in H. Petri Collection, Frankfurt-am-Main.)



74. Men painting concentric spirals and circles, representing idea of the home, place of origin, or clan territory of a given group, indicated by a name of a totemic animal or other Being. Ngadadjara men demonstrating their designs at Warupuju, Warburton Ranges, Western Australia, August 1935.





75. Dog Beings enter the territory of the Malu.



76. Dogs contend with the Malu for possession of the water.

77. Men of ceremonial audience sing as performers dance toward them.



78. In the climactic scene all the performers pile up on one another bringing dance to a sudden conclusion, after which ribaldry and excitement follow the hitherto solemn performance. Young initiates awaiting rite of circumcision are given brief glimpses of the proceedings.



Stages in Increase Ceremony for Kangaroo totem (Malu tjukurupa) of Ngalia tribal place Pikili or Vaughan Springs, Northern Territory. In the Western Desert, enaction of this ceremony is a frequent accompaniment to initial stages of initiation ceremonies accompanying circumcision. In each tribal area, place of origin of Kangaroo Being is shown as within present limits of tribal area. Thus the Pitjandjara ceremony has its location at Malupiti in the Tomkinson Ranges, on the western border of South Australia.



79. Camp dingo scavenging at Warupuju, Warburton Ranges, Western Australia. Normal wild animals are light brown in color but aborigines tend to select odd-colored variants from wild litters on which they feed.



80. Tamed camp dingo rearing pups, Warupuju, Warburton Ranges, Western Australia, August 1935.

81. Ngadadjara youth of the Warburton Ranges who has just finished his initiations by having submitted to rite of subincision. Age about twenty-one or twenty-two years. August 1935.



82. Young unmarried women of the Ngadadjara tribe, Warupuju, Warburton Ranges, Western Australia, August 1935. Ages range from about fifteen to seventeen.





83. Hastily painted Mara man and his wife are intercepted on their way to take part in a quarrel, Roper River, east of Leichhardt Bar, 1922.

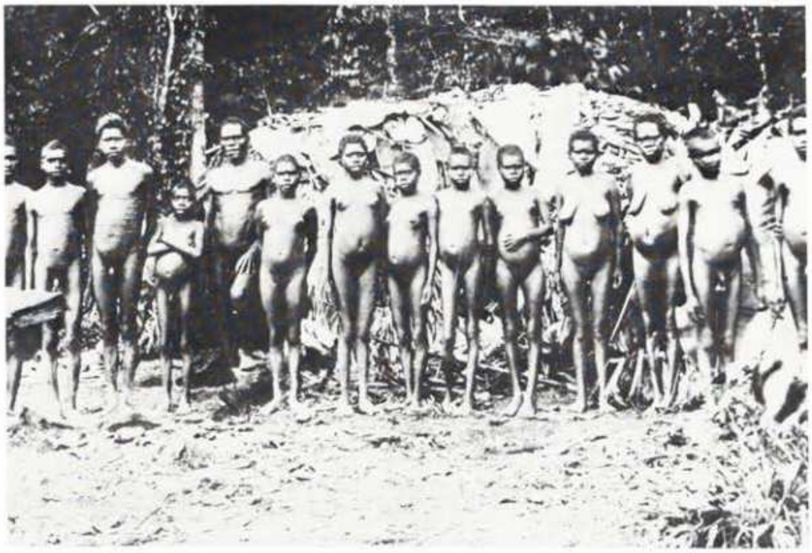


84. Ngadadjara tribe girl and boy of six years of age, Warupuju, Warburton Ranges, Western Australia, August 1935.

85–86. Young married woman decorating her body with bands of red ochre on skin freshly coated with kangaroo fat. The red ochre has been rubbed to a powder on stone before which she is seated. Her situation is similar to that indicated at the bottom right of fig. 29.





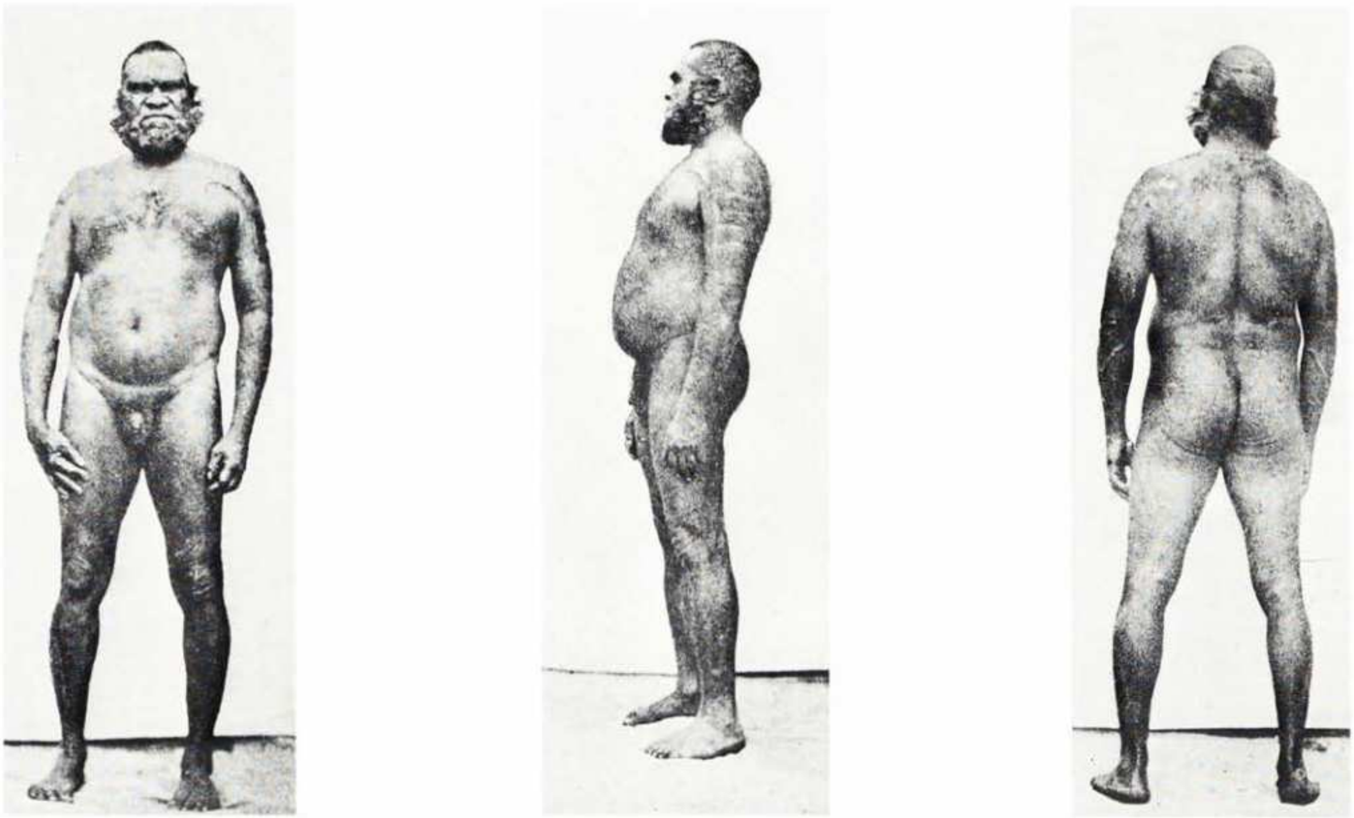


87. Camp of Barrinean negritoid aborigines in the rain forest covering parts of Atherton Plateau, Queensland, with wild banana leaf thatched huts. Atkinson photograph, period around 1890.

88-89. Middle-aged man showing the Murrayian characteristic of extreme body hair. He and his companion are standing beside the old abandoned Canning Stock Route Well 22, native name Madaleiri, in Western Australia. Photograph by B. H. Stinnear during A. T. Wells Geological Expedition, July 1957, with permission.







90. Male of robust Murrayian type, age unknown. Phographed at Mount Barker, South Australia, by William Barlow in 1867. Probably a member of the Peramangk tribe or from the adjoining Lake Alexandrina area.



91. Adult male, age unknown, of Murrayian type, Mount Barker, South Australia. Photograph by William Barlow, 1867.



92. Pitjandjara male, 48 years of age, of the Mann Ranges, South Australia, June 1933. Represents the Desert type of mixed Carpentarian in the classification by J. B. Birdsell.

Ref.: Paull in Curr, 1886; Wells, 1894; Howitt, 1904; Howitt and Siebert, 1904; Eylmann, 1908; Strehlow, 1910; Giglioli, 1911; Tindale, 1940.

Kaurna 'Kaurna

Loc.: Cape Jervis to Port Wakefield along eastern shore of Gulf St. Vincent; inland to near Crystal Brook, Snowtown, Blyth, Hoyleton, Hamley Bridge, Clarendon, Gawler, and Myponga; from the east side of the Hummock Range to Red Hill where northern hordes were sometimes known as the Nantuwara. Inland the Jultiwira or stringy bark forests of the Mount Lofty Ranges marked their boundary. The Kaurna were the southernmost tribe to perform the initiatory rite of circumcision. Their territory was very correctly indicated as 2,800 square miles (7,200 sq. km.) with a population of 650 in the South Australian Register of 30 January 1842. Ivaritji, the last woman survivor, who died in 1931, provided much of our scanty knowledge of the Kaurna. A southern horde spoke a slight dialect at Rapid Bay. Tunkalilla Beach, 12 miles (20 km.) east of Cape Jervis, was given as the actual ['keinari] or boundary with the Ramindjeri. East (1889) incorrectly included the related Yorke Peninsula people, the Narangga, under his term Padnayndie. This is in the form Padnaindi, a hordal term for the folk living between Hamley Bridge and Crystal Brook.

Coord.: 138°30'E x 34°35'S.

Area: 2,800 sq. m. (7,200 sq. km.).

Alt.: Kaura (misprint for Kaurna), Coorna, Koornawarra, Nantuwara ("Kangaroo speakers," name given to northern hordes), Nantuwaru, Nganawara, Meljurna ("quarrelsome men," said of northern hordes of Kaurna), Kurumidlanta (Pangkala term, lit. "evil spirits"), Milipitingara (MS), Midlanta (another name given by Pangkala), Widninga (Ngadjuri term applied to Kaurna of Port Wakefield and Buckland Park), Winaini (horde north of Gawler), Winnaynie, Meyu (['meju] = man), Wakanuwan (name applied by Jarildekald to this and some other tribes, including Ngaiawang), "Adelaide tribe," Warra (means "speech" a name for language), Warrah, Karnuwarra ("hills language," a northern dialect, presumably that of Port Wakefield), Jaitjawar:a ("our own language"), Padnaindi (horde name), Padnayndie, Medaindi (horde living near Glenelg), Medaindie, Merildekald (Tanganekald term also loosely given to Peramangk), Merelde (Ramindjeri term applied most frequently to the Peramangk but also to the Kaurna).

Ref.: J. Stephens, 1839; Williams, 1839; Teichelmann, 1840; Teichelmann and Schürmann, 1840; Gell, 1842; South Australian Register, 1842; Cawthorne, 1844 MS, 1926; Moorhouse, 1844; Schürmann, 1844; Eyre, 1845; Behr, 1848; Wyatt, 1879; Mueller, 1882; E. Stephens, 1889; East, 1889; McKinlay in Howitt, 1904; Howitt, 1904; Howchin and Gregory, 1909; Strehlow, 1910; Parkhouse, 1936; Tindale, 1931 MS, 1936, 1940; Tindale and Mountford, 1936; Berndt, 1940; Tindale and Lindsay, 1963.

Kokata 'Kokaṭa

Loc.: At Tarcoola, Kingoonyah, Pimba, and McDouall Peak; west to Ooldea and the Ooldea Range; north to Stuart Range and Lake Phillipson. The junction between Kokata and Pangkala territories is at the rather sudden drop down from the open plateau to the *Acacia* scrub-covered low hills and salt lake area nearer the gulf. Southeastward migratory movements were in progress before 1850; earliest positively known boundaries are indicated on map; the Ooldea area was abandoned after the arrival of Jangkundjara from the north in 1917. The Kokata were the so-called Gawler Range tribe. Their original northwestern boundary was somewhere near 130°E longitude. Their territory included some of the most inhospitable country in Australia; the water from tree roots was a necessary source over much of the area.

Coord.: 134°0'E x 29°20'S.

Area: 54,000 sq. m. (140,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ku:gurda wongga, Kukatha, Kukata, Kokatha, Cocotah, Kookata, Cookutta, Kookatha, Koogatho, Kugurda, Koogurda, Koocatho, Kotit-ta, Kukataja, Gogada, Gugada, Kokatja (Jangkundjara pronunciation), Maduwonga (Arabana, also Jangkundjara term), Madutara (Antakirinja term), Keibara (i.e., "plain turkeys"—a derisive term), Geebera (eastern term), Nganitjiddia, Nganitjidi, Nganitjini ("those who sneak and kill by night," a name applied by Nauo and Pangkala), Kakarrura (as "karkurera" means "east"; applied apprently to horde west of Lake Torrens), Yallingarra (based on cardinal term "alindjara" meaning "east"; read the *g* as *dj*).

Ref.: Schürmann, 1844, 1846, 1879; Hack, 1858; Wilhelmi, 1860; Provis in Taplin, 1879; Tietkins, 1880; Curr, 1886; East, 1889; Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6524, 6448); Howitt and Siebert, 1904; Eylmann, 1908; Bates, 1918; Black, 1920; Jones and Campbell, 1924; Basedow, 1925; Tindale, 1928 MS, 1940, 1951, 1958, 1964 MSS; Sullivan, 1928; Elkin, 1931; Davidson, 1938; Tindale in Condon, 1955; Berndt, 1959; Platt, 1967, 1968, 1970.

Kujani 'Kujani

Loc.: From Parachilna north to Marree on west side of Flinders Ranges; northeast to Murnpeowie; around north end of Lake Torrens; west to Turret Range and Andamooka, excluding Lake Torrens. The northern people know them as Uru:mbula. Another division gives the name Wartakujani (plains country) to those near Lake Torrens and Adjnjakujani to the Kujani living near Leigh Creek and Beltana (the hills Kujani where ['adjna] = hill).

Coord.: 137°55'E x 30°15'S.

Area: 13,200 sq. m. (34,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Kuyani, Kuyanni, Kwiani, Kwiana, Kooyiannie, Gujani, Owinia, Cooyiannie, Kooyeeunna, Kooteeunna, Nganitjidi (of Pangkala, "those who sneak and kill by night"), Ngannityiddi, Ngannityddi, (? misprint).

Ref.: Schürmann, 1846, 1879; So. Aust. Parl. Paper 153, 1857–1858; Wilhelmi, 1860; Jessop, 1862; Kingsmill in Curr, 1886; East, 1889; Helms, 1896; Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6526, 6448); Howitt, 1904; Howitt and Siebert, 1904; Eylmann, 1908; Strehlow, 1910; Horne and Aiston, 1924; Basedow, 1925; Hale and Tindale, 1925; Elkin, 1931; Tindale, 1940.

Maraura (*see* New South Wales).

Marditjali (*see* Victoria).

Meintangk 'Meinta:ŋk

Loc.: Lacepede Bay; north to the Granite Rocks 12 miles (19 km.) north of Kingston; south to Cape Jaffa; east to Lucindale, Blackford, Keilira, and Naracoorte; inland from

Lake Hawdon to Mosquito Creek. There were seven known hordes.

Coord.: 140°15'E x 36°55'S.

Area: 1,500 sq. m. (3,900 sq. km.).

Alt.: Meintank, Painbali (Tanganekald term), Paintjunga (horde at Penola), Pinchunga, Pinejunga, Mootatunga, Wepulprap (i.e., "southern people" of the Tanganekald, term applied to more than one tribe).

Ref.: Stewart, 1854 MS; Smith, 1880; Tindale, 1937, 1940 (two papers) and MS; Davidson, 1938.

Mirning (*see* Western Australia).

Narangga 'Naraŋga

Loc.: Yorke Peninsula; north to Port Broughton; east to Hummock Range; at Bute, Wallaroo, Ardrossan, Marion Bay, and Cape Spencer. Four named hordes are known.

Coord.: 137°35'E x 34°35'S.

Area: 2,500 sq. m. (6,500 sq. km.).

Alt.: Narrangga, Narranga, Narrang-gu, Narrang-u, Naranga (Ngadjuri term), Narunga, Adjadura (['ngadja 'tura] "my people"), Adjahdurah, Turra, Wallaroo tribe (a horde), Murinandji (eastern and Ngadjuri name for the tribe). Moor-in-nunjie.

Ref.: McEntire in Taplin, 1879; Kühn in Fison and Howitt, 1880; Howitt, 1884, 1904; Sutton in Howitt, 1884; Kühn and Fowler in Curr, 1886; Sutton, 1889, 1890; East, 1889; Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6448); Semon, 1899; Gillen in Howitt, 1904; Strehlow, 1910; Stirling, 1914; Black, 1920; Tindale, 1936, 1939, 1940 and MS; Berndt, 1940.

Nauo 'Nauo

Loc.: Southwestern half of Eyre Peninsula; west to Cape Radstock, north to beyond Minnipa; east to near Darke Peak; west of Cleve and halfway between Carrow and Franklin Harbor; at Port Lincoln, Mount Hope, Coffin Bay, and Elliston. They principally inhabited the coastal scrub gum tree (*Eucalyptus*) forest country. Pressure from Pangkala was causing a contraction to southwest at time of first white settlement; their protohistoric boundary ran from about the Gawler Ranges to Port Augusta; extinct; all my data from Wirangu and Pangkala informants.

Coord.: 135°30'E x 33°45'S.

Area: 8,000 sq. m. (20,100 sq. km.).

Alt.: Njau, Njao, Ngao (pronunciation of a Pangkala man in 1939), Nawo, Naua, Nowo, Gnowoo, Kadu (= man), Battara (['bat:ara] = scrubby gum), Wiljaru (of Pangkala tribe, means "westerners"), Willuro, Hilleri (Howitt on his 1904 map at p. 44 placed the name Hilleri incorrectly; his text is more correct; the term had a derogatory meaning somewhat like the term Aluritja in central Australia and implied they came out of the Western Desert), Kartawongulta (name of language).

Ref.: Grey, 1844; Schürmann, 1844, 1846, 1879; Angas, 1847; Wilhemi, 1860; Bull, 1878; Clode in Taplin, 1879; East, 1889; Howitt, 1904; Strehlow, 1910; Tindale, 1940 and MS.

Ngadjuri 'Ŋadjuri

Loc.: From Angaston and Freeling north to Clare, Crystal Brook, Gladstone, Carrieton, and north of Waukaringa to Koonamore; east to Mannahill; in Orroroo, Peterborough, Burra, and Robertstown districts; inhabitants of the gum forest areas. In the period just before the arrival of white people, they were making movements toward the Murray River near Morgan in aggressive attempts to impose the rite of circumcision on the river people. Miranda was a leading male until his death in 1849. The Mimbara horde remained living in the northern bushlands until 1905, the last "wild" group in southern South Australia. In their last years these people lived near Quorn, at Riverton, and on Willochra Creek. The term Aluri also spelled variously as Hilleri, Yilrea, Eeleeree, etc., is a general term for several tribes here and on the west coast of South Australia.

Coord.: 139°0'E x 33°5'S.

Area: 11,500 sq. m. (29,900 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ngadluri, Ngaluri, Aluri, Alury, Eeleeree, Hilleri, Hillary, Yilrea, Wirameju (['wira] = gum tree, ['meju] = men, lit. gum forest men), Wirrameyu, Wirramayo, Wirramaya, Wiramaya, Wirra, Weera, Eura (general term for several tribes), Manuri (Nganguruku tribe term, means "big goana people"), Manuri (Nukunu term, claimed to mean inland people), Manu, Monnoo, Manuley, Youngye (name of language), Boanawari (term meaning "bat people," and linked with circumcision; applied by noncircumcising eastern tribes who feared their proselytizing urges) Doora, Burra Burra or Abercrombie tribe (two names for one horde of this tribe), Mimbara (name of the northernmost horde).

Ref.: Angas, 1847; Noble in Taplin, 1879; LeBrun in Curr, 1886; Valentine in Curr, 1886; East, 1889; Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6526, 6448), Hossfeld, 1926; Gray, 1930; Elkin, 1931; Tindale, 1937, 1940, 1952, and 1964 MSS; Berndt and Vogelsang, 1941; Tindale and Lindsay, 1963; Berndt, 1965; R. D. J. Weathersbee, 1971 MS.

Ngaiawang 'Ŋaiawəŋ

Loc.: Along Murray River from Herman Landing to Penn Reach; west to scarp of Mount Lofty Ranges. Devon Downs Rock-shelter, Ngautngaut, was at their southern boundary, a place where eastern visitors, especially the Ngarkat, came during dry times to get water from the Murray River. Eyre (1846) encountered them at Lake Bonney; about ten hordes are known, including Molo, not previously recognized. Moorhouse and Ewens carried the southern limits of the tribe too far downstream leaving no room for the Nganguruku; this tribe is one of the group of smaller tribes along the lower Murray River known to early settlers as Meru. For these Mathews (1898) proposed the artificial "nation" term Narrinyeri originally used in a different sense by Taplin. Richardson gave a name Yokka-yokka for natives at North West Bend but his placings are open to doubt. This name in the form Jakojako applies better to the Danggali who also only visited the river during periods of major drought.

Coord.: 139°35'E x 34°15'S.

Area: 2,400 sq. m. (6,200 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ngaijawa (valid alternative), Ngaiyawa, Ngaiawung, Ngaiyau, Naiawu (language name), Niawoo, Aiawung, Aiawong (said to be language name, Eyre was tone deaf to initial ng sound). Iawung, Nggauaiyo-wangko, Wakanuwan (name applied by the Jarildekald to this, the Nganguruku, and other tribes; they called the language Walkalde), Karn-brikolenbola (horde at Moorunde), Birta (Kaurna and Ngadjuri term), Pijita, Pitta, Pieta, Peeita, Meru (term for

man), Murundi (term used for the Murray River, upriver from Lake Alexandrina in the Jarildekald language, also a given place name south of Blanchetown), Moorunde, Moorundee, Moorundie, Paruru (a derisive term meaning "uncircumcised" also "animal," used by the Kaurna tribe for these and other Murray River tribespeople who do not circumcise).

Ref.: Eyre, 1845; Moorhouse, 1846; Taplin, 1873; Lewis, 1873–1875; Ewens in Taplin, 1879; Fulford in Curr, 1886; East, 1889; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6464); Tindale in Parkhouse, 1935; Tindale, 1939, 1940 and MS; Boehm, 1939.

Ngalea 'ŋalea

Loc.: Salt Lake districts in Western (or Great Victoria) Desert northwest of Ooldea, including Serpentine, Wanna, and Forrest Lakes. In recent years they have also used the areas around Lakes Auwuru, Maurice, Wyola, and Nurrari abandoned by the Kokata for fear of the Jangkundjara. They also used the mallee scrub belt north of the Nullarbor Plains, where water supplies are obtained almost solely from mallee roots. Social organization has no sectional terms; alternate generations system with Nganantaraka and Tanamiltjan. They must not be confused with the Northern Territory tribe at Mount Davenport, the Ngalia, who have a four-class system. They moved as a body south to Ooldea in the 1930s and are now (1969) settled on Yalata Mission near the Head of the Bight, 250 miles (400 km.) southeast of their former home. It appears they had long standing access rights to Ooldea water supplies in drought times and they followed a traditional route in coming south. They now travel by train to Western Australia where they have been reported by one observer as if they were a tribe located there. Their northern boundaries are only known in terms of native waters whose geographic positions have not been fully identified, hence the boundaries shown are uncertain.

Coord.: 129°0'E x 29°0'S.

Area: 15,000 sq. m. (39,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ngalia, Ngalija, Ngaliawongga, Tangara (of eastern tribes; term also used for the Antakirinja), Windakan (name applied to language, also to Wirangu tribe), Nangga (men, i.e., circumcised persons), Nanggarangku (lit. "hostile men," a term applied by the Pitjandjara), Nanggaranggu, Willoorara (means "west").

Ref.: Howitt, 1904; Bates, 1918; Campbell and Lewis, 1926; Elkin, 1931, 1940; Tindale, 1940 and 1957, 1964, 1966, 1968 MSS; Berndt, 1959, 1964; Tindale and George, 1971.

Ngameni 'ŋameni

Loc.: South side of Goyder Lagoon; on the Warburton River and Lakes Howitt and Berlino; north to Pandipandi and the southern vicinity of Birdsville and Miranda. They practiced both circumcision and subincision as rites of initiation. Several writers have not heard the initial [ŋ] sound; a few aborigines of this tribe also drop it.

Coord.: 139°5'E x 26°50'S.

Area: 6,000 sq. m. (15,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ngamini, Ngaminni, Gnameni, Ngnaminni, A:mini, Aumini (of northern tribes and casual variant), Auminie, Aumine, Amini, Ominee, Ahminie, Ahminnie, Uminnie, Agaminni, Awmani.

Ref.: Gason, 1874, 1895; Paull in Curr, 1886; Howitt, 1891, 1904; Helms, 1896; Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6526, 6448); Howitt and Siebert, 1904; Eylmann, 1908; Strehlow, 1910; Reuther, 1914 MS (in So. Aust. museum); Basedow, 1925; Elkin, 1931; Tindale in C. Fenner, 1936; Tindale, 1940, 1963 and MS.

Ngangurukuʼ 'ŋaŋuruku

Loc.: On Murray River from Mannum to south Rhine River junction; west to scarp of Mount Lofty Ranges. Indicated as 1 on southwestern portion of SE map. One of the small tribes along the lower Murray river collectively known as the Meru; sometimes grouped with the Ngaiawang but the vocabulary shows differences. The generation of people who lived on Manunka Mission belonged largely to this tribe; they afterward lived near Morgan where some mixed blood descendants still remain.

Coord.: 139°25'E x 34°50'S.

Area: 600 sq. m. (1,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Meru (in part).

Ref.: Taplin, 1879; Brown, 1918; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Tindale, 1939, 1940 and MS.

Ngaralta 'ŋaraltə

Loc.: Murray River from Wood Hill to Port Mannum; west to Bremer Creek, Palmer, and eastern scarp of Mount Lofty Ranges. Indicated as 2 on southwestern portion of SE map.

Coord.: 139°10'E x 35°5'S.

Area: 300 sq. m. (800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ngaralt, Ngaraltu, Wanaulun and Wanjakalde (Jarildekald terms), Wanyakalde, Wunyakalde, Wanakald.

Ref.: Brown, 1918; Tindale, 1940 and MS.

Ngarkat 'ŋarkət

Loc.: Mallee scrub belt east of Murray River; Alawoona south to Pinnaroo, Taunta, Keith, Tintinara, and Coonalpyn; east to Tatiara and about Murrayville, Vic. Six hordes were listed by Humphries. Water supplies principally were from mallee roots and therefore camps were widely dispersed. A few native wells were present. In times of drought they watered at Devon Downs Rock-shelter (Ngautngaut) on the Murray River, their permitted entry track down the cliff can still be seen 50 yards (45 m.) south of the shelter. In mythology Ngautngaut was a Being who lived in the mallee country and was killed when kneeling to drink water (Mathews, 1904: 367 [Gr. 6452]). It was at Devon Downs Rock-shelter and at Tartanga nearby that the archaeological sequence for the last 8,500 years was first established in Australia. Eyre being tone deaf to initial ng heard the tribal name as Arkatko. A language name was Marditali applied by westerners to other eastern people (see comment under Marditjali tribe, Victoria).

Coord.: 140°20'E x 35°25'S.

Area: 8,700 sq. m. (22,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ngerget, Ngarkato, Ngeruketi (Maraura term), Arkatko, Merkani (Jaralde and Tangane term, means "enemy"), Merkanie, Ratarapa (Nganguruku term), Mangkarupi (Jarildekalde term), Boraipar (language name), Baripung (['bərip] = man), Boripar, Booripung (MS), Tatiari (regional name for mallee desert), Thatiari (general term used by Tanganekald, sometimes included the Potaruwutj),

Duwinbarap (eastern term ['barap] = man), Doenbauraket, Tjakulprap (southeastern term ['parap] = ['barab] = man), Jakalbarap, Jackalbarap, Jacke-gilbrab, Jakel-baluk (Wotjobaluk term), Ngalundji (a name for language), Nalunghee, Wularuki (name for southwestern group), Baine Hill tribe (horde around Lameroo).

Ref.: Eyre, 1845; Angas, 1847; Taplin, 1874; Smyth, 1878; Humphries in Taplin, 1879; East, 1889; Fraser in Threlkeld, 1892; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6560, 6464); Cameron, 1900; Howitt, 1904; Eylmann, 1908; Howchin and Gregory, 1909; Hale and Tindale, 1930; Tindale, 1939, 1940 and MS, 1964 1968 MS; McEntee, 1945; R. G. Kimber, 1969 MS.

Ngawait 'Ŋawait

Loc.: Banks of Murray River from between Boggy Flat and Penn Reach to near Loxton; on western side of Barmera Lake; a small tribe with three or more hordes. One of the small tribes collectively called the Meru or Maru. They had also a southwestern point of access to the Murray River at a place called Wutjuwutj, whose geographical position has been identified lately by an aboriginal as between Nildottie and Devon Downs on the plateau.

Coord.: 140°10'E x 34°15'S.

Area: 1,600 sq. m. (3,900 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ngawaitjung, Nyauaitj, Nauait, Nanait (misprint), Ngawaitjung (language name), Ngawijung, Narwejung, Narwijjong, Narwijjerook, Eritark (Ngangururuku term), Njawatjurk (Maraura term), Meru (general term means man, applied to several tribes), Wem:ara (Ngaiawang term), Barmerara Meru (horde at Barmera), Muljulpero maru (a horde).

Ref.: Eyre, 1845; Angas, 1847; Taplin, 1879; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6569), Brown, 1918; Tindale, 1927 MS, 1939, 1940, and MS; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930.

Ngintait 'Ŋintait

Loc.: Principally on southern bank of Murray River from above Paringa, to near Mildura, Vic.; southern limits approximately 50 miles (80 km.) from river; at Ned Corner, Vic., and Salt Creek, N.S.W.

Coord.: 141°10'E x 34°25'S.

Area: 2,400 sq. m. (6,200 sq. km.).

Alt.: Inteck, Nutcha, Takadok, Merri (language name).

Ref.: Pegler in Curr, 1886; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6464); Brown, 1918; Tindale, 1939, 1940, and MS.

Ngurawola (*see* Queensland).

Ngurunta Ŋu'runta

Loc.: Area from west of Barrier and Coko ranges to eastern shore of Lake Frome; south to about midwaters of Eurinilla Creek; north to about Boolka Lake and vicinity of Yandama Creek. In the first edition this tribal area was included with the Maljanjapa with whom the Ngurunta survivors resided in post-European times. My native informant was one who failed in pronouncing initial ng, hence his renderings were ['Runta] and ['Runda].

Coord.: 140°30'E x 30°45'S.

Area: 6,500 sq. m. (16,900 sq. km.).

Alt.: Runta, Runda.

Ref.: Anonymous (no. 70) in Curr, 1886; Reid in Curr, 1886; Tindale, 1964 MS.

Nukunu 'Nukunu

Loc.: Eastern side of Spencer Gulf from a little north of the mouth of the Broughton River and vicinity of Crystal Brook northward to Port Augusta; east to Melrose, Mount Remarkable, Gladstone, and Quorn; at Baroota. The Ngaiawang of the Murray River used the term Nokunno as name of a fabulous Being who went about by night killing people. The Kaurna tribe term ['nokun:a] has a meaning of an imaginary being, like a man, who prowls at night and kills, an assassin (Teichelmann and Schürmann, 1840). The Nukunu were the southeasternmost tribe to practice subincision, in addition to circumcision, as a male initiation rite. Pangkala men used the pronunciation ['Nukuna] for the name. The few survivors are settled at Baroota inland from Port Germein where they are known as Barutadura.

Coord.: 138°10'E x 32°55'S.

Area: 2,200 sq. m. (5,700 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wongaidja (valid alternative), Nukuna, Nukunnu, Nugunu, Nookoona, Nukunna, Noocoona, Nokunna, Nuguna, Pukunna (misprint), Wongaidja, Wongaidya, Tura (['tura] = man), Tyura, Doora, Eura (general term for several tribes), Warra (name of language), Barutadura (men of Baroota).

Ref.: Teichelmann and Schürmann, 1840; Schürmann, 1844, 1846; Moorhouse, 1846; Wilhelmi, 1860; Hack in Taplin, 1879; Valentine in Curr, 1886; East, 1889; Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6448); Black, 1917; Gray, 1930; Elkin, 1931, 1938; Tindale, 1940, and MS, Tindale in Condon, 1955; Wurm, 1963; A.I.A.S. Report, 1966.

Pangkala 'Paŋkala

Loc.: East side of Lake Torrens south of Edeowie and west of Hookina and Port Augusta; west of Lake Torrens to Island Lagoon and Yardea; at Woorakimba, Hesso, Yudnapinna, Gawler Ranges; south to Kimba, Darke Peak, Cleve, and Franklin Harbour. Two divisions within the tribe were recognized, one the Wartabanggala, living north of Port Augusta and extending to Ogden Hill and almost to Quorn and Beltana; the other the Malkaripangala (note differing pronunciations in the tribal part of name). The latter ranged down the western side of Spencer Gulf. Both divisions practiced circumcision and subincision as male rites of initiation. Prehistoric and protohistoric pressure from the Kokata was modifying their northern boundary, causing a shift of their southern limits also between Port Augusta and the Gawler Ranges down toward Franklin Harbour. In their last years they ventured as far south as Tumby Bay to obtain whipstick mallee wood for spears (Hossfeld). After white settlement they lived around Port Lincoln where both Schürmann and Wilhelmi studied them.

Coord.: 136°55'E x 32°30'S.

Area: 17,500 sq. m. (45,500 sq. km.).

Alt.: Banggala (valid alternative pronunciation), Bahngala, Pankalla, Parkalla (typographical error), Parnkalla, Parn-kal-la, Parnkala, Punkalla, Bangala, Bungela, Pankarla, Punkirla, Bungeha (probably misreading of Bungela), Kortabina (place name), Willeuroo (basic meaning "west," or "westerner"), Arkaba-tura (men of Arkaba, a place in the northeast corner of tribal territory where they met Jadliaura people), Wanbirujurari ("men of the seacoast"; said of the southern hordes by those in the north), Willara, Kooapudna (horde around Franklin Harbour), Kooapidna.

Ref.: Schürmann, 1844, 1846, 1879; Angas, 1847; Wilhelmi, 1860; Bryant in Taplin, 1879; Mueller, 1882; Andrews, 1883; Green in Curr, 1886; Sawers in Curr, 1886; East, 1889; Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6524, 6448, 6491), 1904 (Gr. 6451), 1905 (Gr. 6454); Howitt, 1904; Eylmann, 1908; Strehlow, 1910; Stirling, 1914; Black, 1917; Basedow, 1925; Hale and Tindale, 1925; Hossfeld, 1927 MS; Elkin, 1931; Davidson, 1938; Cleland and Johnston, 1939; Tindale, 1940 and MS; Wurm, 1963; O'Grady et al., 1969.

Peramangk 'Peramaŋk

Loc.: In Mount Lofty Ranges from Myponga north to Gawler and Angaston; east to Wright Hill, Strathalbyn, Kanmantoo, and along the eastern scarp of the range to near Towitta. They practiced circumcision and were at enmity with the Lake Alexandrina people.

Coord.: 138°55'E x 34°55'S.

Area: 1,100 sq. m. (2,900 sq. km.).

Alt.: Peramarma (Tanganekald term based on their name Pe:ra for the Tiers Range at Mount Barker), Mereldi (Ramindjeri term), Merildakald (Tanganekald term applied also to the Kaurna), Marimejuna (mari = east, meju = man, Kaurna term), Wangarainbula (wangara = hill, Ngaiawang term), Mount Barker tribe, Ngurlinjeri (Jarildekald name from ['ŋurle] hill and [injeri] belonging to), Tarrawatta (name of northern horde near Angaston).

Ref.: Angas, 1847; Cawthorne, 1926; Tindale, 1940 and MS.

Pilatapa 'Pilatapa

Loc.: Northeast of northern Flinders Ranges; north of Lake Frome; east to Callabonna and almost to Tilcha; northwest to Lake Blanche and Blanchewater; south to Wooltana and Hamilton Creek. They practiced circumcision, but not subincision, as an initiation rite for males. The poor soil of their country, resembling dung ['kuna], was the basis of a derogatory term applied to them by tribes in the Flinders Ranges.

Coord.: 139°50'E x 29°50'S.

Area: 5,000 sq. m. (13,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Pidlatapa (valid alternative), Piladapa, Pilladapa, Pillitapa (MS), Billidapa, Pulladapa, Berluppa, Pilliapp, Jarikuna (derogatory term applied by the Wailpi), Yarrikuna.

Ref.: Gason in Curr, 1886; Gason, 1895; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6464), 1900 (Gr. 6448); Strehlow, 1910; A. M. Morgan, 1930 MS; Elkin, 1931; Tindale, 1940.

Pindiini (*see* Western Australia).

Pitjandjara 'Pitjandjara

Loc.: Mann and Tomkinson Ranges northwest to the eastern end of the Rawlinson Range, W. Aust.; west to the east side of Mount Hinckley and Wingelina; southwest to Mount Blyth, Birksgate Range, and near the north side of Lake Wright; east to Mounts Kintore and Caroline, Butler Dome, and Stevenson Peak; north to Lakes Amadeus, Neale, and Hopkins; in the western Musgrave Ranges east only to Oparinna. Kalaiapiti in the Mount Sir Thomas Range was their ultimate refuge prior to the 1914–1916 period of major drought during which they were driven to usurp the eastern Musgrave Ranges from the Jangkundjara, who were in turn by 1917 forced to shift southward, making the Everard Ranges their principal home; some then shifted south toward Ooldea and are now (1971) living at Yalata. The map shows their pre-1917 eastern boundary. In the 1940 map, because of an incorrect identification of the location of a native place name, I showed the western boundary too far to the west; this is now corrected. The presence of Pitjandjara at Areyonga and Tempe Downs in the Northern Territory is a late postcontact event. Five hordes are recognized—the Mulatara, Kurujulta, Maiulatara, Pibiri, and Wirtjapakandja; it was the last-named group that first usurped Jangkundjara territory. Sixteen mm films of two University of Adelaide Anthropological Expeditions in 1933 show activities of these people. Color plates 23, 28, and 40 are relevant. In a description of social organization (Tindale, 1972: 254), a typographical error on line 30 should be corrected to read ". . . six separate terms belonging to differing four-class systems are known to them."

Coord.: 129°55'E x 26°0'S.

Area: 23,000 sq. m. (59,800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Pitjandjadjara (extended form), Pitjantjatjara, Pidjandjara, Pitjindjatjara, Pitjinjara, Pitjentara, Pitjintara, Pitjendadjara, Pidjandja, Pitjanjarra, Pijandarra, Bidjandja, Bidjandjara, Bidjandjadjara, Bidjuwongga, Pitjinjiara, Pitjanzazara (z = arbitrary and unauthorized editorial substitution in *Oceania* for dj symbol), Wongapitjira, Woŋgapitja (Pitja speakers), Wongapitcha, Pitjantjara (simplified form adopted by Ernabella Mission in 1941), Pitdjandjara [*sic*], Peechintarra (daily press rendering in 1958), Pitjintjitjira (? typographical error), Wanudjara (name applied to Jangkundjara also, by Ngadadjara), Mulatara (Tomkinson and Blyth Ranges horde), Tjitiadjara (name applied by Ngadadjara), Wirtjapakandja (an eastern horde; name based on verb ['wirtjapakandji], to run, hence has the implication of "refugees," i.e., those who shifted their living area under pressure. The same term has been applied to some Jangkundjara people now living in the south), Partutu (name applied by the Pintubi), Nangatadjara (of the Warara Ngadadjara of the Rawlinson Range area), Mamu ("evil beings," a name sometimes applied to them by the Jangkundjara), Mamoo, Pituari (a rarely used form), Ituarre (probably a faulty hearing of Pituari).

Ref.: Wells, 1893; Basedow, 1908, 1925; C. Strehlow, 1910; Bates, 1918; Tindale, 1933, 1935, 1937, 1940, 1941, 1972, also, 1933, 1935, 1957, 1959, 1963, 1966 MSS; Fry, 1934; Finlayson, 1935 (2 references), 1958; Hackett, 1937; H. L. Taylor, 1939 MS; Wakerly in Berndt, 1941; Trudinger, 1943; Love, 1945; Mountford, 1948; Worms, 1951; Rose, 1956; Berndt, 1959; Meggitt, 1961; Tindale and Lindsay, 1963; Kirk et al., 1963; Capell, 1965; T. G. H. Strehlow, 1965; R. Berndt, 1965; C. Berndt, 1965; Jones, 1965; Munn, [1967]; Gale, 1966; Hilliard, 1968; Macfarlane, 1969; Tindale and George, 1971.

Portaulun 'Portaulun

Loc.: Western bank of Murray River from Wood Hill to Wellington and Pomanda Point; west to Grote Hill. Indicated as 4 on southwestern portion of SE map. David Ngunaiponi who died in 1967 was the last fullblooded aboriginal of this tribe.

Coord.: 139°15'E x 35°15'S.

Area: 300 sq. m. (800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Putjin (valid contraction), Warawalde (a horde name), Welindjeri (a post-European horde name based on the European place name Wellington, i.e., "belonging to Wel"), Welinyeri, Pomunda (a place name, Pomanda Point), Poomunda, Wellington tribe.

Ref.: Taplin, 1873; Hawker, 1899; Brown, 1918; Parkhouse, 1936; Tindale, 1940, 1966 and MS; Berndt and Berndt, 1964.

Potaruwutj 'Po:taru'wutj

Loc.: Naracoorte west to within ten miles of the sea along the third inland dune range of the Coorong; at Taratap; north to Tatiara, Bordertown, Wirrega, and Keith. Eight or more hordes; ['wutj] = man. Their name Potaruwutj for themselves means "wandering" or "traveling" men and is based on their constantly shifting campings in the mallee country. Some of their country was south of the main belt of mallee frequented by their northern neighbors, the Ngarkat, who were the real Tatiara or mallee scrub frequenters. The southern tribes tended to call them all Tatiara folk.

Coord.: 140°30'E x 36°25'S.

Area: 3,000 sq. m. (7,800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Potangola (alternative term, Woychibirik, Wepulprap (Tanganekald term, means "southern people"), Polinjunga (horde name), Jaran (language name), Yaran, Tatiara (a place name, also a horde), Tattayarra, Tatiarra, Djadjala, Dadiera, Tyattyalla, Tyatyalli, Tyeddyuwurru, Wirigirek (a northern horde; Wirrega, a place name), Wereka (wereka = no), Wereka-tyalli, Werekarait, Wergaia, Wra-gar-ite (see Marditjali tribe, Vic. for explanation of this term), Kangarabalak (of the Tanganekald, ['kangara] = east, ['balak] = people), Cangarabaluk, Coolucooluk (horde name), Padthaway tribe.

Ref.: Angas, 1847; E. F. Crouch, MS (So. Aust. archives), Lawson in Taplin, 1879; Smith, 1880; Haynes in Curr, 1887; Howitt, 1904; Mathews, 1904 (Gr. 6451); Tindale, 1935, 1937, 1940, 1963 and MS, Tindale in Condon, 1955; Capell, 1956; Berndt, 1965; Hercus, 1969.

Ramindjeri 'Ra:mindjeri

Loc.: At Encounter Bay; west to Tunkalilla, east of Cape Jervis, Mount Hayfield and Inman valley; east to Middleton, thence across to Goolwa and Currency Creek; not along coast sandhills east of Middleton. Five or more hordes, the tribal name is in the style of hordal names farther east; it is possible, therefore, that Rormear originally was the proper tribal designation but the last survivors insisted on the form here given. A brass plate in the South Australian Museum records the name "Youngerrow, chief of the Rormear tribe." Both terms are based on Ramong, the name for Encounter Bay.

Coord.: 138°30'E x 35°35'S.

Area: 200 sq. m. (520 sq. km.).

Alt.: Raminjeri (valid alternative), Rormear, Ramong, Raminyeri, Ramindjerar, Ramingara (*g* to be read as *dj*, Paruru ("uncircumcised" or "animal," a term of contempt, applied by the Kaurna), Wirramu-mejo (Kaurna term), Tarbanawalun (Jarildekald term), Narrinyeri part (Black, 1917).

Ref.: Schürmann, 1839 MS; Meyer, 1840; Moorhouse in Eyre, 1845; Wilkes, 1845; Angas, 1847; Taplin, 1873, 1879; Wyatt in Woods, 1879; Newland, 1895; Black, 1917; Brown, 1918; Tindale, 1935, 1937, 1938, 1940, and MS; Tindale and George, 1971.

Tanganekald 'Taŋanɔ'kald

Loc.: Narrow coastal strip along Coorong from Middleton south to Twelve Mile Point (north of Kingston); inland only to about inner margin of first inland swamp and dune terrace, the Woakwine or 25 foot (7.5 m.) terrace, usually no more than 5 to 10 miles (8 to 16 km.); on islands in Lake Alexandrina, except eastern and western extremities of Hindmarsh Island; around Meningie at south and of Lake Albert, at Salt Creek and Taratap (Ten Mile Point); there were twenty-two named hordes (Tindale, MS). Moriarty in Taplin (1879) worked with only a single clan of this tribe.

Coord.: 139°35'E x 35°55'S.

Area: 750 sq. m. (2,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Tangalun (valid alternative), Tanganikald (valid alternative pronunciation), Tenggi (Potaruwutj term, actually name of the Coorong itself), Tangane (valid short form), Tanganalun, Tanganarin, Tangani, Tananalun (misprint), T(h)unga, Thungah, Dangani, Tenkinyra, Milmenrura (a clan name only; often used in early days for the whole tribe, presumably owing to the notoriety associated with their murder of survivors of the shipwrecked *Maria*), Milmendura, Milmendjuri (valid versions of same horde name), Milmainjericon (a further version of this horde name), Kalde (means language), Wattatonga (name applied by the Bunganditj, lit. "men of the evening" because they live to the west).

Ref.: Penny, 1840 MS; "Memorial," 1840; Smith, 1880; Moriarty in Taplin, 1879; East, 1889; Brown, 1918; Tindale, 1937, 1938, 1940, 1946, 1956, 1963, 1966 and MS; Berndt and Berndt, 1951, 1965; Tindale in Condon, 1955; Tindale and Lindsay, 1963; Tindale and George, 1971.

Tirari 'Tirari

Loc.: Eastern shore of Lake Eyre from Muloorina north to Warburton River; east to Killalapaninna; a small tribe now extinct. It was not a horde of the Dieri, as suggested by Howitt. O'Grady et al. (1966) incorrectly synonymized the name with Dieri. O. Siebert (pers. comm., 1936) vouched that the language spoken was different from Dieri. A few details survive in the Reuther manuscript.

Coord.: 138°0'E x 28°30'S.

Area: 4,500 sq. m. (11,700 sq. km.).

Alt.: Terari (valid alternative pronunciation).

Ref.: Howitt, 1904; Strehlow 1910; Reuther, 1914 MS; Siebert, 1936, pers. comm.; Tindale, 1940; O'Grady et al., 1966.

Wadikali (*see* New South Wales).

Wailpi 'Wailpi

Loc.: At Umberatana and Mount Serle; south to Parachilna Gorge only in the Flinders Ranges; east to above Wooltana on range; west to western scarp of ranges. They practiced both circumcision and subincision as rites of initiation. The term Anjimatana and variants used for this tribe mean merely "Hills people" and is incorrect on the authority of the oldest member of the tribe interrogated in 1924. It has been suggested there were two tribes, but this is without foundation.

Coord.: 138°55'E x 30°25'S.
Area: 3,000 sq. m. (7,800 sq. km.).
Alt.: Wajəlpi, Wailbi (among the Pangkala this term means south west), Wipie, Nuralda, Binbarnja (Wadikali term, ['binba] = *Callitris* "pine tree"), Kanjamata (Wongkanguru term), Kanjimata, Anjimatana ("Hills people," Kujani term), Benbakanjamata (Kujani term "Pine Hills people" in reference to the *Callitris* pines, ['pimba] = ['benba], on the dissected plateaus), Anjiwatana (misprint), Anjamutina, Andyamatana, Unyamatana, Unyamootha, Anyamatana, Adnjamatana, Adnjamadana, Adjnjamatana, Adyamatana, Kudnamietha (['kudna = feces] hence dung eaters a rude name given by western tribes), Keidnamutha, Gadjnjamadja [*sic*], Kutchnamootha, Keydnjamarda, Mardala (Dieri term based on the Wailpi word ['ma:dəla] = no), Mardula, Umbertana (error for Umberatana, a place name), Nimbalda, Nimbaldi (misprint), Nimalda, Wadla (literally "Scrub wallabies," a derisive term applied by the Dieri and other inhabitants of the open plains of the Lake Eyre basin), Ngatjuwalda ("our speech," language name), Atjualda (same recorded by an individual tone deaf to initial ng), Archualda.
Ref.: Smith in Taplin, 1879; Kingsmill in Curr, 1886; Phillipson, Gason and Wills in Curr, 1886; Howitt, 1891; Howitt and Siebert, 1904; Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6448), 1904 (Gr. 6458), 1907 (Gr. 6510); Hale and Tindale, 1925; Elkin, 1931, 1940; Tindale, 1937, 1940; Mountford, 1938, 1939, 1950; Cleland and Johnston, 1939; Berndt and Vogelsang, 1941; Mountford and Harvey, 1941; Wurm, 1963; Breen, 1969 MS.

Warki 'Warki

Loc.: North and west of Lake Alexandrina from Grote Hill to Currency Creek; also on eastern and western extremities of Hindmarsh Island. Eight or more clans; their language was a dialect of Jarildekald. Indicated as 3 on southwestern portion of SE map.
Coord.: 138°55'E x 35°25'S.
Area: 300 sq. m. (800 sq. km.).
Alt.: Warkend (valid alternative), Wakend (probably misprint), Koraulun (Jarildekald term applying principally to one clan, the Korowalde), Korowalle, "Milang dialect."
Ref.: Taplin, 1879; Brown, 1918; Tindale, 1940, 1941 and MS.

Wiljakali (*see* New South Wales).

Wirangu 'Wiraŋu

Loc.: Coast between Head of Bight (White Well), Cape Blanche, and Streaky Bay; inland to Ooldea, Kokatha, and Kondoolka. In earliest historic times they were contracting their boundaries southward before Kokata people. Their earliest remembered boundary is shown. By 1850 they had lost access to the area north of latitude 31°. A native water at Putjukai (132°36'E x 30°27'S) is still remembered as a Wirangu water once well within their territory. Pi:la at Lake Bring also was in their traditions a Wirangu water. Ooldea was the dominant drought relief water used by all surrounding tribes within a radius of 200 miles (over 300 km.).
Coord.: 133°35'E x 31°35'S.
Area: 21,500 sq. m. (55,900 sq. km.).
Alt.: Wirrongu, Wirrung, Wirrunga, Wirangga, Naljara (Kokata name), Wanbiri ("sea coast" [people] of the Kokata), Jilbara (means "southerners," name applied by Kokata), Windakan (name applied also to the language of the Ngalea), Wangon (said to be language name but is derogatory, ['kona] = feces; one area of their country with yellowish soil is called Tjara which has a similar meaning), Ngoleiadjara (name applied by Jangkundjara), Tidni and Hilleri (names applied by Pangkala and Kujani), Tidnie, Titnie, Willeuroo (name said given by Pangkala: Wiljaru = west), Yilrea (another version of Hilleri), Nonga (means "man").
Ref.: Provis in Taplin, 1879; Richards in Taplin, 1879; East, 1889; Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6448); Howitt, 1904; Stirling, 1914; Black, 1917; Bates, 1918; Sullivan, 1928; Tindale, 1928 MS, 1934 MS, 1940 and MS; Cleland, 1929; Elkin, 1931; Black, 1933; Berndt and Berndt, 1942, 1946; Tindale in Condon, 1955; Platt, 1970.

Wongkanguru 'Woŋkaŋuru

Loc.: On Stevenson Creek north to Mount Dare; at Blood Creek; east on Macumba Creek; on lower Finke River; in southern portion of Arunta (Simpson) Desert; southeast to Kallakoopah Creek and the Warburton; at Atna Hill. Tradition indicates the Wongkanguru were displaced south by the Wongkamala, and themselves forced the Dieri to shift southward.
Coord.: 137°10'E x 26°40'S.
Area: 14,000 sq. m. (36,400 sq. km.).
Alt.: Wangkanguru (Jangkundjara pronunciation), Wongkongaru, Wonkanguru, Wonkonguru, Ongkongura, Wongkaooroo, Wonkgongaru, Wonkongaru, Wonkaoora, Wongonooroo, Wonkongnuru, Wonkagnurra, Wonkanooroo, Unganoora, Kanguru (short form of their name), Gongaru, Partama (name given by Kukatja), Wingkungira (Iliaura name).
Ref.: Gason, 1874; Paull in Curr, 1886; Helms, 1896; Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6526, 6448); Howitt, 1904; Howitt and Siebert, 1904; Spencer and Gillen, 1904; Eylmann, 1908; Strehlow, 1910; Spencer, 1912; Horne and Aiston, 1924; Basedow, 1925; Elkin, 1931; Tindale in Fenner, 1936; Tindale, 1934 MS, 1940, 1941, 1956 MS, 1957 MS; Wakerley in Berndt, 1941; Finlayson, 1958; Wurm, 1963; Yallop, 1969.

Northern Territory

Airiman 'Airiman

Loc.: Head of Fitzmaurice River (Spencer). Davidson confused this tribe with the Ngarinman.

Coord.: 130°55′E x 14°45′S.

Area: 800 sq. m. (2,100 sq. km.).

Ref.: Spencer, 1914; Davidson, 1935; Mackay, 1959 MS.

Alawa 'Alawa

Loc.: Southern tributaries of Roper River upstream from the mouth of the Hodgson River west to Roper valley; south to Mason Bluff (Mount Mueller) and Hodgson Downs; east to the headwaters of Mountain Creek where in the year 1922 they had a refuge cave with buried stores of water lily seeds, examined by this author.

Coord.: 134°15′E x 15°0′S.

Area: 1,600 sq. m. (4,200 sq. km.).

Alt.: Alaua, Allawa, Allaua, Allua, Allowa, Alowa, Leealowa, Kallaua, Allowiri, Aliaura, Galleewo, ? Woolooami.

Ref.: Lowre in Curr, 1886; East, 1889; Stretton, 1893; Spencer and Gillen, 1904; Power in Basedow, 1907; Eylmann, 1908; Spencer, 1914; Tindale, 1922 MS, 1925, 1928, 1940, 1963 MS, and MS; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Capell, 1942; Australian Encyclopedia, 1958; Elkin in Berndt, 1951; Elkin, 1961; Lockwood, 1962; Sharpe, 1970.

Alura 'Alura

Loc.: Northern bank of lower Victoria River from mouth eastward nearly to Bradshaw.

Coord.: 130°0′E x 15°10′S.

Area: 900 sq. m. (2,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Allura, Hallurra, Nallura.

Ref.: Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6575); Spencer, 1914; Basedow, 1925.

Amarak 'Aməra:k

Loc.: Eastern shores of Van Diemen Gulf, north of Murgenella Creek and about Cooper Creek; south toward East Alligator River. Berndt and Berndt (1951) list this tribe twice under different spellings; it is possible that their Ngamurak form would be the better rendering, but in 1964 they gave preference to Amurag.

Coord.: 132°50′E x 11°55′S.

Area: 900 sq. m. (2,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Amarag, Amuruk, Amurag, Amurrak, Ngamurak, Ngamurag, Nga:mu:rak, Umoriu, Umoreo (MS), ? Monobar.

Ref.: Earl, 1846; Spencer, 1914; Sweeney, 1939; Tindale, 1940 (as Umoriu), 1964; Capell, 1942; Elkin, Berndt and Berndt, 1951; Berndt and Berndt, 1951, 1964.

Amijangal 'Ami'jaŋal

Loc.: Stanner (1970 MS) maps them as on the coast south of the mouth of Daly River, extending south to about Red Cliff. They are closely related to the Wogait. He indicates that the two people are "virtually identical." Capell shows there is a difference in dialect but places them on the northern side of the Daly River; 3 on NW map.

Coord.: 130°10′E x 13°25′S.

Area: 100 sq. m. (250 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ami.

Ref.: Capell, 1963; Stanner, 1970 MS.

Andakerebina 'Andəkerebina

Loc.: Tarlton Range east to Toko Range; headwaters of Field River; down the Hay River but southwestern range uncertain, probably to about Lake Caroline but limits depend at different times on flow of stream in flood.

Coord.: 137°20′E x 22°45′S.

Area: 12,000 sq. m. (31,200 sq. km.).

Alt.: Antakiripina (of Iliaura), Undekerebina, Andeberegina (probably a misprint), Walwallie, Willi-willi, ? Yanindo.

Ref.: Curr, 1886; Parry-Okeden, 1897; Roth, 1897; Mathews, 1899 (Gr. 6445), 1901 (Gr. 6453); Capell, 1956; Tindale, 1940.

Anmatjera An'matjera

Loc.: Forster Range, Mount Leichhardt, Conistan, Stuart Bluff Range east of West Bluff; at Hann and Reynolds Ranges; on Burt Plain north of Rembrandt Rocks and Connor Well; east to Woodgreen; northeast to central Mount Stuart and Harper Springs.

Coord.: 133°20′E x 22°20′S.

Area: 11,200 sq. m. (29,100 sq. km.).

Alt.: Nmatjera (valid variant), Unmatjera (principally Aranda version), Imatjera, Anmatjara, Urmitchee, Janmadjara and Janmadjari (of Walpiri), Janmatjiri (of Pintubi), Yanmedjara, Yanmadjari.

Ref.: East, 1889; Spencer and Gillen, 1904; C. Strehlow, 1910; Brown, 1911; Spencer, 1912; Tindale, 1931 MS, 1940, 1956 MS; T. G. H. Strehlow, 1947, 1965; Meggitt, 1955, 1961.

Aranda 'Aranda

Loc.: At Mount Gosse, Mount Zeil, and Mount Heughlin; on the Finke River to Idracowra, Blood Creek, Macumba, Mount Dare, and Andado, and some distance east into the sandhills of the Arunta (Simpson) Desert; northeast to Intea on the lower Hale River, thence north to Ilbala on Plenty River; west to Inilja and Hart Range, Mount Swan, Gillen

Creek, Connor Well, and Narwietooma; in Central MacDonnell, James, and Ooraminna Ranges. T. Strehlow (1960 MS) provided map and data to indicate subdivisions of the Aranda.

The southern Aranda, south of Maryvale on the Hugh River have almost the status of a separate tribe, the Wongkatjeri, with a four-class social organization. Northern hordes are divisible into Eastern, Northern, Central, and Western portions. The last named are the Aranda Ilpma or the Mbenderinga (those who live on the Finke River). The hordes on the Hale River speak a dialect called Alitera and are the Easterners (Aldolanga). Yallop records the post-European movements of the Eastern Aranda. Giles in Taplin (1879) and again in Fison and Howitt (1880) gave data on their social organization but incorrectly ascribed the information to the Antakirinja tribe. According to one aged aboriginal who lived in the southern part of Aranda territory, the Aranda were really five separate peoples. His subdivision followed those of T. G. H. Strehlow outlined above but he provided names, the Ko:ang at Alice Springs, the Karo:linga at Arltunga and eastward, the I:lma from Undoolya to Deep Well, the Aluna at Henbury, Horseshoe Bend, New Crown Point, and up the Finke River to Hermannsburg, the true Aranda were between Charlotte Waters and Macumba. Color plates 17, 18, 20, 21, 23, and 26 are relevant.

The relative areas occupied by the six groups of Aranda are approximately as follows:

	Sq. m.	*Sq. km.*
Eastern Aranda	16,000	41,600
Northern Aranda	5,700	14,820
Western Aranda	4,600	11,960
Central Aranda	3,200	8,320
Upper Southern Aranda	8,200	21,320
Lower Southern Aranda	9,300	24,180
	47,000	122,200

Coord.: 134°45′E x 24°40′S.

Area: 47,000 sq. m. (122,200 sq. km.).

Alt.: A'randa (valid alternative pronunciation), Aranta, Árunda, Arunta, Arranda, Arinta (of Iliaura), Arrinda, Urrundie, Herrinda, Arrundta, Wonggaranda, Arrunta, Urrundie, Ilpma, Ulpma, Arunta Ulpma, Paroola and Burringah (based erroneously on Purula and Purunga, two of the eight class terms of their social organization), Oiljpma (dialect name based on Ilpma, name for Bond Springs), Pitjima (Iliaura name for Eastern Aranda), Pitjapitja (Iliaura name also for Eastern Aranda), Waitjinga (horde of Southern Aranda at Macumba), Wychinga, Alitera (eastern dialect name), Jairunda (name as known by hearsay among Wirangu of south coast), Aldolinga (means easterners; a Kukatja name), Aldolanga, Wongkatjeri (southerners east of lower Finke River).

Ref.: Woods, 1879; Giles in Taplin, 1879; Giles in Fison and Howitt, 1880; Willshire, 1881, 1888, 1891, 1895; Belt in Curr, 1886; Krichauff, 1886; East, 1889; Lindsay, 1890; Kempe, 1891; Schulze, 1891; Gillen, 1896, 1901; Stirling, 1896; Spencer, 1898; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6417), 1899 (Gr. 6443), 1900 (Gr. 6448, 6524), 1901 (Gr. 6453), 1905 (Gr. 6543), 1907 (Gr. 6415, 6513, 6515), 1908 (Gr. 6492), 6546, 6578(, 1912 (Gr. 6493); Spencer and Gillen, 1899, 1904; Howitt, 1904; Lang in Parker, 1905; Basedow, 1908, 1925, 1927; Thomas, 1907; C. Strehlow, 1907, 1910; Brown, 1910, 1911; Giglioli, 1911; Tindale, 1929 MS, 1932, 1940; Roheim, 1932, 1933; Fink, 1936; T. G. H. Strehlow, 1942–1944, 1944, 1947, 1965, and MS, Peterson, 1969; Yallop, 1969.

Awarai — A'warai

Loc.: From 10 miles (16 km.) north of Rum Jungle southward to Brocks Creek (now usually regarded as a subtribe of the Wulwulam, which see); according to Parkhouse the northern boundary was at "Darwin River (43 miles, 26 chains) along the Railway Line from Darwin." Dahl (1926) places them "between Mt. Shoebridge and the Central Tableland," but worked with members of this tribe who knew the country intimately to the headwaters of the Mary River where they were in fear of the Agigondin (who were apparently a horde of the Wulwulam).

Coord.: 131°25′E x 13°15′S.

Area: 1,400 sq.m. (3,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Warai, Warei, Warrai, Awarrai, Awarra.

Ref.: Parkhouse, 1895, 1936; Mathews, 1901 (Gr. 6453); Eylmann, 1908; Spencer, 1914; Dahl, 1926; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Mackay, 1959 MS; Berndt, 1948, 1965; Capell, 1963; Berndt and Berndt, 1964.

Awinmul — 'Awinmul

Loc.: From Brocks Creek to Edith River; on the head waters of the Mary and Fergusson rivers; in the early twentieth century after decimation during a drought, they amalgamated with the Wulwulam (which see); they spoke a separate dialect. Their earlier territorial limits are shown on the map.

Coord.: 131°45′E x 13°30′S.

Area: 1,800 sq. m. (4,700 sq. km.).

Alt.: Awinnmull, Awinmil.

Ref.: Parkhouse, 1895; Eylmann, 1908; Mackay, 1959 MS.

Barara — 'Barara

Loc.: Coast on both sides of the Blyth River and east to Cape Stewart; inland for about 20 miles (30 km.). They possess a tribelike structure and are endogamous. Hiatt (1965) reported the Gidjingali as a separate tribe living on the eastern side of the area here mapped as Barara territory. They speak a slight dialect of Barara. Reliable data indicates that a strong patrilineal group of Barara people has been on the Blyth River for at least one hundred years. There are five Barara subcommunities (Annette Hamilton, 1970 pers. comm.) similar to small tribes. Each has both Dua and Jiritja moieties and may be up to 70 percent endogamous. Hamilton has listed for me:

1. Anbara (west side of the mouth of the Blyth River).
2. Marawuraba (on the coast to the east of Blyth River).
3. Madia (around Cape Stewart).
4. Maringa (a relict group).
5. Gunadba (Gunaidbe) some sixty persons still living about 20 miles (30 km.) inland on the Blyth River. They did not possess coastal resources. Note that this name has the general meaning of "Those people," hence is applied from without the group. Their real name may be Ngapanga.

Coord.: 134°40′E x 12°5′S.

Area: 200 sq. m. (500 sq. km.).

Alt.: Barera, Baurera, Burera (pronunciation of easterners), Burara, Barea (typographical error), Burada (a form heard by N. Peterson), Burarra, Gidjingali (general term applied especially to eastern members speaking Barara).

Ref.: Warner, 1930, 1931, 1937; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Capell, 1940, 1942; Jennison in Tindale, 1940; Shepherdson in Tindale, 1940; Thomson, 1946, 1952; Elkin, Berndt and Berndt, 1951; Berndt and Berndt, 1951, 1964; Lockwood, 1962; Hiatt, 1958 MS, 1961 MS, 1964, 1965; Spence, 1964; Oates et al., 1964; Pittman et al., 1964; Peterson, 1970 pers. comm.; Hamilton, 1970 pers. comm.

Beriguruk 'Beriguruk

Loc.: Mary River, particularly on the eastern bank southward and inland from the mouth; they apparently did not go to the coastal marshes and beaches, which were in the territory of the Djerimanga. According to Annette Hamilton, the Rereri were perhaps the same people; their stated territory lay on the southeast corner of the area shown for this tribe. They are considered to be extinct.

Coord.: 132°0′E x 12°35′S.

Area: 500 sq. m. (1,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Perrigurruk, Eri, Erei, ? Rereri, Reveri (perhaps typographical error).

Ref.: Parkhouse, 1895; Elkin, Berndt and Berndt, 1951; Capell, 1963; Hamilton, 1970 pers. comm.

Bilingara 'Biliŋara

Loc.: Moray Range, Gregory and Aroona Creek; Delamere. Also south to Victoria River Downs and Pigeon Hole Stations at the junction of the Armstrong and Victoria rivers; east to beyond Killarney.

Coord.: 131°40′E x 15°55′S.

Area: 7,500 sq. m. (19,500 sq. km.).

Alt.: Bilinara, Bilinurra, Bilyanarra, Bilyanurra, Plinara, Pillenurra, Billianera, Bulinara, Bringara, Boonarra.

Ref.: Willshire, 1896; Mathews, 1901 (Gr. 6453), 1908 (Gr. 6495, 6578); Eylmann, 1908; Spencer, 1914; Terry, 1926; Davidson, 1935; Tindale, 1940 and MS; A.B.C. Weekly, 6 May 1964, p. 14.

Binbinga 'Binbin'ga

Loc.: Southeast from Old Bauhinia Downs; on McArthur River Station; around Campbell Camp; on upper reaches of McArthur and Glyde Rivers; the Kotandji were pressing northeastward before 1900. Their tribal area was placed too far north by Tindale (1925).

Coord.: 136°0′E x 16°35′S.

Area: 4,400 sq. m. (11,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Binbingha, Binbinka, Pinbinga (Iliaura pronunciation from hearsay of northern neighbors), Leepitbinga, Bing Binga.

Ref.: Lindsay, 1890; Mathews, 1899 (Gr. 6443), 1900 (Gr. 6575), 1905 (Gr. 6454, 6543), 1907 (Gr. 6541), 1908 (Gr. 6437, 6492, 6578); Spencer and Gillen, 1904; Basedow, 1907; Eylmann 9908; Spencer, 1914; Tindale, 1925, 1940, 1963 MS, and MS; Radcliffe-Brown, 1940; Yallop, 1969.

Bingongina 'Biŋgoŋgəna

Loc.: West of Lake Woods; east of upper Victoria River; principally in the parallel sand dune desert southwest to near a native place called Morerinju on Winnecke Creek. Some have migrated north and thus are now known to northern tribespeople.

Coord.: 132°30′E x 18°20′S.

Area: 9,700 sq. m. (24,200 sq. km.).

Alt.: Bin-gongina, Bugongidja (post-European name used by northern tribes).

Ref.: Spencer and Gillen, 1904; Mathews, 1908 (Gr. 6495); Spencer, 1914; Elkin, Berndt and Berndt, 1951.

Daii 'Ďai:

Loc.: Shores of Blue Mud Bay north to the Koolatong River and inland to an important source of implement stone at Ngilipidji. Their name is based on the local form of the demonstration pronoun "this." This tribe appears to be the northernmost coastal tribe in eastern Arnhem Land to possess the normal Australian form of tribal structure. There are two clanlike groups that intermarry, the Dalwangu (Jiritja moiety) and the Djawaŗk (Dua moiety). There is also marriage with the people to the north who have a different type of group arrangement. There is a similarity in their nomenclature in that they use forms of the demonstrative pronoun in identifying themselves in the same manner as the northerners. My placing of this tribe on the 1940 map was in error.

Coord.: 135°45′E x 13°25′S.

Area: 800 sq. m. (2,100 sq. km.).

Alt.: Daii (name based on the demonstrative pronoun = this), Taii Tai, Dalwango (a clan), Dalwongo, Dalwongu, Darlwongo, Dhalwangu, Djawark (a clan), Djarlwa:g.

Ref.: Tindale, 1925, 1940; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Warner, 1931, 1937; Capell, 1942; Thomson, 1955 MS; Berndt, 1965; Anonymous, 1969; Schebeck, 1970 MS.

Dalabon 'Dalabon

Loc.: Vicinity of headwaters of Phelp, Rose, and Hart rivers north to upper Goyder River. N. Peterson's informants did not recognize either Boun or Buan as a tribal name.

Coord.: 134°50′E x 13°30′S.

Area: 2,000 sq. m. (5,200 sq. km.).

Alt.: Buan, Bu:wan, Boun, Ngalkbon.

Ref.: Warner, 1937; Capell, 1942, 1960, 1963, 1965; Maddock, 1969; Peterson, 1970 pers. comm.

Dangbon 'Daŋbon

Loc.: East of headwaters of Liverpool River; on headwaters of Cadell and Mann rivers.

Coord.: 134°20′E x 12°40′S.

Area: No estimate possible.

Alt.: Gundangbon, Dangbon, Dangbun, Dangbar (typographical error), Gumauwurk.

Ref.: Sweeney, 1939 MS; Capell, 1942; Berndt and Berndt, 1951, 1964; Hiatt, 1961 MS; C. Berndt, 1965; Edwards and Guerin, 1969; Hamilton, 1970 pers. comm.; Peterson, 1970 pers. comm.

Dangu 'Ďaŋu

Loc.: Yirrkala Mission area and generally around Cape Arnhem, Melville Bay, and Port Bradshaw. A loose linguistic grouping of clans (mala) of both Jiritja and Dua moieties distinguished from others by the form of their demonstrative

pronoun "this." Care should be taken to distinguish it from the Djangu, another group of clans about Arnhem Bay. Schebeck (1971, and MS) lists six clans.

Dua moiety:
1. Galpu (Gälpu, Galbu, Kalpu).
2. Golumala.
3. Ngajimil (Ngayimil, Ngeimil, Makkanaimulmi).
4. Riratjingu (Rirratjingu, Rirraljinga, Riraidjango, Wurrulul, Woralul, Urorlurl).

Jiritja moiety:
5. Lamami (Lamumiri).
6. Wanguri (Wangurri, Wonguri, Wan:guri).

Coord.: 136°40'E x 12°20'S.

Area: No estimate possible.

Alt.: Yirgala (place name, now Yirkalla Mission).

Ref.: Warner, 1937; Capell, 1942, 1965; Spence, 1964; Berndt, 1965; Anonymous, 1969; Schebeck, 1971, and MS, Peterson, 1970 pers. comm.

Diakui 'Ďi:akui

Loc.: An inland group east and south of the Arafura Swamp and east of the true Goyder River, extending to about the Mitchell Ranges and Koolatong River headwaters; southern boundary near the headwaters of the eastern tributaries of the Goyder River. There are some elements of the usual Australian tribal structure and clans of both moieties are present, as reported by Schebeck (1970 MS). The first two clans listed are of the Dua moiety, the third is Jiritja.

Dua moiety:
1. Wagilak (Wagelag, Wawilak, Waurilak, Nunydjulpi, Nundjulpi, Nundjulbi).
2. Manggura (Manggurra).

Jiritja moiety:
3. Ritarngu (Ritarungo, Ritharrngu, Ridarngo, Ritaringo, Rittarungo, Ritharingau, Ridarngu, Buranadjini).

Earlier writers gave prominence to the Jiritja moiety clan. The strongly rolled median ɽ in this name apparently is more commonly used by women of the tribe; in their speech, the following vowel sound is almost lost. The late Rev. J. C. Jennison supplied data under the name Djikai which at the time could not be reconciled, but now strongly support Schebeck's interpretation of the data.

Coord.: 135°25'E x 12°5'S.

Area: 2,200 sq. m. (5,700 sq. km.).

Alt.: Dhiyakuy, Djikai, Jikai, Tchikai, Dijogoi.

Ref.: Tindale, 1925, 1940; Warren, 1930, 1931, 1937; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Thomson, 1939; Capell, 1940, 1942; Jennison in Tindale, 1940; Berndt and Berndt, 1951; Hall, 1962; Edwards and Guerin, 1969; Schebeck, 1970 MS; Peterson, 1970 pers. comm.

Djalakuru 'Djalakuru

Loc.: Coast from west of Goulburn Island at Angularli Creek to about Malay Bay at entrance to Mountnorris Bay; also inland (no recent references); boundaries largely by exclusion from other tribal territories.

Coord.: 144°0'E x 11°30'S.

Area: 600 sq. m. (1,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Jalakuru.

Ref.: Earl, 1846.

Djamindjung 'Djamindjuŋ

Loc.: Middle and upper Fitzmaurice River to Umyxera Creek and Vambarra Range; south to the Victoria River at Timber Creek; at Bradshaw; on Angalarri River.

Coord.: 130°25'E x 15°5'S.

Area: 2,700 sq. m. (7,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Tjamindjung, Djamunjun, Kaminjung, Jaminjang, Jaminjung, Tjaminjun, Djamundon, Djamadjong, Murinyuwen, Murinyuwan.

Ref.: Stanner, 1933, 1936, 1970 MS; Capell, 1940, 1965; Robinson, 1956; Mackay, 1959 MS; Lockwood, 1962; Falkenberg, 1962; Berndt and Berndt, 1964.

Djangu 'Djaŋu

Loc.: Arnhem Bay area, principally on its eastern shores, extending north to the English Company Islands. This is one of the seven loose linguistic units observed by Schebeck and others. They are separated on a basis of differences in the form of the demonstrative pronoun "this." In this group the word takes the form ['djaŋu]. It is not to be confused with the Dangu ['Daŋu] another similar linguistic unit of the east coast of Arnhem Land, whose members today intermingle with the others but retain their identity.

In the Djangu there are two clans, both of the Jiritja moiety:
1. Man:atja (Man(d)atja).
2. Waramiri (Warramiri, Warameri, Warumeri, Warramirri, Burada, Buratha, Budalpudal, Buralbural).

Coord.: 136°30'E x 12°20'S.

Area: No estimate possible.

Alt.: Django.

Ref.: Warner, 1937; Capell, 1942; Berndt, 1965; Anonymous, 1969; Schebeck, 1970 MS; Peterson, 1970 pers. comm.

Djauan 'Djauan

Loc.: Katherine River and headwaters; south to Maranboy; west to about Katherine. They practice only circumcision with a limited degree of secrecy.

Coord.: 132°50'E x 14°0'S.

Area: 3,800 sq. m. (9,900 sq. km.).

Alt.: Tjauen, Djouan, Djauun, Jawin, Chau-an, Tweinbol, Adowen, Djawin, Djawun, Djauwung, Charmong.

Ref.: Parkhouse, 1895, 1896; Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6491), 1901 (Gr. 6453), 1907 (Gr. 6511, 6515, 6521), 1908 (Gr. 6578); Thomas, 1907; Eylmann, 1908; Spencer, 1914; Davidson, 1935; McCarthy, 1939; Jennison in Tindale, 1940; Tindale, 1940; Elkin in Berndt, 1951; Macintosh, 1951; Berndt and Berndt, 1952, 1964; Robinson, 1956; Elkin, 1961; Hall, 1962; Lockwood, 1962; Capell, 1965; C. Berndt, 1965.

Djerait 'Djerait

Loc.: Northern shores of Anson Bay on landward side; northward to Point Blaze; Dahl shows them as not extending to the coast, which he suggests is Wogait territory, the latter being "seafolk." It was here that Tasman was met with showers of short spears (interpreted by him as arrows) thrown with the long spear-thrower of this area; 2 on NW map.

Coord.: 130°25'E x 13°0'S.

Area: 500 sq. m. (1,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Tjerait, Cherait, Cherite, Sherait, Jeerite, Scherits, Tjiras.

Ref.: Mackillop, 1893; Foelsche, 1895; Basedow, 1907, 1925; Eylmann, 1908; Dahl, 1926; Stanner, 1933.

Djerimanga 'Djerimaŋa

Loc.: Coastal plain at mouth of Adelaide River; east to Mary River floodplains; originally south to Margaret River and first foothills of Ringwood Range; the Djowei moved west to take over their inland territory.

Coord.: 131°25'E x 12°25'S.

Area: 1,200 sq. m. (3,100 sq. km.).

Alt.: Djeramanga, Jermangel, Waak (a valid alternative), Wulna, Woolna (place name), Woolnah, Woolner, Wulnar, Wolna, Woolner.

Ref.: Goyder, 1869; Bennett, 1879; Todd and Anonymous in Curr, 1886; East, 1889; Parkhouse, 1894; Foelsche, 1895; Basedow, 1907, 1925; Eylmann, 1908; Giglioli, 1911; Dahl, 1926; Wilson, 1941 MS.

Djinang 'Djiňaŋ

Loc.: From the Crocodile Islands and Milingimbi south to the middle reaches of the Blyth River; east to Glyde Inlet and the true Glyde River which originates in the Arafura Swamp; their territory touches only the northern edge of this great swamp.

Coord.: 134°50'E x 12°20'S.

Area: 700 sq. m. (1,800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Jandjinang (valid alternative, with prefix), Jandjinung, Yandjinung, Yandjinning, Yandjinang, Djinnang, Djinhang, Milingimbi (place name), Millingimbi, Wulläkki, Wulaki, Ullaki, Wulagi, Balmbi (group term), Balmawi, Barlmawi, Manjarngi (clan name), Manyarrngi, Munnarngo, Manarrngu.

Ref.: Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Warner, 1931, 1933, 1937; Thomson, 1938, 1939, 1949; Tindale, 1940; Capell, 1942, 1963; Australian Encyclopedia, 1958; Berndt and Berndt, 1964; Lauer, 1967; Reed, Edwards and Guerin, 1969; Schebeck, 1970 MS; Peterson, 1970 pers. comm.; Hamilton, 1970 pers. comm.

Djinba 'Djinba

Loc.: An inland tribe extending south from the northern edge of the great Arafura Swamp to the upper waters of the true Goyder River at about 13°15'S lat.; west to the divide with Guyuyu Creek; east only to where eastern creeks enter the Arafura Swamp. This appears to be the northernmost tribe in eastern Arnhem Land to preserve the usual Australian tribal structure. It has both Dua and Jiritja clans. Past confusion about the territorial limits of the tribe have been accentuated by misidentifications of the Goyder River, which terminates in the Arafura Swamp. A coastal estuarine stream that flows from its northern margin is the true Glyde River. The Woolen River, which lies to the east, has been incorrectly marked as the Goyder on some anthropologists sketch maps. Thus Warner, Thomson, and Berndt are writing about different rivers when they speak of the Goyder.

Coord.: 134°55'E x 12°50'S.

Area: 1,200 sq. m. (3,100 sq. km.).

Alt.: Djinba (name based on the demonstrative pronoun = this), Jinba, Djimba (typographical error), Outjanbah, Gunalbingu (a northwestern part of the tribe), Ganalbwingu, Kurkamarnapia (southeastern part of the tribe).

Ref.: Tindale, 1925; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Warner, 1931, 1937; Davidson, 1938; Sweeney, 1939 MS; Thomson, 1939, 1948, 1949; Capell, 1942; Macintosh, 1951; Berndt and Berndt, 1953, 1964; Elkin, 1961; Schebeck, 1970 MS, Peterson, 1970 pers. comm.

Djowei 'Djowei

Loc.: East of Adelaide River (Spencer); an inland tribe, between Awarai and Djerimanga and extending to South Alligator River. Probably originally did not come west of the Mary River; they now range west to the Adelaide River.

Coord.: 131°40'E x 12°50'S.

Area: 1,700 sq. m. (4,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Kumertuo.

Ref.: Spencer, 1914, 1928; Elkin, Berndt and Berndt, 1951.

Duwal 'Ďuwal

Loc.: A grouping of clans (mala) of the Dua moiety living intermingled with Duwala of the Jiritja moiety between Castlereagh Bay, Buckingham River, and the east coast of Arnhem Land, and extending along that coast from Koolatong River to about Port Bradshaw.

Warner (1937) arbitrarily introduced the term "Murngin," which has a general meaning of "aggressive people"; also "shovel-nose spear folk." He heard the term at the western margin of the area under discussion. For a full account of the special problems of this area see Schebeck (1971). Briefly summarized—in this area tribal organization yields to a grouping of seven linguistic units that the aborigines distinguish on the basis of differences in the demonstrative pronoun "this." These seven linguistic groups are divided into many clans shared between two moieties, Jiritja and Dua.

In the presently considered Duwal linguistic group there are eight clans, all belonging to the Dua moiety. The following list shows valid alternative and other spellings are in parentheses:

1. Tjambarupingu (Tjambarpoing, Djambarrpuyngu, Djambarpingu, Djambarbwingu, Jambarboinga, Jumbapoingo, Djambarbingo, Djambarbwingo, Djambarpinga, Tchambarupi, Djambarwingu, Gujula, Gwiyula, Ngaladharr, Naladaer, Ngalado).
2. Leiagawumir (Leyagawumirr, Liagaomir, Laigajomir, Laigojomir, Galbanuk, Galwanuk, Galwangug).
3. Leiagalawumir (Leyagalawumirr, Liaalaomir, Laigalawumiri, Laigulawulmiree).
4. Datiwui (Datiwuy).
5. Marangu (Marrangu, Marrakuli, Merango).
6. Marakulu (Marrakulu, Maragulu).
7. Djapu (Djabu, Tjapu, Jabu, Darmaramiri, Dhamalamirr, Maradungimi, Maradanggimiri, Marrathanggimir).
8. Dapuingu (Dhapuyngu, Wurrungguku, Wurungugu).

For clans of the Jiritja moiety, see under the heading Duwala, which follows. Although the two dialect group names Duwal and Duwala are very similar, they are clearly differentiated in aboriginal thought and conversation.

The term Balamumu is associated with these people when

living near Caledon Bay; this name has the meaning of "sea folk" or "coast people" and is the one most commonly applied by tribespeople living to the south. I heard it first in 1921. Simmons and Cooke (1969) use a term Malag to embrace the people called Murngin by Warner. There are similar objections to its use.

Coord.: 135°50′E x 12°40′S.

Area: No estimate is possible for the individual linguistic groups but the seven listed together utilize about 5,400 sq. m. (14,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Murngin (in part), Wulamba (in part), Balamumu (coastal or sea people of southern tribes), Barlamomo, Barlamumu, Malag (['mala] = sea), Marlark, Arrawiya, Banjarrpuma, Bilamandji Dhurili (term applied chiefly to southern clans), Durilji.

Ref.: Tindale, 1925, 1928, 1940; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930, 1951; Warner, 1931, 1932, 1937; Webb, 1933; Capell, 1942; Thomson, 1946, 1955 MS; Robinson, 1956; Balfour, 1958; Hall, 1962; Lockwood, 1962; Berndt, 1965, and pers. comm.; Munn, 1969; Edwards and Guerin, 1969; Simmons and Cooke, 1969; Reed, 1969; Schebeck, 1970; Peterson, 1970 pers. comm.; Jennison, MS.

Duwala 'Ďuwala

Loc.: A loose linguistic grouping of clans, all of the Jiritja moiety, living intermingled with the Duwal, which is a different linguistic group of clans, all of the Dua moiety. Their country extends northeast of a line running between Castlereagh Bay and the east coast of Arnhem Land at Port Bradshaw, Cape Shield, and as far south as Koolatong River. For further discussion, see Schebeck (1971) and the summary in this work under the heading Duwal. The list of seven Jiritja clans of the Duwala, with spelling variants is based principally on Schebeck's findings. The importance of the Kupapuingu clan has been accentuated by the adoption of its dialect by missionaries, as a *lingua franca* in the area:

1. Kupapuingu (Kopapingu, Gupapuyngu, Kopapoingo, Koparpingu, Kopapaingo, Gupapuynu, Gupapuyna, Kuppapoingo, Gobabwingu, Gobabwingo, Gobabuinggu, Gubabuingu, Gababingo, Gububuinung, Bababingo, Guba, Gobagwingo [typographical error], Dajoror).
2. Kujamirilili (Guyamirrilili, Gwijamil, Gwiyamil).
3. Gumatj (Gomaidj, Gumadji, Komaits, Gumaitj, Gomaid).
4. Manggalili.
5. Makarwanalmiri (Makarrwanhalmirri, Mugarganalmiri).
6. Wobulkara (Wulkara, Wobulgarra, Wowulkarra, Obulgara, Wolgara).
7. Madarpa (Mararba, Madarrpa, Maderpa, Jithuwa, Jiduwa, Malarbardjuradj, Malarrbartjuray).

Coord.: 135°40′E x 12°30′S.

Area: No separate estimate possible.

Alt.: Duala, Du:ala, Murngin (in part), Wulamba (in part).

Ref.: Webb, 1933; Warner, 1937; Tindale, 1940; Capell, 1942, 1956, 1965; Berndt and Berndt, 1951, 1964; Thomson, 1952; Robinson, 1956; Lockwood, 1962; Lowe, MS (quoted by Wurm, 1965); Berndt, 1965; Anonymous, 1969; Schebeck, 1970 MS, 1971; Peterson, 1970 pers. comm.; Jennison, MS.

Gaari 'Ga:ri

Loc.: On Grant Island (n.n. ['Wuru:ldja]) near Goulburn Islands. A now extinct people who spoke a separate language differing a little from Maung. They may have been only a local group of that tribe.

Coord.: 132°55′E x 11°10′S.

Area: Approx. 20 sq. m. (50 sq. km.), including reefs.

Alt.: Gari.

Ref.: Berndt and Berndt, 1951, 1964.

Gadjalivia 'Gadjalivia

Loc.: Inland west of Blyth River; almost extinct; the survivors on Cadell River have been absorbed lately among the Nakara.

Coord.: 134°30′E x 12°20′S.

Area: 200 sq. m. (500 sq. km.).

Alt.: Gajalivia, Gudjalibi, Gudalavia, Gudjaliba, Gadjalibi, Gadjalibir.

Ref.: Sweeney, 1939; Sweeney in Berndt and Berndt, 1951; Berndt and Berndt, 1964; C. Berndt, 1965.

Gambalang 'Gambalaŋ

Loc.: On the coast between Hawkesbury Point and Junction Bay; inland for about 25 miles (40 km.) to Table Hill and heads of the small rivers to the west. The pronunciation of the name preferred is that of Mrs. J. Doolan who has lived among them from childhood. According to Hamilton they have a tribal type structure with patrilineal moieties. They did not begin to practice circumcision until after European settlement commenced and therefore are shown within the area of noncircumcision indicated on the map.

Coord.: 133°35′E x 12°5′S.

Area: 600 sq. m. (1,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Gunbalang, Gunbulan, Walang.

Ref.: Capell, 1940; Berndt and Berndt, 1964; Hiatt, 1965; Doolan, 1963 pers. comm.; Hamilton, 1970 pers. comm.

Gunavidji 'Gunavidji

Loc.: At Maningrida; along the valley of Liverpool River to limit of tidal waters; east to entry of Tomkinson River into mangrove swamps. They do not practice circumcision, being the easternmost Northern Territory group of those not practicing the rite.

Coord.: 134°10′E x 12°10′S.

Area: 500 sq. m. (1,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Gunaviji, Gunawitji, Gunabidji, Gunabwidji, Gunjibidji, Witji.

Ref.: Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Capell, 1940, 1942; Berndt and Berndt, 1951, 1964; Hiatt, 1958 MS, 1961 MS; C. Berndt, 1965; Hamilton, 1970 pers. comm.; Jennison MS. (Other references may be found under Gunwinggu.)

Gungorogone 'Gun'gorogone

Loc.: An inland small tribe on Cadell River southeast of the Tomkinson River headwaters.

Coord.: 134°20′E x 12°30′S.

Area: No estimate possible.

Alt.: Gungoragone, Gungoro:lgo:ngi, Gungarawoni, Gungurulgungi.

Ref.: Capell, 1942; Elkin, Berndt and Berndt, 1951; Berndt and Berndt, 1951; Hiatt, 1961 MS.

Gunwinggu 'Gunwiŋgu

Loc.: An inland tribe south of Jungle Creek and on the headwaters of the East Alligator River. They do not practice circumcision. Inland horde or hordes north of Oenpelli are called Mangaridji, and it is likely that the Unigangk listed by Capell (1942) is a name for those who live on the upper waters of the East Alligator River. The Mangaridji at Oenpelli (n.n. Awunbelenja) were traditionally the occupiers of local rock-shelters and are said to have become extinct before 1951. It is claimed they were in fact responsible for the work in the Oenpelli painted caves. According to Capell, the Mangeri were the Geimbio of Spencer but the latter name seems to be a variant of Gambalang (which see). Capell records a few words of Mangaridji vocabulary.

Coord.: 133°35'E x 12°20'S.

Area: 2,800 sq. m. (7,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Gunwingu, Gunwingo, Wengi, Wengei, Wengej, Gundeidjeme, Gundjeipmi (horde on upper Liverpool River), Kulunglutji, Kulunglutchi, Gundjeibmi, Gundjajeimi, Gundeijeme, Gundeidjeme, Margulitban (a group within the tribe), Unigangk, Urnigangg, Koorungo, Neinggu (of Maung tribe), Neinngu, Mangaridji, Mangeri.

Ref.: Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6491); Spencer, 1914, 1928; Warner, 1937; Sweeney, 1939; Capell, 1940, 1942, 1956, 1965; Tindale, 1940; C. Berndt, 1951, 1965; Berndt and Berndt, 1951, 1964; Elkin, Berndt and Berndt, 1951; Sweeney in Berndt, 1951; Elkin, 1961; Lockwood, 1962; Oates, 1964; R. Berndt, 1965; Hamilton, 1970 pers. comm.; Harris, n.d.

Ildawongga (*see* Western Australia).

Iliaura 'Iliaura

Loc.: Sandover, Bundey, Ooratippra, and Fraser creeks; Mount Swan, northern face of Hart Range, Plenty River north and west of Ilbala, Jervois Range, Mount Playford, Elkedra River; at MacDonald Downs and Huckitta. Yallop (1969) has adopted the northern pronunciation of their name (Aljawara), not the one used by the principal hordes studied in 1930. There has been a northward shift since that date, as detailed by Yallop. The boundaries shown here are as of the time of first contacts. The 16 mm films of the University of Adelaide Anthropological Expedition of 1930 shows these people at Macdonald Downs.

Coord.: 135°30'E x 21°55'S.

Area: 17,800 sq. m. (46,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Il(l)iaura, Iljauara, Iljawara, Ilyauarra, Ilyowra, Illyowra, Illura (spelling in 1953 Northern Territory official document), Aliwara (Kaititj name), Aliawara, Aljawara (a Kaititj pronunciation), Alyawara, Ilawara (Ngalia term), Iliama (typographical error), Jaljuwara (western tribal pronunciation), Yalyuwara.

Ref.: Spencer and Gillen, 1899; Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6575), Eylmann, 1908; C. Strehlow, 1910; Brown, 1911; Basedow, 1925; Tindale, 1930 MS, 1932, 1940, 1951 MS, 1953 MS, 1963 MS; T. G. H. Strehlow, 1947; R. Underhill, 1953 MS; Meggitt, 1961; Yallop, 1969; Tindale and George, 1971.

Indjilandji 'Indjilandji

Loc.: Barkly Tableland about Buchanan Creek and Ranken River; west toward Dalmore and Alroy Downs; east toward headwaters of Gregory River and Lawn Hill Creek. Breen hears the name as Indjilandji, which is accepted.

Coord.: 137°15'E x 19°25'S.

Area: 8,200 sq. m. (21,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Indjilandji, Indjilindji, Injilinji, Intjilatja (of Iliaura), Indjurandji (valid variant), Indkilindji (? typographical error), Inchalachee, Inchalanchee.

Ref.: Parry-Okeden, 1897; Mathews, 1899 (Gr. 6445), 1900 (Gr. 6524, 6575), 1901 (Gr. 6453), 1904 (Gr.——), 1905 (Gr. 6454), 1907 (Gr. 6513), 1908 (Gr. 6578); Sharp, 1935, 1939; Tindale, 1938 MS, 1940; Capell, 1963; Breen, 1969 MS; Yallop, 1969.

Ingura (Wanindiljaugwa) 'Iŋura ('Wanindil'jaugwa)

Loc.: Groote Eylandt, Bickerton, and Woodah Islands; divided into six named hordes (Tindale), five (Worsley, 1954), or twelve (Worsley, 1955). Worsley following Capell (1942) applied a hordal name to the whole tribe; this strictly is incorrect although one southeastern horde today dominates over others and claims its name has precedence. An older generation of men in 1922 regarded themselves as Ingura. Both Thomson and Warner noted it and I was able to check it indirectly during an encounter with a Rose River man in 1938. Joan Greenway found that the eastern men were now claiming the hordal term but men of western hordes, some of whose elders had migrated from the Bickerton Islands in protohistoric times still considered Ingura the proper term. She rejects Worsley's spelling of the former hordal term in favor of "Wanindilyaugwa." Plate 3 is relevant for this tribe, also plate 45.

Coord.: 136°35'E x 13°55'S.

Area: 1,000 sq. m. (2,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wanindilyaugwa, Andiljaugwa (a horde name), Andiljaukwa, Andilyaugwa, Wani-Ndiljaugwa (horde or clan name), En Indiljaugwa (language name based on horde name), Andilagwa, Lamadalpu (of natives of Trial Bay), Awarikpa (a horde name), Amakurupa (horde name based on a place name).

Ref.: Heeres, 1899; Tindale, 1921–1922 MS, 1925, 1938 MS, 1940; Bleakley, 1928; Wilkins, 1927; Warner, 1937; Capell, 1942, 1956, 1960; Thomson, 1946; McCarthy, 1953, 1955, 1956, 1959; Worsley, 1954, 1955; Mountford, 1956; Gray, 1958; Rose, 1960; Needham, 1961; Lockwood, 1962; DeJong, 1962; Greenway, 1969 pers. comm., 1970 MS.

Iwaidja 'I:waidja

Loc.: Eastern portion of Cobourg Peninsula centering in Mountnorris Bay. According to some information four other small tribes or hordes of this one are in the same area, Wonga:ran on the mainland opposite Croker Island; Ka:ri:k east of Cape Don; the Nga:dalwuli on the coast east of the Ka:ri:k; and Mandu:wit also on the northwest, east of the Nga:dalwuli. See additional notes under headings Oitbi and Wurango.

Coord.: 132°35'E x 11°25'S.

Area: 100 sq. m. (260 sq. km.).

Alt.: (ii = no), Ji:wadja, Jiwadja, Juwadja, Iwaija, Iyi, Eiwaja, Eaewardja, Eaewarga (in MS presuming $g = dj$), Uwaidja, Eae-warge-ga, Unalla, Limbakaraja, Limba-Kar-

adjee, Iwaiji (compare note under Wurango), Tarula (Melville Islanders term, lit. "riflemen" because Joe Cooper, early white settler, used Iwaidja helpers to defend himself).

Ref.: Stoddard, 1834; Earl, 1846, 1853; Foelsche in Curr, 1886; Foelsche, 1895; Spencer, 1914; Jennison, 1927; Hart, 1930; Sweeney, 1939; Capell, 1940, 1942, 1962, 1965; Tindale, 1940; Elkin, Berndt and Berndt, 1951; Berndt and Berndt, 1951, 1964; Lockwood, 1962; C. Berndt, 1965; Goodale, 1971.

Jaako 'Ja:ko

Loc.: Croker Island and a small area of Cobourg Peninsula opposite the island and at Raffles Bay (originally two tribes that amalgamated before 1840). Jennison uses Margo. One native name for Croker Island is Mangulalgut, another is Margo.

Coord.: 132°40'E x 11°10'S.

Area: 300 sq. m. (800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Yaako (['ja:ko] = no), Terutong, Ajokoot, Marlgu, Marrgu, Ma:go, Margo (a native name for Croker Island), Margu (language name, *fide* Capell).

Ref.: Earl, 1846, 1853; Sweeney, 1939; Capell, 1942; Berndt and Berndt, 1951, 1964; Elkin, Berndt and Berndt, 1951; Australian Encyclopedia, 1958.

Jangman 'Jaŋmən

Loc.: Elsey Creek and its headwaters southwest of Elsey Station; south of Mataranka; south to Daly Waters, chiefly on the plateau country between the Roper and Victoria river systems.

Coord.: 132°55'E x 15°40'S.

Area: 5,600 sq. m. (14,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Yangman, Jungman, Yungman, Yungmun, Yungmunni, Yungmanni, Yungmunee, Yungmunnee, Jongman.

Ref.: Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6491, 6575), 1901 (Gr. 6523), 1905 (Gr. 6543), 1906 (Gr. 6522), 1908 (Gr. 6578); Eylmann, 1908; Spencer, 1914; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Davidson, 1935; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS; Capell, 1956, 1965; Elkin, 1961.

Janjula 'Janjula

Loc.: Macarthur River from near Boroloola to the coast and on the Sir Edward Pellew Islands excluding Vanderlin Island; at Pungalina; southeast along coast to beyond Tully Inlet. In the 1940 map the Njangga were treated as a separate tribe. It is now known from fieldwork at Doomadgee, with Janjula people, that it is merely an eastern name used by the Jokula and others for eastern hordes of the Janjula, extending inland to near Wollogorang.

Coord.: 137°10'E x 16°20'S.

Area: 6,300 sq. m. (16,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Yanula, Yanular, Anjula, Anyula, Anyoola, Anyuwa, Yanyuwa, Aniula, Anula, Anuwa, Leanawa, Leeanuwa, Unalla, Djirukurumbant (directional name given them by tribes to the east), Njangga (eastern name for Janjula), Njangkala, Yangala, Iangkala, Yuckamurri, Yuggamurra.

Ref.: Stretton, 1893; Mathews, 1899 (Gr. 6443), 1900 (Gr. 6575); Spencer and Gillen, 1904; Power in Basedow, 1907; Spencer, 1914; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Sharp, 1935; Tindale, 1940, 1960 MS, 1963 MS; Elkin in Berndt, 1951; Capell, 1956; Australian Encyclopedia, 1958; Elkin, 1961; Lockwood, 1962; Oates et al., 1964; Pittman et al., 1964; Kirton, 1964, M. Reay, 1964 verb. comm.; Wurm, 1965.

Jangkundjara (*see* South Australia).

Jaroinga 'Jaroiŋa

Loc.: At Urandangi, Bathurst, Headingly, north to Lake Nash and Barkly Downs; east toward Mount Isa, Qld.; west to near Mount Hogarth and Argadargada.

Coord.: 138°0'E x 21°10'S.

Area: 11,900 sq. m. (30,900 sq. km.).

Alt.: Yaroinga, Yarroinga, Yaringa (name applied to a creek), Yorrawinga, Yarrowin, Jurangka (Iliaura name), Manda (southern horde near Urandangi), Pulanja (language name), Bulanja, Bulanu.

Ref.: Parry-Okeden, 1897; Roth, 1897; Mathews, 1899 (Gr. 6445), 1900 (Gr. 6448), 1901 (Gr. 6453), Spencer, 1912; Tindale, 1940; Yallop, 1969; Breen, 1969 MS.

Jilngali 'Jilŋali

Loc.: North of Fitzmaurice River on headwaters of Fish River; some migrated west to the lower reaches of the Fitzmaurice in historical time.

Coord.: 130°50'E x 14°25'S.

Area: 500 sq. m. (1,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ilngali, Nungali (variation due to prefixing language).

Ref.: Stanner, 1936; Capell, 1940, 1956, 1965; Tindale, 1953 MS; Mackay, 1959 MS.

Jukul 'Jukul

Loc.: Vicinity of Leichhardt Bar (Urapunga) and on the south bank of Roper River at mouth of Hodgson River; north to Mount Favenc.

Coord.: 134°35'E x 14°40'S.

Area: 600 sq. m. (1,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Yukul, Jokul, Yikil, Yookil, Yookull, Yookala, Yikul.

Ref.: Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6491); Eylmann, 1908; Spencer, 1914; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Tindale, 1940, and MS.

Jumu 'Jumu

Loc.: Western MacDonnell Ranges from Mount Russell east to near Mount Zeil; north to southern vicinity of central Mount Wedge and Lake Bennett, south to Mounts Solitary and Udor; at Haast Bluff and Mounts Liebig and Peculiar. Because of an epidemic most of them died between 1932 and 1940, and their country was then usurped by Pintubi and Ngalia hordes; some surviving children passed to the Kukatja. Roheim used a term Ngatatara for this tribe. It is the name by which they are often known to the Kukatja. It must be noted that C. Berndt (1965:243) gave an alternative spelling Ngadadjara—the same she sometimes uses for the people of the Warburton Ranges in Western Australia. This could be a trap for those who do not know that the names relate to entirely distinct peoples separated by a distance of 400 miles (650 km.). Color plates 22, 38, and 42 are relevant.

Coord.: 131°20'E x 23°20'S.

Area: 4,900 sq. m. (12,700 sq. km.).

Alt.: Yumu, Pa:kulja, Ngatatara (language term applied to them by the Kukatja, because they say ['ŋada] or ['ŋata]

where other people would use the word ['naŋata]), Ngadadjara (of C. Berndt in part).

Ref.: C. Strehlow, 1910; Tindale, 1932, 1933, 1936 MS, 1940 MS, 1940, 1951 MS, 1956 MS; Roheim, 1933; Fry, 1934; C. Berndt, 1965.

Junggor 'Juŋgor

Loc.: Areas of swampland west of Hermit Hill and south of the Daly River. It is possible that this is only a horde of the Ngolokwanggar, as implied by the work of Basedow, but Stanner (1970 MS) lists it as a tribe. There are in this area other such groups possessing only small territories; 6 on NW map.

Coord.: 130°30'E x 13°10'S.

Area: 100 sq. m. (250 sq. km.).

Alt.: Yunggor.

Ref.: Basedow, 1907; Stanner, 1933, 1970 MS; Mackay, 1959 MS.

Kadjerong 'Kadjəroŋ

Loc.: Westward from mouth of Fitzmaurice River along coast to the mouth of Keep River near the border of Western Australia; inland to about Border Springs, principally on low coastal mangrove islands and flats, visiting Quoin and Clump Islands and those off the mouth of Keyling Inlet; at Legune.

Coord.: 129°30'E x 15°O'S.

Area: 800 sq. m. (2,100 sq. km.).

Alt.: Kadjerawang, Kadjarong, Kadjeroen, Gadjerong, Kujera, Ginmu.

Ref.: Basedow, 1907, 1925; Spencer, 1914; Stanner, 1933, 1936; Kaberry, 1935, 1939; Capell, 1940; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS, Mackay, 1959 MS.

Kaititja 'Kaititja

Loc.: Elkedra, Gastrolobium Creek, Frew River, Whistleduck Creek, head of Elkedra River, Davenport Range, Murchison Range, Mount Singleton, and westward into sand desert east of Hanson; on Taylor and Barrow creeks; at Forster Range. Their northern boundary was about 5 miles (8 km.) north of Kelly Well, their southern was near Mount Octy, the lowland margining the Hanson River at Stirling and the periodically flooded country to the east.

Coord.: 134°30'E x 20°50'S.

Area: 12,500 sq. m. (32,500 sq. km.).

Alt.: Kaititj(a), Kaititja (Aranda pronunciation), Kaititje, Kaititj, Kaitidji, Kaitije, Kaitiji, Katitja, Katitch-a, Kattitch-a, Kat-tit-ya, Kaitish, Kadda-kie, Gaididj.

Ref.: East, 1889; Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6575), 1907 (Gr. 6515); Spencer and Gillen, 1904; Lang in Parker, 1905; Eylmann, 1908; C. Strehlow, 1910; Brown, 1911; Spencer, 1912; Basedow, 1925; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS; T. G. H. Strehlow, 1947, 1965; Australian Encyclopedia, 1958.

Kakadu 'Kakadu

Loc.: Between East and South Alligator rivers inland from the shores of Van Diemen Gulf; south to the mountain ranges; at Cannon Hill and Mount Basedow.

Coord.: 133°O'E x 12°35'S.

Area: 2,300 sq. m. (6,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Kakadju, Kakatu, Ka:ka:dju, Kakata, Karkadoo, Gagadu, Gagadju, Awur (language term), Auwur, Arwur, A:rwu:r, ? Abedal.

Ref.: Eylmann, 1908; Spencer, 1914; Basedow, 1925; Capell, 1940, 1942, 1963; Tindale, 1940; Berndt and Berndt, 1951, 1964; Elkin, Berndt and Berndt, 1951; Elkin, 1961; Peterson, 1970 pers. comm.

Kamor 'Kamor

Loc.: Central Daly River; a western contact with the Ngolokwanggar (Mulukmuluk) near Daly River Crossing. The boundary shown is that thought by Stanner (1970 MS) to be the most likely; 17 on NW map.

Coord.: 130°45'E x 13°55'S.

Area: 300 sq. m. (800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Gamy, Kamorrkir, Komorrkir, ? Murra-Kamangee.

Ref.: Basedow, 1907; Stanner, 1933, 1970 MS; Davidson, 1938; Mackay, 1959 MS; Capell, 1963; Berndt, 1965.

Karaman 'Karaman

Loc.: Between Willeroo and Katherine on the headwaters of streams flowing into the Daly River; east to near Mataranka and western border of Elsey; on the King River.

Coord.: 130°15'E x 14°50'S.

Area: 3,900 sq. m. (10,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: None has been reported.

Ref.: Willshire, 1896; Davidson, 1930; Mackay, 1959 MS.

Karawa 'Karawa

Loc.: On the rocky inland dissected plateau country from Foelsche River and Robinson River Homestead south to headwaters of Robinson River and to Seigalls Creek Homestead; east to Wollogorang and to Westmoreland outstation only; northward only to edge of coastal plain about 40 miles (65 km.) inland from the sea; Calvert Hills. In early historic times they ventured to the coast at Tully Inlet where they mixed with Janjula. T. McCourt traced for me a quartzite mine for large ['babakana] knife blades of the so-called *leilira* type to a place 6 miles (15 km.) south of the Redbanks Copper Mine. These blades were traded to the Lardiil of Mornington Island in exchange for young girls sent in marriage to the Karawa. The blades, known to the Karawa as ['kulunja], were traded widely also in other directions by them. The people of this tribe share with the Kaiadilt of Bentinck Island a high B-blood ratio. B is otherwise almost nonexistent elsewhere in Australia except among the Tagalag.

Coord.: 137°15'E x 17°15'S.

Area: 6,300 sq. m. (16,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Karəwa (valid alternative pronunciation), Karrawar, Garawa, Kurrawar, Korrawa, Grawa, Leearawa, Kariwa (Iliaura pronunciation), Wulungwara (horde at Wollongorang), Wollongorang (place name).

Ref.: Stretton, 1893; Spencer and Gillen, 1899; Mathews, 1899 (Gr. 6443, 6504), 1900 (Gr. 6575), 1901 (Gr. 6453); Power in Basedow, 1907; Spencer, 1914; Sharp, 1935; Tindale, 1938 MS, 1940, 1960 MS, 1963 MS; Simmons, Graydon, and Tindale, 1964; A.I.A.S. Report, 1966; Yallop, 1969; McCourt, 1970 MS.

Korindji 'Ko:rindji

Loc.: On headwaters of Victoria River south from Munjan (Mount Sanford Station) and Tjalwa or Longreach Water-

hole, extending westward to G.B. Rockhole (n.n. ['Loma]) and east to Bullock Creek and Camfield River; at Wave Hill. On Cattle Creek in the southeast they meet the Mutpura. They do not go east into the parallel sandhill country. Their southern boundary lies near Hooker Creek (n.n. ['O:lajai]). Mackay (1959 MS) maps the name Manu, otherwise identified with the Wandjira, as in Korindji tribal area. In the Karaman language ['kori] = west—the present tribal name may therefore once have meant "westerners"; no other has been suggested.

Coord.: 130°40'E x 17°40'S.

Area: 8,400 sq. m. (21,800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Guirindji, Gurindji, Garundji, Koorangie.

Ref.: Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6575); Berndt, 1944 MS, 1965; Tindale, 1953 MS; Meggitt, 1955.

Kotandji 'Kotandji

Loc.: Head of coastal slope from Tanumbirini southeast to about head of McArthur River; at Old Wallhallow; at Mallapunyah; west to head of Newcastle Creek; south to Anthony Lagoon and Eva Downs. Before 1900 they were pressing northeastward into Binbinga territory. They use also the name Ngandji. Stationmaster (1895) incorrectly placed this tribe west instead of east of the Tjingili under the term Kakaringa, an obvious error since here ['kakara] means "east."

Coord.: 135°10'E x 17°10'S.

Area: 12,000 sq. m. (31,200 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ngandji (valid alternative), Kutandji, Kudandji, Gudanji, Koodanjee, Gundangee, Godangee, Koodangie, Kutanjtjii (of Iliaura *fide* Yallop), Kudenji, Nganji, Ngangi, Nandi, Gnanji (false transcription), Angee (tone deaf to initial ng), Anga, Kakaringa (of Tjingili, means "easterners").

Ref.: Stationmaster, 1895; Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6575), 1901 (Gr. 6453), 1902 (Gr.——), 1905 (Gr. 6454), 1907 (Gr. 6578); Spencer and Gillen, 1904; Power in Basedow, 1907; Spencer, 1914; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Tindale, 1940, 1963 MS; Elkin, 1961; Aguas, 1968; Yallop, 1969.

Kukatja 'Kukatja

Loc.: West of Gosse Range and Palm Valley on the south MacDonnell Ranges; south to Tempe Downs; southwest to Lake Amadeus, George Gill Range, Cleland Hills (Merandji), Inindi near Mount Forbes, and Thomas Reservoir (Alala); on upper Palmer, Walker, and Rudall creeks. Not to be confused either with Kokata of South Australia, the Kokatja of the area near Gregory Lake in Western Australia, or the Kukatja of Queensland. In the work of C. Strehlow these people were called by their Aranda name, Loritja, which has a derogatory significance. In 1929 I was asked by old men of this tribe to refrain from using the term imposed on them by the Aranda and to record their "true" name—Kukatja. For an authoritative statement on the status of the word Loritja, see T. G. H. Strehlow (1947:177). Mathews (1907:362 [Gr. 6488 and also in Gr. 6515]) gave a far too wide area for his Loritja group, not recognizing that he was defining the whole area where Pitjandjara type languages were present. His vocabulary data shows he was dealing with the Kukatja of the western MacDonnell Ranges. Elkin (1931) unfortunately followed Mathews by using the name for the widespread Western Desert Languages of Pitjandjara type.

Coord.: 131°30'E x 24°15'S.

Area: 10,300 sq. m. (26,800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Kukadja, Kukacha, Gugadja, Gugada, Gogadja, Kukata (in error), Loritja (Aranda term, derogatory; sometimes collectively applied by them also to other despised western tribes), Luritja, Luritcha, Loritcha, Lurritji, Luridja, Lo-rit-ya, Aluridja, Loorudgie, Loorudgee, Juluridja, Uluritdja, Aluratji (Ngalia term), Aluridia (Pintubi and Pitjandjara term), Aluratja (Iliaura term), Western Loritja (of C. Strehlow).

Ref.: Schulze, 1891; Willshire, 1891; Spencer and Gillen, 1899; Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6448), 1901 (Gr. 6453), 1906 (Gr.——), 1907 (Gr. 6488, 6515); Leonhardi, 1907; Eylmann, 1908; Basedow, 1908, 1925; C. Strehlow, 1910; Bates, 1918; Tindale, 1929 MS, 1940, 1951 MS, 1956 MS, 1957 MS, 1964 MS; Cleland, 1930; Cleland and Fry, 1930; Elkin, 1931; Roheim, 1933; T. G. H. Strehlow, 1944, 1947, 1965; Australian Encyclopedia, 1958; Berndt, 1959; Harney, 1960; Worms, 1963: 235; Platt, 1967; Tindale and George, 1971.

Kungarakan 'Kuŋarakan

Loc.: Northeast of Mount Litchfield on midwaters of Reynolds River and on Adelaide River headwaters; an inland tribe extending to the western side of the Tabletop Range divide; northeast to vicinity of Rum Jungle and Batchelor.

Coord.: 130°50'E x 13°15'S.

Area: 2,000 sq. m. (5,200 sq. km.).

Alt.: Gunerakan, Kangarraga, Kangarranga, Warnunger, Ungnakan.

Ref.: Goyder, 1869 (map and casual reference only); Foelsche, 1895; Mathews, 1901 (Gr. 6453); Basedow, 1907; Stanner, 1933, 1970 MS; Tindale, 1940.

Kunindiri 'Kunindiri

Loc.: Barkly Tableland along headwaters of Calvert, Robinson, and Nicholson rivers; southwest to Anthony Lagoon; at Creswell Downs and Fish Waterhole.

Coord.: 136°20'E x 17°50'S.

Area: 5,500 sq. m. (14,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Goonanderry, Leecundundeerie, Cundundeerie, Kunandra.

Ref.: Stretton, 1893; Basedow, 1907; Power in Basedow, 1907; Tindale, 1940 MS.

Kwarandji 'Kwarandji

Loc.: Daly Waters district; west to about Illawarra Springs and Mount Wollaston; south to Newcastle Waters on Sturt Plain; not as far as Lake Wood. Stationmaster (1895) placed this tribe east instead of north of the Tjingili; another of his directions also is in error (see note under Kotandji). There was formerly confusion with a western tribe, the Korindji. Mathews's placing of the tribe "south west" of the Tjingili evidently is an error of transposition for "north west."

Coord.: 133°20'E x 16°45'S.

Area: 7,500 sq. m. (19,500 sq. km.).

Alt.: Kwaranjee, Kooringee, Coorinji, Goarango, Gurindji (see also Korindji), Gurindzi, We-arr-ung.

Ref.: East, 1889; Stationmaster, 1895; Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6575), 1901 (Gr. 6453), 1907 (Gr. 6511), 1908 (Gr. 6495, 6578); Eylmann, 1908; Terry, 1926; Tindale, 1940; Meggitt, 1955; Lockwood, 1962.

Larakia 'Larakia

Loc.: From Finniss River and Fog Bay northeast to about Gunn Point west of the mouth of Adelaide River; inland to a point 10 miles (16 km.) north of Rum Jungle; at Darwin, Southport, Bynoe Harbour, and Howard River. Crauford (1895) mentions several hordes that he calls "families."

Coord.: 130°45'E x 12°35'S.

Area: 1,500 sq. m. (3,900 sq. km.).

Alt.: Larrakia, Larakiya, Larakeeyah, Larrakiya, Larrakeah, Larrakeeyah, Larrakiha, Laragia, Larragea, Larrekiya, Larrakeeha, Larreekeeyah, Larikia, Larrikia, Larrikiya, Larriquia, Binnimiginda (coastal hordes), Gunmajerrumba (inland hordes), Marri (a southern horde).

Ref.: Goyder, 1869; Sturt in Taplin, 1879; Little in Fison and Howitt, 1880; Foelsche, 1881, 1895; Coppinger, 1883; Foelsche in Curr, 1886; East, 1889; Mackillop, 1893; Parkhouse, 1895, 1896; Crauford, 1895; Basedow, 1907, 1925; Eylmann, 1908; Spencer, 1914; Dahl, 1926; Capell, 1939, 1940, 1956, 1965; Tindale, 1940.

Madngela 'Madngela

Loc.: Hermit Hill and country west of the Daly River, southeast of the Junggor; 10 on NW map.

Coord.: 130°30'E x 13° 45'S.

Area: 100 sq. m. (250 sq. km.).

Alt.: Madngella, Muttangulla, Matngelli, Hermit Hill tribe.

Ref.: Mackillop, 1893; Dahl, 1895, 1926; Mathews, 1901 (Gr. 6453); Eylmann, 1908; Stanner, 1933, 1934, 1970 MS; Capell, 1940; Falkenberg, 1948, 1962.

Magatige 'Magati'ge

Loc.: A coastal strip on the north side of Port Keats including Tree Point; inland for 20 miles (30 km.) on south side of Moyle River swamplands. This is a small tribe with only two listed hordes. The term Berinken (Brinken) has been applied to it but Stanner (1970 MS) says this is only a directional marker; 15 on NW map.

Coord.: 129°40'E x 14°10'S.

Area: 150 sq. m. (400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Maritige, Muringata, Muringa (a name applied by Murinbata), Muringe, Berinken, Berinkin, Berringin, Brinken, Brinkan.

Ref.: Basedow, 1907; Stanner, 1933, 1936, 1938, 1970 MS; Davidson, 1935; Capell, 1940; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS, 1966 MS; Falkenberg, 1948, 1962; Berndt and Berndt, 1964.

Mangarai 'Maŋarai

Loc.: Middle and upper courses of Roper River east of Mataranka and Maranboy; at Mount Emily, Elsey, and Beswick; northeast to Mount Elsie; not farther downstream than about Mount Lindsay.

Coord.: 133°25'E x 14°45'S.

Area: 4,500 sq. m. (11,700 sq. km.).

Alt.: Mungarai, Mungerry, Mangarei, Manggarai, ? Walooka.

Ref.: Lowre in Curr, 1886; Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6491); Spencer, 1914; Tindale, 1925; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Capell, 1940, 1942, 1956; Berndt, 1951; Elkin, 1961; Lockwood, 1962; Berndt and Berndt, 1964; A.I.A.S., 1966.

Mara 'Mara

Loc.: Tidal reaches of Roper River nearly to mouth of Hodgson River, south to Limmen Bight River; eastward to coast and Maria Island, north to Edward Island. Plate 42 is relevant.

Coord.: 135°10'E x 14°50'S.

Area: 3,000 sq. m. (7,800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Marra, Leelalwarra (after Jalwara, a place name, an important lagoon south of Roper River), ? Walkonda.

Ref.: Lowre in Curr, 1886; Spencer and Gillen, 1904, 1912; Power in Basedow, 1907; Spencer, 1914; Tindale, 1921-1922 MS, 1925, 1940 MS; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Sharp, 1935; Capell, 1942, 1960; Berndt and Berndt, 1951, 1964.

Mariamo 'Mariamo

Loc.: A small tribal area south of Mount Greenwood centered on a system of inland swamps. Despite the small size of their territory Stanner (1970 MS) considers them to have the status of a tribe; 12 on NW map.

Coord.: 130°0'E x 13°55'S.

Area: 100 sq. m. (250 sq. km.).

Alt.: None has been reported.

Ref.: Stanner, 1970 MS.

Maridan 'Mari'dan

Loc.: A small area inland on the north side of the marshland of the middle Moyle River. Stanner (1970 MS) considers this to be a tribe; 13 on NW map.

Coord.: 130°5'E x 14°0'S.

Area: 100 sq. m. (250 sq. km.).

Alt.: Murindan (['mari] = ['murin]).

Ref.: Stanner, 1933, 1936, 1970 MS; Falkenberg, 1948, 1962.

Maridjabin 'Mari'djabin

Loc.: Swamplands at mouth of Moyle River and coastal country near Cape Dombey; inland for about 20 miles (30 km.); 14 on NW map.

Coord.: 129°50'E x 14°0'S.

Area: 300 sq. m. (800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Murindjabin (name used by Murinbata), Murintjabin, Murintjaran.

Ref.: Falkenberg, 1948, 1962; Stanner, 1970 MS.

Marijedi 'Mari'jedi

Loc.: Westward of Mount Greenwood on a system of swamplands extending northward toward Cape Scott; 11 on NW map.

Coord.: 129°55'E x 13°45'S.

Area: 200 sq. m. (500 sq. km.).

Alt.: Murijadi (name used by Murinbata), Marijadi.

Ref.: Falkenberg, 1948, 1962; Stanner, 1970 MS.

Marimanindji 'Mari'manindji

Loc.: South of Hermit Hill, central Daly River. Stanner (1970 MS) suspects, but cannot prove, that terms Maritjamiri and Mangikurungu belong to this people. Note the resemblance between the latter name and the Nanggikorongo tribal name placed on the map; 18 on NW map. Further information is needed here.

Coord.: 130°25′E x 14°0′S.
Area: 500 sq. m. (1,300 sq. km.).
Alt.: Murinmanindji (valid alternative), Maramanindji, Marimanindu (cartographic error in first edition), ? Dilik, ? Mangikurungu, ? Maritjamiri, ? Murintjameri, ? Tjameri.
Ref.: Dahl, 1926; Stanner, 1933, 1970 MS; Capell, 1940; Tindale, 1940.

Maringar 'Mari'ŋar
Loc.: Middle waters and swamplands of the Moyle River and its tributaries; 16 on NW map. Six hordes have been listed.
Coord.: 130°0′E x 14°15′S.
Area: 500 sq. m. (1,300 sq. km.).
Alt.: Muringar (valid alternative), Murrinnga, Muringa, Yaghanin, Moil (not a tribal name, ['moi:l] = "plain" or "plain country"), Moyle (name as given to river by Europeans).
Ref.: Stanner, 1933, 1936, 1970 MS; Mackay, 1953 MS; Falkenberg, 1962.

Marinunggo 'Mari'nuŋgo
Loc.: Vicinity of Dilke Range and northeastward toward the swamplands of the Daly River; 9 on NW map.
Coord.: 130°20′E x 13°50′S.
Area: 250 sq. m. (650 sq. km.).
Alt.: Marranunga, Maranunggo, Maranunga, Maranungo.
Ref.: Dahl, 1895, 1926; Basedow, 1907; Stanner, 1933, 1970 MS; Tindale, 1940; Mackay, 1959 MS.

Marithiel 'Mariṫiel
Loc.: Mount Greenwood and an inland area to the northeast; 8 on NW map. The name is said to be based on the word ['ṫel] = paperbark, hence "people of the paperbark tea tree swamps."
Coord.: 130°10′E x 13°40′S.
Area: 300 sq. m. (800 sq. km.).
Alt.: Maridhiel.
Ref.: Reed, 1969; Stanner, 1970 MS.

Mariu 'Mariu
Loc.: South of Victoria River, near mouth; at Bullo River.
Coord.: 129°35′E x 15°30′S.
Area: 1,800 sq. m. (4,700 sq. km.).
Alt.: Mayu, Mayoo, Mariung.
Ref.: Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6447, 6575), 1901 (Gr. 6453), 1908 (Gr. 6578); Davidson, 1935, 1938; Mackay, 1959 MS; Capell, 1963.

Matuntara 'Matuntara
Loc.: On the Palmer River south of the Levi Range; east to Erldunda; west to Curtin Springs; south to beyond the South Australian border, especially in the parallel sand dune country; they are sometimes considered to be a southern horde of and part of the Kukatja tribe whose territory lies in the upper Palmer River area. The southern boundary lies at the ecological transition from the wooded hilly country to the flat bluebush covered plains of the Antakirinja. The history of the Matuntara is complicated by their absorption of much of the Maiulatara horde of the Pitjandjara who shifted east from north of the Petermann Range area to Tempe Downs in the early years of the century. The mother of the F_1 half-caste Tommy Dodd belonged to that horde. He was reared principally among the Jangkundjara. Note that the Antakirinja sometimes apply the name Matuntara to their southern neighbors, the Kokata, and prefer the term Maiulatara for their northern contact, the term having reference to their supposedly chronic lack of food. The name ['madu] is applied by several tribes to the so-called spinifex wallaby, otherwise termed the ['mala], and sometimes the term has a derogatory signficance.
Coord.: 132°30′E x 25°25′S.
Area: 14,000 sq. m. (36,400 sq. km.).
Alt.: Matutara and Matjutu (valid alternatives), Maduntara (Pitjandjara version with derogatory implications), Madutara, Maiulatara (Antakirinja and Jangkundjara terms applicable strictly to the Pitjandjara horde that formerly was absorbed by the Matuntara), Maiuladjara, Southern Loritja (of C. Strehlow), ? Mularatara, Aluna (language term given them by the Pitjandjara), [Ku'dadji] (name applied by Pitjandjara differentiating them from the Wenamba whom they call Mangawara).
Ref.: C. Strehlow, 1907–1920; Roheim, 1933; Tindale, 1957 MS, 1963 MS, 1966 MS; T. Strehlow, 1965.

Maung 'Mauŋ
Loc.: Goulburn Islands and on the coast opposite; east to King River, Braithwaite Point, and Junction Bay; west to Sandy and Angularli creeks but chiefly along the coast. They have matrilineal inheritance and do not practice circumcision. North Goulburn Island people are called Manangari. Note that the Gaari, a recently extinct group on Howard Island, are considered to have been a separate tribe but may have been a horde of this tribe.
Coord.: 133°30′E x 11°45′S.
Area: 500 sq. m. (1,300 sq. km.).
Alt.: Mauung, Mau, Manangari, Gunmarang (Gunwinggu term).
Ref.: Jennison, 1927 and MS; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Warner, 1937; Capell, 1940, 1956, 1965; Berndt and Berndt, 1951, 1964; Lockwood, 1962; Oates et al., 1964; Pittman et al., 1964; C. Berndt, 1965.

Menthajangal 'Menṫa'jaŋal
Loc.: On the Bonaparte Gulf coast from Red Cliff south to beyond Cape Scott; inland for about 10 miles (15 km.) to the inner margin of the coastal swamps; 7 on NW map.
Coord.: 130°0′E x 13°35′S.
Area: 300 sq. m. (800 sq. km.).
Alt.: Mendajangal.
Ref.: W. Stanner, 1970 MS.

Miriwung (*see* Western Australia).

Murinbata 'Murinbata
Loc.: Port Keats; east to the Macadam Range and south to Keyling Inlet at the mouth of Fitzmaurice River (native name Kemol); a coastal tribe with eight hordes extending inland for about 20 miles (30 km.). Late extensions of tribal territory made toward southeast usurped Muringura territory and absorbed the Muringura. The territories are shown as they were.

Coord.: 129°40′E x 14°35′S.

Area: 800 sq. m. (2,100 sq. km.).

Alt.: Murinbada, Karama (probably means "water folk"), Garama, Karaman, Murinkura (formerly a tribe, now a linguistic group within the tribe; means "water language"), Nagor (a horde name), Nangu, Mariwada, Mariwuda.

Ref.: Stanner, 1933, 1934, 1936, 1938, 1959–1963, 1965; Falkenberg, 1948, 1962; Capell, 1956; Robinson, 1956; Lockwood, 1962; Berndt and Berndt, 1964, 1965; J. Cleverly, 1969 pers. comm.

Muringura 'Muriŋura

Loc.: East of Macadam Range and on the coastal swamps at the mouth of the Fitzmaurice River; east to about 130°10′E; north to Moyle River divide. Today the people are grouped with the Murinbata with whom they have mixed, but their speech shows a dialectic difference.

Coord.: 129°55′E x 14°40′S.

Area: 800 sq. m. (2,100 sq. km.).

Alt.: Murinkura.

Ref.: Stanner, 1933, 1934, 1938, 1970 MS; Falkenberg, 1948, 1962.

Murngin

This term is not used to designate any grouping of tribes on the map. It is a general name applied by some western tribes in Arnhem Land to groups of people outside their area in northeastern Arnhem Land. The term was adopted first by Warner (1937) as a loose designation for some peoples sharing a specific form of kinship organization. According to Peterson (1969 MS) it has a general meaning of "shovel-nose-spear folk," and there is an implication that the people so named are aggressors. In tradition they came from the east. The classification of northeastern Arnhem Land peoples preferred by aborigines is based on variations in the mode of speaking the pronoun "this." Further details are given in this catalog under the heading Duwal.

Mutpura 'Mutpurə

Loc.: Armstrong River and upper Victoria River junction (n.n. ['Tjambutjambulani]), southeast of Pigeon Hole Station; south to Cattle Creek; west to the Camfield River and eastward almost to Newcastle Waters; north to Top Springs. Dwellers in the dense scrub country near and west of the place ['Murandjai] on the so-called Murranji Track.

Coord.: 132°0′E x 17°10′S.

Area: 10,000 sq. m. (26,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Mudbura, Mudbara, Mudbera, Mudbra, Mudburra, Moodburra, Mootburra, Madbara, Mulpira (Iliaura name).

Ref.: Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6575), 1901 (Gr. 6453); Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Davidson, 1935; Stanner, 1936; Kaberry, 1939; Capell, 1940; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS; Elkin in Berndt, 1951; Australian Encyclopedia, 1958; Lockwood, 1962; Berndt and Berndt, 1964; C. Berndt, 1965; Yallop, 1969.

Nakara Na'kara

Loc.: Boucaut Bay; southwest of Blyth River; inland to Tomkinson River and extending to its mouth. The Gadjalivia, an inland people, have lately merged with this tribe.

Coord.: 134°30′E x 12°10′S.

Area: 200 sq. m. (500 sq. km.), excluding Gadjalivia area.

Alt.: Naka:ra, Naga:ra, Nagara, Ngara.

Ref.: Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Warner, 1933, 1937; Capell, 1940, 1942; Berndt and Berndt, 1951; Hiatt, 1958 MS, 1961; Peterson, 1970 pers. comm.; Hamilton, 1970 pers. comm.

Nanggikorongo 'Naŋgi'koroŋo

Loc.: East of Port Keats; inland on the river called Moyl (Moyle); Falkenberg did not recognize it in 1962. This is apparently the tribe labeled as Nordaniman in the Mackay MS. According to Stanner (1970) MS, this is not a tribal term but a "big name" for a place on the seacoast in Murinbata country. He places the name Nangiomeri, also given as Nangi-wumiri, as alternative. Further work is necessary on this area to clear up the matter and the relationship of these people to those shown farther east under the name Nanggumiri.

Coord.: 130°15′E x 14°25′S.

Area: 1,200 sq. m. (3,100 sq. km.).

Alt.: Mangikurungu [*sic.*], Nordaniman (in error) Nordanimin.

Ref.: Stanner, 1933, 1937, 1970 MS; Davidson, 1935; Mackay, 1959 MS; Cleverly, 1969 MS.

Nanggumiri 'Naŋgumiri

Loc.: South of central Daly River; along Flora River to its junction with Daly River. Schebeck suggests that Ngen-gomeri is an important alternative version of the name. According to Falkenberg, a horde of this tribe named Ngargaminjin, was absorbed by the Murinbata in historical time suggesting considerable displacement in local distribution.

Coord.: 131°20′E x 14°40′S.

Area: 1,000 sq. m. (2,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Nanggiomeri, Nangiomeri, Nangumiri, Nangimera, Nangimeri, Nanggiwumiri, Nangi-wumiri, Ngen-gomeri (valid pronunciation), Nangiomeri, Mariwumiri, Murinwumiri, Wumiri.

Ref.: Stanner, 1933, 1936, 1960, 1970 MS; Capell, 1940, 1956; Berndt and Berndt, 1964; Berndt, 1965; Cleverly, 1969 pers. comm.; Schebeck, 1970 pers. comm.

Nango 'Ňaŋo

Loc.: Wessel Islands east of Brown Strait; on Cunningham Islands; at Elcho Island, Drysdale Island, Mooroonga and Yabooma islands in the Crocodile group; on Banyan Island at the mouth of the Woolen River. (Note that the Woolen is shown on Berndt's sketch map as the Goyder and that Warner incorrectly spells Cape Stewart as Stuart.) The Nango reside north of the main "Murngin" area. They possess both Dua and Jiritja clans, hence they may resemble the normal tribes of the country south of Arnhem Land. Their identifying name is based on their demonstrative pronoun "this ['ňaŋo] = ['ňaŋu]. Schebeck (1971) lists eight clans, five belonging to the Dua moiety and three to the Jiritja.

Dua moiety:

1. Bararparar (Bararrparar).
2. Bararngu (Bararrngu, Barangu, Perango).
3. Jan:angu (Yann[h]angu, Jarnangu, Janjango, Jaernungo, Yaernungo, Janango, Yanango, Yarenango, Murrungun, Gunbirr[dj]i, Malarra, Malara).

4. Guri:ndi (Gurryindi).
5. Gamalangga (Garmalangga, Karmalanga, Kokolango, Kokolangomala).

Jiritja moiety:

6. Golpa (Kolpa, Golbu, Golba, Gorlba).
7. Jalukal (Yalukal, Jalugal).
8. Walamangu (Wolamangu, Wallamungo).

Coord.: 135°40′E x 11°55′S.

Area: No separate estimate possible.

Alt.: Nangu, Nhangu, Murungga (name of Mooroonga Island), Miarrmiarr (? a clan).

Ref.: Jennison, 1927; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Warner, 1931, 1937; Tindale, 1940; Webb in Capell, 1942; Capell, 1942; Berndt and Berndt, 1951; Robinson, 1956; Berndt, 1956; Spence, 1964; Schebeck, 1970 MS, 1971; Peterson, 1970 pers. comm.

Ngalakan — 'ŋalakan

Loc.: North of Roper River to Mainoru; from east of the Wilton River to upper Maiwok and Flying Fox creeks. At Mountain Valley. Spencer misplaced this tribe south of the Roper River. Berndt and Berndt 1951 were in error in ascribing it to the headwaters of the Katherine. Tindale first worked with people of this tribe in 1922 on the Wilton River.

Coord.: 134°5′E x 14°20′S.

Area: 3,000 sq. m. (7,800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ngalagan, Nalakan, Nalagen, Nala-nalagen, Ngalarkan, Nullakun, Nullikan, Nullikin, Ngulkpun, Nullakum (misprint), Hongalla.

Ref.: Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6491); Spencer, 1912; Tindale, 1922 MS, 1925, 1940, and MS; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Warner, 1937; Sweeney, 1939; Capell, 1942, 1960; Berndt and Berndt, 1951; Robinson, 1956; Elkin, 1961; Lockwood, 1962.

Ngalia — 'ŋalia

Loc.: North of Stuart Bluff Range from West Bluff west to Mounts Cockburn and Carey; about Ethel Creek, Mounts Farewell and Singleton; at Mounts Saxby and Doreen ['Jaruŋkanji], Cockatoo Creek, Treuer Range, and Mount Davenport; also at Vaughan Springs ['Pikilji]. Their visits to Winbaruku were by trespass in Jumu territory perhaps reflecting an older tribal disposition. Until after 1931 they had a four-class social organization but later changed to the system of the Walpiri with whom they mixed after that time; not to be confused with the Ngalea of western South Australia who are a separate tribal group with a social organization devoid of class terms. C. Berndt (1965:255) implies people having this name (given as Ngalia on one line and Nalia on another) were active at Warburton Range in February 1959. She also writes of Rawlinson Range Ngalia woman and of a Ngalia country east and southeast of Balgo; my own studies, devoted directly to tribal differentiation, give the impression she was not interested in seeking tribal data and that her terms may have some other connotation. Since ['ŋalja] means "here" there is maybe a chance of error in interpretation. These people were studied by the Adelaide University party at ['Aknatalja] on Cockatoo Creek in 1931 and some of the same individuals at Mount Liebig a year later (see two series of published 16 mm. cine films).

Coord.: 131°0′E x 22°15′S.

Area: 11,200 sq. m. (29,100 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ngalea, Ngallia, Nanbuda, Ngarilia (typographical error), Ngali, Njalia (a blunder), Wawilja (of the Walpiri), Warniaka (name given as an alternative by a part Ngalia-Walpiri man), Waneiga (of other tribes), Nambulatji (of Kokatja at Balgo), Jalpiri (speech term).

Ref.: C. Strehlow, 1910; Tindale, 1931, 1932 MS, 1933, 1940, 1946, 1951 MS, 1956 MS, 1956, 1963; Roheim, 1933; Fry, 1934; T. Strehlow, 1947, 1965; Abbie and Adey, 1953; Birdsell, 1954; Cleland and Tindale, 1954; Tindale and Lindsay, 1963; C. Berndt, 1965; Mountford, 1968.

Ngaliwuru — 'ŋaliwuru

Loc.: Southwest of Victoria River; southward from Bradshaw and Victoria River depot; lately to Limbunya and G. B. Waterhole (n.n. Loma); occupying also the black soil treeless plateaus west to beyond Limbunya Station, Waterloo, and the west Baines River; also at Timber Creek station; their territory was in its southern part once the home of the Tjial people.

Coord.: 120°40′E x 16°10′S.

Area: 6,200 sq. m. (16,100 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ngaliwerun.

Ref.: Stanner, 1936; Kaberry, 1939; Capell, 1940; Tindale, 1940 MS; Mackay, 1959 MS; C. Berndt, 1965.

Ngandi — 'ŋandi

Loc.: Upper Wilton River; Mainoru River; east to near sources of the Rose River. Not to be confused with Ngandji = Kotandji. Brown (1930) placed Ngalbon as a separate tribe. Plate 1 is relevant.

Coord.: 134°30′E x 13°55′S.

Area: 1,500 sq. m. (3,900 sq. km.).

Alt.: N'gundi, Ngalbon, Ngalgbun, Nandi.

Ref.: Tindale, 1921–1922 MS, 1925, 1940, and MS; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Capell, 1960; Elkin, 1961; Hall, 1962.

Ngardi — 'ŋardi

Loc.: Sandhill country west of the Tanami track, from Chilla Well, the Granites, and Gardiner Range extending west into Western Australia at Ima Ima (n.n. Ngaima ngaima) on Sturt Creek, to Balgo Hill (and the Pallotine Mission), also to Manggai, an unidentified water; they go south to near Milidjipi (129°40′E x 22°3′S) and to Tekkari, north of Lake Mackay (129°1′E x 21°50′S). These are two known native waters in otherwise unnamed country; at Lakes Hazlett, Lucas, White, and Wills. Some important but as yet unlocalized waters include Pinbin (near Lake Lucas), Lerauli, Ngandalara and Pinkatjana (near Emily Springs), Pindiri, Tjaldjiwan, Inindi (near Lake White), and Rabi (between Lakes Lucas and White). Their southern territory extends into large areas covered by mulga scrub. Manggai is stated to be on a trading route and evidently is of considerable cultural significance, since it is well known at distances of many hundreds of miles in several directions; it has not been localized, but may be near the Stansmore Range. Possibly it is the Munga of Mathews which is mentioned in several of his papers. Capell's suggestion that Ngardi is a dialect name of the Walpiri is incorrect; the tribes are discrete.

Coord.: 129°5′E x 20°50′S.

Area: 25,000 sq. m. (65,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ngadi, Ngari (imperfect hearing of Ngardi), Panara (general descriptive term applied to more than one tribe, indicating those who live by winnowing grass seed in ['pan:a] or wooden dishes), Bunara, Boonara, Waiangara (of eastern tribes), Kolo (of the Pintubi), Waiangari (of Ngalia), Waingara, Waiangadi, Waringari (derogatory term used by Walpiri), Warangari, Kukuruba (name used by Ngalia), Woneiga, Wanayaga, Puruwantung and Buruwatung (of Birdsell), Manggai (a place name), ? Munga (of Mathews), Walmala (derogatory term), Wommana (has meaning similar to Walmala).

Ref.: Mathews, 1899 (Gr. 6445), 1900 (Gr. 6575), 1907 (Gr. 6521); C. Strehlow, 1910; Terry, 1926; Tindale, 1931 MS, 1932 MS, 1940, 1951 MS, 1953 MS, 1956 MS; Kaberry, 1937, 1939; Capell, 1940; Berndt and Berndt, 1946, 1951, 1964; Braitling, 1952 MS (letter); Birdsell, 1954 ms; Australian Encyclopedia, 1958; C. Berndt, 1965.

Ngardok 'ŋardok

Loc.: Field Island in Van Diemen Gulf and coastal belt of scrub and swamp country from South Alligator River to Farewell Point, within a few miles of mouth of East Alligator River. Apparently they spoke a dialect close to Kakadu. Bark paintings in their raintime huts at Field Island were collected by early explorers and are in the South Australian Museum collection.

Coord.: 132°30'E x 12°10'S.

Area: 200 sq. m. (500 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ngardulk, Ngadok, Ngadug, Ngadulg, Ad-dok (tone deaf to initial ng), Gnaruk, A'ragu, ? Bimbirik.

Ref.: Earl, 1846; Spencer, 1926; Tindale, 1940; Elkin, Berndt and Berndt, 1951; Berndt and Berndt, 1951; Mackay, 1959 MS.

Ngarinman 'ŋarinman

Loc.: Upper Victoria River, about Jasper Creek; west of Victoria River Downs; south to Mount Sanford (n.n. Munjan), west to Limbunya, chiefly on Wickham River.

Coord.: 130°35'E x 16°30'S.

Area: 4,000 sq. m. (10,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ngainman, Ngainmun, Ngrainmun, Hainman (of local white people), Hyneman, Narinman, Nariman.

Ref.: Willshire, 1896; Spencer, 1914; Davidson, 1935; Stanner, 1936; Kaberry, 1939; Capell, 1940, 1956; Tindale, 1940, and MS; C. Berndt, 1965.

Ngewin 'ŋewin

Loc.: On upper Limmen Bight River (i.e., upper Spillen Creek south of the Four Archers); southeast to Old Bauhinia Downs.

Coord.: 135°20'E x 15°55'S.

Area: 1,700 sq. m. (4,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Gnuin, ? Leeillawarrie.

Ref.: Stretton, 1893; Spencer, 1914; Tindale, 1925.

Ngolokwangga 'ŋolokwaŋga

Loc.: On both banks of the Daly River inland from the Pongaponga tribal boundary at about 20 miles (30 km.) upstream from its mouth; their inland boundary is near Daly River Crossing, about 50 miles (80 km.) from the mouth; 5 on NW map. The Komorrkir, regarded by Basedow (1907) as an eastern horde, is now given as a separate tribe usually known as the Kamor. In the older literature the name of this tribe is Mulukmuluk, with several variations in spelling. Both Berndt (1965) and Stanner (1970 MS) agree that the proper name is as above, the term Mulukmuluk is one applied by others.

Coord.: 130°35'E x 13°35'S.

Area: 400 sq. m. (1,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ngulukwongga, Ngulugwongga, Mulukmuluk, Malak Malak, Mullukmulluk, Mallak-mallak, Malag-Malag, Mullik-mullik, Mollak-mollak, Malack-malack, Djiramo (a horde name), Valli-valli (a name for lower Daly River).

Ref.: Mackillop, 1893; Dahl, 1895, 1926; Foelsche, 1895; Eylmann, 1908; Ray, 1909; Basedow, 1925; Stanner, 1933, 1970 MS; Capell, 1939, 1940, 1956; Berndt and Berndt, 1946, 1964; Australian Encyclopedia, 1958; Mackay, 1959 MS; Lockwood, 1962; R. Berndt, 1965.

Ngormbur 'ŋormbur

Loc.: Between West and South Alligator rivers; inland to Bamboo Creek.

Coord.: 132°20'E x 12°25'S.

Area: 800 sq. m. (2,100 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ngorm-bur, Ngumbu, Gnornbur, Ngorbur, Oormbur, Corm-bur, Koarnbut, Ambuku:la, Ambugula, Numbugala, Nambuguja.

Ref.: Spencer, 1914, 1928; Tindale, 1940; Berndt and Berndt, 1951; Elkin, Berndt and Berndt, 1951; Mackay, 1959 MS; Capell, 1963.

Norweilemil 'Norweilemil

Loc.: Southeast side of Van Diemen Gulf; west of West Alligator River; at Stuart Point.

Coord.: 132°O'E x 12°20'S.

Area: 400 sq. m. (1,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Lemil, ? Noalanji.

Ref.: Spencer, 1914; Mackay, 1959 MS.

Nunggubuju 'Nuŋgubuju

Loc.: From Cape Barrow and Harris Creek south to coast near Edward Island; west toward headwaters of Rose and Walker rivers.

Coord.: 135°35'E x 14°S.

Area: 2,700 sq. m. (7,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Nunggubuyu, Nungubuyu, Nungabuyu, Nungabuya, Nugubuyu (? misprint), Nunggubоiyu, Nungguboiju, Nunguboiyu, Nuggaboju, Ningburia, Nangabuya.

Ref.: Tindale, 1925, 1928, 1948; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Warner, 1937; Capell, 1941, 1942, 1956, 1960, 1965; Thomson, 1946, 1949; Berndt, 1951; Elkin in Berndt, 1951; Australian Encyclopedia, 1958; Elkin, 1961; Hall, 1962; Lockwood, 1962; Berndt and Berndt, 1964; Harris, n.d.; Hughes, 1969.

Oitbi 'Oitbi

Loc.: South coast of Cobourg Peninsula; Sir George Hope Islands. Schmidt's error in placing this tribe at West Alligator River on his map was corrected in an addendum. The alternative name Bidjenelumbo is probably Macassar

Malay in origin; this was an area much frequented by them and Earl records early Malayan admixture. Berndt and Berndt (1951) place their name Woreidbug as a synonym of Amarak; it probably relates to the Wurango. This is an old area of tribal fragmentation; see list of other small tribes under Iwaidja. The "Raffles Bay" tribal language of Foelsche was obtained principally from this people.

Coord.: 132°30′E x 11°30′S.

Area: 300 sq. m. (800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Heutbi (['oitbi] = ['auitbi] no), Oitbo, Bidjenelumbo, Bijnalumbo (for Wa:reidbug and Woreidbug, see Wurango).

Ref.: Earl, 1846; Foelsche in Curr, 1886; Eylmann, 1908; Schmidt, 1919; Berndt and Berndt, 1951.

Pintubi 'Pintubi

Loc.: Lake Mackay, Lake Macdonald, Mount Russell, Ehrenberg Range, Kintore Range, Warman Rocks; west to near Winbaruku; south to about Johnstone Hill. Much of their country is still untraversed by us.

The Wenamba or Wenamba Pintubi who live to the south are given the status of another tribe (*see* Western Australia) since they regard themselves as a distinct people and say they speak a different dialect of Kukatja known to the Pitjandjara as Wankawinan. The northwestern hordes of the true Pintubi call themselves Kolo and consider the place Mangaii discussed under Ngardi heading as on a trade route at a great distance from their northern boundary. The 16mm films of the University of Adelaide Anthropological Expedition of 1932 show these people.

Coord.: 129°30′E x 22°55′S.

Area: 8,800 sq. m. (22,900 sq. km.).

Alt.: Pi:ntubi (valid variant), Pintupi, Bindubi, Pintunala, Pintubu (pronunciation used by Walpiri), Pindu (form of name used in discussing their language), Pindubu, Bindubu, Bindooboo, Bindiboo (uninformed anglicization used at Yuendumu after 1945), Bindibu, Bindaboo, Wankawinan (name applied by Pitjandjara to the Wenamba and western hordes of Pintubi), Pintudjara (name used by Ngadadjara), Kalgonei (name given to Wenamba and Pintubi language speakers by Ngadadjara), Wiluraratja ("westerners," name applied by Ngalia), Pintubu, Puntubu (Ngalia pronunciations); Pintubidjara, Pintudjara, Pintularapi, Pintubitjara, and 'Wanka'winan (names given by Ngadadjara), 'Wanka'winan (name given by Pitjandjara to western Pintubi), Bindiboo (a journalist's version), Kalgonei (derogatory language ascribed to them by Ngadadjara), Kalguni, Kalgoneidjara, Tcitudjara (name ascribed to them by a Nangatara man, also by a Kokatja of Gregory Salt Sea area), Matju:nalatara (name used by Ngadadjara of Rawlinson Ranges), Wenamba (western hordes here considered as a separate tribe in Western Australia list), Panika (class term, properly Panaka, erroneously quoted as a tribal name by Simmons et al., 1957).

Ref.: Tindale, 1932, 1933, 1937, 1937 MS, 1940, 1951 MS, 1953 MS, 1956, 1963, 1963 MS; Fry, 1933, 1934; Tindale in Fry, 1934; T. G. H. Strehlow, 1944, 1965; Tindale in Condon, 1955; Meggitt, 1955; Hasluck, 1957; Scherer, 1957; Simmons et al., 1957; Berndt, 1959; Thomson, 1960, 1961, 1962; Tindale and Lindsay, 1963; Berndt and Berndt, 1964; Long, 1964; Evans and Long, 1965; Murtonen MS in Wurm, 1965; Murtonen, 1969.

Pitjandjara (*see* South Australia).

Pongaponga 'Poŋa'poŋa

Loc.: On both banks of the Daly River inland from the coastal Wogait; may be only a horde of the Ngolokwangga; 4 on NW. map.

Coord.: 130°25′E x 13°25′S.

Area: 200 sq. m. (500 sq. km.).

Alt.: Pongo-pongo, ? Djiramo (Basedow regarded this as a horde of the Mulukmuluk, i.e., the Ngolokwangga).

Ref.: Mackillop, 1894; Foelsche, 1895; Basedow, 1907, 1925; Eylmann, 1908; Dahl, 1926; Stanner, 1933, 1970 MS; Mackay, 1969 MS.

Puneitja 'Puneitja

Loc.: On western side of South Alligator River, about 50 miles (80 km.) inland and along Coirwong Creek. On the headwaters of the East Alligator River (*fide* Berndt and Berndt, 1951) but this seems to be too far east.

Coord.: 132°15′E x 13°O′S.

Area: 900 sq. m. (2,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Peneitja, Baneidja, Bani:dja, Buneidja, Banidja, Minnitji, Punuurlu, Punaka (MS).

Ref.: Eylmann, 1908; Spencer, 1914, 1928, and old MS sources; Elkin, Berndt and Berndt, 1951; Berndt and Berndt, 1951; Mackay, 1959 MS.

Rembarunga 'Rembaruŋa (Rembar̃ŋa)

Loc.: Headwaters of Mann, Cadell, Wilton, and Blyth rivers, extending south to an inhospitable and arid plateau seasonally very short of water. Their name is spoken in two ways. When the medial *r* sound is strongly rolled the following vowel is lost, hence the second version [Rembaɽnga]. In tribes farther south in the Gulf of Carpentaria such as the Kaiadilt, the rolled *r* is used only by women.

Coord.: 134°E x 13°15′S.

Area: 5,000 sq. m. (13,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Rembarrnga, Rembaranga, Rembarnga, Rembranga, 'Ranjbarngo, Rainbarngo, Reinbaranga, Rembarrna, Maia:li (alternative name), Maieli, Majali, Maiali (collective name in Rembarunga area), Maielli.

Ref.: Tindale, 1925, 1928, 1940, and MS; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Warner, 1937; Capell, 1942, 1956, 1960, 1966; Berndt, 1951; Berndt and Berndt, 1951, 1964; Elkin in Berndt, 1951; Macintosh, 1951; Elkin, 1961, 1963; Lockwood, 1962; Maddock, 1964; C. Berndt, 1965; Brinke, 1969; Edwards and Guerin, 1969, 1970.

Tagoman 'Tagoman

Loc.: Northeast of the middle Daly River; south to the junction of the Flora and Katherine rivers; at Jindare.

Coord.: 131°35′E x 14°5′S.

Area: 1,600 sq. m. (4,200 sq. km.).

Alt.: Togeman, Dogeman, Togiman.

Ref.: Davidson, 1935; Mackay, 1959 MS; Arndt, 1951; Berndt and Berndt, 1964.

Tjial 'Tjial

Loc.: At Old Limbunja; between lower Victoria River and upper West Baines River; they are extinct and their territory is now claimed as part of the Ngaliwuru area.

Coord.: 129°40'E x 17°10'S.
Area: 1,700 sq. m. (4,400 sq. km.).
Alt.: Cheeal, Jael, Jeelowng, Geelowng.
Ref.: Willshire, 1896; Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6575), 1901 (Gr. 6453), 1908 (Gr. 6495, 6578); Mackay, 1959 MS.

Tjingili 'Tjiŋili
Loc.: From Mount Grayling (Renner Springs) in the south to Newcastle Waters in the north; on the Ashburton Range; in the east to Cattle Creek and Ucharonidge; west only about 25 miles (40 km.) from Lake Woods. Note that in Ravenscroft's account (1892:121) Charlotte Waters is given in error for Newcastle Waters as the center of distribution. This error was noted first by Sir Edward Stirling in a handwritten amendment to his personal copy of Ravenscroft's paper. In native tradition they moved eastward out of the Great Western Desert.
Coord.: 133°50'E x 17°45'S.
Area: 5,900 sq. m. (15,300 sq. km.).
Alt.: Tjingilli, Tjingali, Tjingalli, Chingalee, Chingalli, Tjingale, Tchingalee, Djingili, Djingali, Djinggili, Tjingilu, T(h)ingalie, Leechunguloo.
Ref.: East, 1889; Ravenscroft, 1892; Stationmaster, 1895; Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6515, 6575), 1901 (Gr. 6453), 1905 (Gr. 6454, 6539, 6543), 1906 (Gr.——), 1907 (Gr. 6511, 6580, 6513, 6541), 1908 (Gr. 6492, 6546, 6547), 1912 (Gr. 6493); Spencer and Gillen, 1904; Basedow, 1907, 1925; Eylmann, 1908; Brown, 1910, 1911; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS; Australian Encyclopedia, 1958; Lockwood, 1962; C. Berndt, 1965; Stirling, MS; Chadwick, 1968.

Tunuvivi (Tiwi) 'Tunuvivi (Tiwi)
Loc.: Melville and Bathurst islands. The name Tiwi was coined for the convenience of anthropologists and others, it means "We, the only people"; the late Father E. A. Worms gave me Tunuvivi as the ancient and proper name and Wilson, an old white inhabitant, supplied Wongak ['Woŋa:k] as the name given them by the Iwaidja. Capell (1956:29) incorrectly called them "one of the tribes with no name." A. Pilling has unpublished data for these people.
Coord.: 130°50'E x 11°30'S.
Area: 3,100 sq. m. (7,100 sq. km.).
Alt.: Tiwi (assigned name), Diwi (Capell conformists variant), Wonga:k (Iwaidja term), Wongak, Wunuk, Nimara, Woranguwe.
Ref.: Basedow, 1913; Spencer, 1914, 1928; Vatter, 1925; Wilson, 1928 MS; Hart, 1930; Harasser, 1936; Frazer, 1939; Tindale, 1940; Capell, 1940, 1942, 1956; Robinson, 1956; Mountford, 1958; Berndt, 1960; Hart and Pilling, 1960; Goodale, 1962, 1971; Berndt and Berndt, 1964; Lauer, 1967; Worms, pers. comm.

Wadere 'Wadere
Loc.: From north of Batten Creek along the Gulf of Carpentaria coast to Limmen Bight River; inland to the Four Archers.
Coord.: 135°50'E x 15°35'S.
Area: 2,400 sq. m. (6,200 sq. km.).
Alt.: Wadiri, Waderi.
Ref.: Tindale, 1925; Elkin in Berndt, 1951; Berndt and Berndt, 1964.

Wagoman 'Wagoman
Loc.: About Dorisvale; southwest of Daly River; west of Ooloo; on Bamboo Creek; north to Douglas Homestead. J. C. LeSouef learned from Robert Judge of Daly River Crossing that the western hordes were known as the Wongakakaringa; he learned that the western boundary of the tribe lay at the Daly River Crossing near Mount Nancar. This seems to be confirmed by Stanner (1970 MS) who indicated Daly Crossing as being a meeting point of the Kamor, Wagoman, and Ngolokwangga.
Coord.: 131°10'E x 14°15'S.
Area: 1,800 sq. m. (4,700 sq. km.).
Alt.: Wagaman, Wageman, Wogeman; Wongkakaringa (a name for part of tribe), Ongkakaringa.
Ref.: Stanner, 1933, 1936, 1938, 1970 MS; Davidson, 1935; Mackay, 1959 MS, Lockwood, 1962; Berndt, 1965; LeSouef, 1970 pers. comm.; Tryon, 1970.

Wakaja 'Wakaja
Loc.: Soudan, Avon Downs, Camooweal, Yelvertoft, Flora Downs, Austral Downs, and the parallel sandhill country to the west of the Ranken River as far as the Frew River; on Buckley, James, and Ranken rivers, also on the Georgina River north of Lake Nash.
Coord.: 137°20'E x 20°20'S.
Area: 15,000 sq. m. (29,000 sq. km.).
Alt.: Wagaja, Waggaia, Wagai, Waagai, Wagaiau, Waagi, Warkya, Wogaia, Worgaia, Worgai, Workaia, Warkaia, Workia, Workii, Woorkia, Lee-wakya, Akaja (of Kaititj), Ukkia, Arkiya.
Ref.: Stirling, 1891 MS; Parry-Okeden, 1897; Roth, 1897, 1903; Glissan in Mathews, 1899 (Gr. 6445), 1900 (Gr. 6575), 1901 (Gr. 6453), 1905 (Gr. 6454), 1908 (Gr. 6578); Spencer and Gillen, 1899; Eylmann, 1908; C. Strehlow, 1910; Tindale, 1940, and MS; Capell, 1965; C. Berndt, 1965.

Walpiri 'Walpiri
Loc.: Lander Creek below Mount Leichhardt; sand plain north of Mounts Turner, Saxby, and Doreen; northwest to beyond the Granites and Mount Frederick; northern boundary along 19° latitude and Winnecke Creek. Western boundaries are with the Ngardi and Djaru tribes close to the Western Australia border. They have for many generations visited Mawuritji, near Lake White, where they have met the Kokatja (of Western Australia) and the Ngardi people for initiation and rainmaking ceremonies. This is one of the tribes called Walmala and Warumala, etc., by surrounding peoples. They have gone as far east as the Hanson River where they are known to the Kaititj as Alpiri, and also as Warumala. Capell applies some of these terms to slight dialects. His Ngardi is, however, the name of a separate western tribe. In the west the Walpiri extend to Banana Springs, southeast of Gordon Downs and southeast across Tanami Desert to Cockatoo Creek and Mount Doreen. Meggitt's inclusion of the Ngalia in this tribe reflects post-1935 changes, although he does not recognize it. The name Wailbri is the arbitrary nonphonetic form developed and taught in the Mission School after 1945. The 16mm films of the University of Adelaide Anthropological Expedition of 1931 show these people. Color plate 25 is relevant.
Coord.: 131°30'E x 20°10'S.
Area: 53,000 sq. m. (137,800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Walbiri, Waljpiri, Waljbiri, Walpari, Wolperi, Walbri, Wolpirra, Warrabri, Ilpira (chiefly Anmatjera and Aranda term), Alpira (Iliaura name), Ilpirra, Ulperra, Ilpara (Aranda name), Albura (Jangkundjara name since contact made), Elpira, Wailbri (post-1945 European school taught form), Walbrai, Alpiri (eastern pronunciation), Nambulatji (Ngalia name), Njambalatji (name given by Djaru tribe), Ilpir(r)a, Waringari (implication of cannibalism; name given by other tribes), Walmala (general term), Walmanba, Wanaeka (name given by Ngardi, also Djaru), Wanajaka (Djaru name), Wanajeka, Waneiga, Wanajaga.

Ref.: Schulze, 1891; Mathews, 1899 (Gr. 6445), 1900 (Gr. 6524, 6575); Spencer and Gillen, 1899, 1904; Eylmann, 1908; C. Strehlow, 1910; Brown, 1911; Spencer, 1912; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; University of Adelaide 16mm films, 1931; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS, 1963, 1966 MS; Roheim, 1945; Berndt and Berndt, 1946; T. Strehlow, 1947, 1965; Sweeney, 1947; Mountford, 1949, 1956, 1968; Capell, 1952, 1956, 1963; Meggitt, 1954, 1955 (2 papers), 1961, 1962, 1965, 1966; O'Grady, 1957 MS; Thomson, 1960, 1961; Hale in Capell, 1962; Munn, 1962, 1966; Tindale and Lindsay, 1963; Wurm, 1965; Peterson, 1969.

Walu 'Walu

Loc.: Vanderlin Island.

Coord.: 137°2'E x 15°42'S.

Area: 100 sq. m. (260 sq. km.).

Alt.: Walloo, Leewalloo.

Ref.: Stretton, 1893.

Wambaia 'Wambaia

Loc.: South side of Barkly tableland; west to Eva Downs; at Anthony Lagoon; to Mount Morgan in east; Alroy Downs in south; at Corella Lake, Brunette Downs, and Alexandria; along Brunette and Creswell Creeks.

Coord.: 135°35'E x 18°35'S.

Area: 8,100 sq. m. (21,100 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wombaia, Wambaja, Wampaja (of Iliaura), Wonbaia, Wom-by-a, Wombya, Yumpia, Umbaia, Umbia.

Ref.: Lindsay, 1890; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6417), 1899 (Gr. 6445), 1900 (Gr. 6491, 6524, 6575), 1905 (Gr. 6454, 6543), 1907 (Gr. 6513, 6580), 1908 (Gr. 6496, 6578); Spencer and Gillen, 1904, 1912; Power in Basedow, 1907; Spencer, 1914; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Lockwood, 1962; Capell, 1965; Yallop, 1969.

Wandarang 'Wandaraŋ

Loc.: Phelp River, inland from coast; west to Mount Leane.

Coord.: 135°6'E x 14°5'S.

Area: 1,100 sq. m. (2,900 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wandaran, Wandarung, Wanderang, Wangarong.

Ref.: Tindale, 1925, 1928, 1940; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Capell, 1942, 1958, 1965; Elkin, 1961; Hall, 1962.

Wandjira 'Wandjira

Loc.: On Inverway Station north to the edge of the plateau near Mount Rose; west to Kulungulan on Western Australia border; south to the rough sandstone country at about lat. 18°40'; east to near Mount Farquharson. At Munbu on upper Negri River. Survivors today live principally at Inverway and Birrindudu Stations.

Coord.: 129°30'E x 18°0'S.

Area: 5,300 sq. m. (13,800 sq. km.).

Alt.: 'Wadshəra, Manu, Manoo (of Terry).

Ref.: Terry, 1926; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS; Berndt and Berndt, 1946, 1964.

Wanji 'Wa:nji

Loc.: At Fish River; on Nicholson River west of Corinda; on Spring and Lawn Hill creeks; east to Barkly (Barclay) River; at Lawn Hill and Bannockburn; west to Old Benmara; southwest to Mount Morgan.

Coord.: 137°45'E x 18°25'S.

Area: 9,700 sq. m. (25,200 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wanyi, Wanyee, Wanee, Waangyee, Wonyee.

Ref.: Parry-Okeden, 1897; Shadforth in Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6464); Mathews, 1899 (Gr. 6445), 1900 (Gr. 6575), 1901 (Gr. 6453); Power in Basedow, 1907; Spencer, 1914; Sharp, 1935; Tindale, 1940, 1960 MS, 1963 MS.

Waramanga 'Waramaŋa

Loc.: Mount Grayling (Renner Springs) in the north; south to headwaters of Gosse River; east to Alroy and Rockhampton Downs, western boundary on edge of sand plain about 50 miles (80 km.). west of Tennant Creek.

Coord.: 134°20'E x 19°15'S.

Area: 21,300 sq. m. (55,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Warimunga, Warramunga, Warramonga, Warrmunga, Waramunga, Wurmega, Leenaranunga, Airamanga (Kaititj pronunciation), Uriminga (Iliaura pronunciation).

Ref.: Giles in Howitt, 1885; East, 1889; Lindsay, 1890; Stretton, 1893; Stationmaster, 1895; Mathews, 1898 (Gr. 6417), 1899 (Gr. 6443, 6445), 1900 (Gr. 6575), 1901 (Gr. 6453), 1905 (Gr. 6543), 1906 (Gr. 6542), 1907 (Gr. 6511, 6513), 1908 (Gr. 6578, 6495); Eylmann, 1908; Spencer, 1914, 1928; Basedow, 1925; Meggitt, 1955; Tindale, 1940 MS; C. Berndt, 1965; Jones, 1965; Yallop, 1969.

Wardaman 'Wardaman

Loc.: Heads of southern branches of upper Flora River; west to Victoria River Depot; south to Jasper Gorge; at Delamere only in postcontact times.

Coord.: 131°0'E x 15°25'S.

Area: 2,800 sq. m. (7,700 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wartaman, Warduman, Wadaman, Wadderman, Wordaman, Waduman.

Ref.: Willshire, 1896; Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6575), 1901 (Gr. 6453); Spencer, 1914; Basedow, 1925; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Davidson, 1935; Stanner, 1936; Tindale, 1940; Capell, 1940, 1956; Lockwood, 1962; Berndt and Berndt, 1964; C. Berndt, 1965.

Watta 'Wat:a

Loc.: On eastern bank of South Alligator River, an inland tribe (Spencer). East to the headwaters of the East Alligator River. They are the southeasternmost of the noncircumcising people in the Northern Territory.

Coord.: 132°45'E x 13°15'S.

Area: 3,500 sq. m. (5,500 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wada, Wad:a, ? Wadjigi:n, ? Marigianbirik (general term).

Ref.: Earl, 1846; Giglioli, 1911; Spencer, 1914; Elkin, Berndt and Berndt, 1951; Capell, 1963.

Wenamba (*see* Western Australia).

Wilingura 'Wiliŋura

Loc.: Between Cox River and Nutwood Downs; on Strangways River and upper Hodgson River; west to near Pine Creek (Birdum). There was formerly some confusion with the name that relates to the Karawa, a tribe that moved north to the coast about Tully Inlet on the Queensland-Northern Territory border in early contact times. Stretton's locality reference (*l.c.*, p. 249, appendix, line 10) is evidently transposed with that mentioned on previous line.

Coord.: 134°26'E x 15°45'S.

Area: 7,500 sq. m. (19,500 sq. km.).

Alt.: Willongera, Leewillungarra, Willangan, Wilungwara, Wilinggura (error).

Ref.: Stretton, 1893; Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6575); Spencer and Gillen, 1904; Power in Basedow, 1907; Spencer, 1914; Tindale, 1922 MS, 1940, 1953 MS.

Wogait 'Wogait

Loc.: On coast of Anson Bay, from mouth of the Daly north to Point Blaze; inland for about 20 miles (30 km.), 1 on NW map. Their name apparently means "sea folk"; they exploited chiefly marine products in contrast to the Djerait who depended on land and fresh water products.

Coord.: 130°15'E x 13°10'S.

Area: 200 sq. m. (500 sq. km.).

Alt.: Amijangal, Ami, Worgait, Worgite, Worgaid, Wagait, Wagaidj, Wagite, Waggait, Waggite, Waggote, Waggute, Wagatsch, Wa(o)gatsch, Wogite, Wargad (Murinbata term), Murinwargad (Murinbata term).

Ref.: Mackillop, 1893; Foelsche, 1895; Basedow, 1907, 1925; Eylmann, 1908; Dahl, 1926; Stanner, 1933, 1970 MS; Capell, 1940, 1942, 1963; Australian Encyclopedia, 1958; Lockwood, 1962; Falkenberg, 1962; Berndt and Berndt, 1965; Cleverly, 1969 MS; Reed, 1969.

Wongkamala 'Woŋkamala

Loc.: Northwest of Annandale, at Kalidawarry, lower portion of Field and Hay rivers; north along the lower Plenty River and in eastern segment of Arunta (sometimes called Simpson) Desert, includes areas carrying ['pitjuri] (*Duboisia hopwoodii*) shrubs the leaves of which they exploited in trade. They relied on native wells called ['mikari].

Coord.: 137°10'E x 24°30'S.

Area: 20,000 sq. m. (52,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wonkamala, Wonkamudla.

Ref.: Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6526, 6448); Howitt, 1904; Howitt and Siebert, 1904; C. Strehlow, 1910; Elkin, 1931; Tindale, 1934 MS, 1940, 1941.

Wulwulam 'Wulwulam

Loc.: Head of Mary River; west to Pine Creek (the southern and western hordes, Agikwala and Awinmil, were apparently formerly separate tribes that amalgamated after the decline of their numbers, following contact with Europeans); south nearly to Katherine; east to the headwaters of the South Alligator River. Dahl in 1895 heard of them under the name Agigondin as a people at the headwaters of the South Alligator River feared by the Awarai. He worked with a horde he called Agoguila. The boundary according to Parkhouse was "at a branch of Finniss River, 54 miles 78 chains" (88 km.) south from Darwin on the railway line, but this apparently conflicts with other data. Parkhouse indicated the presence of a neutral zone between the Larakia and this tribe (see text, also notes under Awarai). The name Oolwunga given by Mathews 1900 (Gr. 6575) as on the lower Victoria River is possibly not of this tribe.

Coord.: 132°10'E x 13°50'S.

Area: 1,900 sq. m. (4,900 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wulwullam, Agiwallem, Agigondin (eastern horde), Agrikondi, Aggrakundi, Wolwongga, Wulwanga, Wolwanga, Wulwonga, Woolwonga, Oolwunga (not of Mathews), Oolawunga, Agikwala, Agiqwolla [*sic*], Agoguila, Aquguila.

Ref.: Curr, 1886; Smith, 1894; Parkhouse, 1895, 1936; Foelsche, 1895; Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6575); Basedow, 1907; Eylmann, 1908; Spencer, 1914; Dahl, 1926; Tindale, 1940; Mackay, 1959 MS.

Wurango 'Wurəŋo

Loc.: Western end of Cobourg Peninsula. ['Iji] and ['Ja:lo] are probably older subtribal or hordal designations, the former at the western end of Cobourg Peninsula, and the latter at Port Essington. Earl (1846;242) gives evidence of early nineteenth-century tribal pressures and movements from the south.

Coord.: 132°5'E x 11°15'S.

Area: 500 sq. m. (1,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wurrunga, Wurrango, Wuru:ku, U:ru:ku, Auwulwarwak, Wa:reidbug, Woreidbug, Warooko, Ja:lo (['ja:lo] = no), Yarlo, ? Limba-Karadjee (but see Iwaidja).

Ref.: Earl, 1846; Pasco in Curr, 1886; Giglioli, 1911; Jennison, 1927 and MS; Jennison in Tindale, 1940; Sweeney, 1939; Berndt and Berndt, 1951.

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Amangu A'maŋu
Loc.: At Champion Bay; from Chapman River and the southern vicinity of Geraldton south to Hill River; inland to near Mullewa, Morawa, and Carnamah. Southeastern boundary not well defined, somewhere north of Moora. Note that Foley (1865) gives the term "am-manjo" as meaning man; my sole informant thought ['amaŋu] was proper. Attempts were made in postcontact times to introduce circumcision but with little success.
Coord.: 115°30'E x 29°20'S.
Area: 10,100 sq. m. (26,200 sq. km.).
Alt.: ['amangu] = man, Jing ('ing = 'jing = no), Amangu, Emangu (valid variant with indeterminate initial vowel), Amandyo, Geraldton tribe, Merenji (of Widi tribe), Ying, Champion Bay tribe.
Ref.: Foley in Oldfield, 1865; Goldsworthy in Curr, 1886; Tindale, 1940, 1966 MS.

Arnga 'Arŋga
Loc.: South of the Forrest River; on King and Pentecost rivers, extending along the western side of Wyndham Gulf to the Durack River, but going no farther inland than the lower ends of the river gorges; their language is different from that of the Kitja tribe. The horde known as ['Bugai':] is sometimes claimed as belonging to the Jeidji tribe. The Guragona horde of the Wenambal is said to be "very close" to the Arnga. Davidson (1938) treated the term Arawodi as if it warranted tribal status.
Coord.: 128°0'E x 15°45'S.
Area: 2,700 sq. m. (7,000 sq. km.).
Alt.: Woljamidi, Woljamiri, Molyamidi, Kuluwara, Kuluwaran, Guluwarin, Kolaia, Arawari, Arawodi, ? Yamandil.
Ref.: Basedow, 1925; Elkin, 1933; Kaberry, 1935; Davidson, 1938; Capell, 1940; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS; Birdsell, 1954 MS.

Baada 'Ba:də
Loc.: Cape Leveque peninsula from Cape Borda in west to Cygnet Bay and Cunningham Point on east coast. Probably this is the tribe first encountered by Dampier, 14 January 1688. His is the first tangible reference to Australian aborigines. There are five local groups. Living principally on sea products they use seagoing rafts on light mangrove wood poles pegged together in visiting offshore reefs and mangrove-lined shores. They live today at the Lombardina Mission. The name as given was recommended to me by Father Worms and I have checked it personally in the field from the lips of several men of the tribe.
Coord.: 122°55'E x 16°30'S.
Area: 300 sq. m. (800 sq. km.).
Alt.: Băd, Ba:d, Bard, Barda, Bardi, Bad (Capell [1956] writes it as Baḍ).
Ref.: Bates, 1914; Elkin, 1933, 1935, 1936; Worms, 1938, 1940, 1942, 1944, 1950, 1952, 1953 MS, 1959; Kaberry, 1939; Petri, 1939; Capell, 1940; Tindale, 1940; Nekes and Worms, 1953; Coate, 1966; Lavis, MS.

Baijungu 'Baijuŋu
Loc.: On Lower Lyndon and Minilya rivers. Southwest of the salt marshes to Quobba; east to Winning Pool; north to Giralia and Bullara but not to the seacoast and Exmouth peninsula. Von Brandenstein combines them with the Maia and thus includes in their territory country south to the Gascoyne River.
Coord.: 114°5'E x 23°20'S.
Area: 4,000 sq. m. (10,400 sq. km.).
Alt.: Baijungo, Baiong (occasional variant), Baiung, Biong, Paiunggu, Bayungu.
Ref.: "Yabaroo," 1899; Brown, 1912, 1913; Bates, 1914; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Connelly, 1932; Fowler, 1940; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS, 1966 MS; Brandenstein, 1966 MS.

Bailgu 'Bailgu
Loc.: Upper Fortescue River east of Goodiadarrie Hills; north to the scarp of Chichester Range and to the Nullagine River divide; at Roy Hill and east to the western headwaters of the Oakover and Davis rivers. In late precontact times they were being forced east from the Fortescue Salt Marsh area by pressure from the Pandjima. They are still known to western people as the Mangguldulkara or "Marsh people." Former presence of the Bailgu farther west is indicated by their continued possession of a cave store for very large ceremonial boards in the Wodgina Hills at a place called Tambira. Their traditional boundary with the Indjibandi tribe lay at Mandanaladji (Mundanulladje on maps) which is the same place as the Malandjiina of the Indjibandi tribe. The Bailgu are closely related to the Niabali and have now mixed freely with them.
Coord.: 120°0'E x 22°15'S.
Area: 6,300 sq. m. (16,400 sq. km.).
Alt.: Bailko (valid alternative), Pailgu, Pailgo, Baljgu, Balju, Pal'gu, Bailju, Bailgo, Balgu, Palgu, Balju, Balgoo, Boolgoo, Pulgoe, Mangguldulkara (western name for them), Paljarri (a term in their social organization).
Ref.: "Yabaroo," 1899; Withnell, 1901, 1903; Clement, 1903; Brown, 1912, 1913; Bates, 1914; Connelly, 1932; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS, 1966 MS; Worms, 1952 MS, 1954; Brandenstein, 1965 MS; A.I.A.S. report, 1966.

Balardong 'Balardoŋ
Loc.: York district and east to the vicinity of Tammin, Kununoppin, Waddouring Hill, and Bencubbin. North along the Avon River; at Toodyay, Goomalling, Wongan Hills, and northward to Kalannie where there is a native

mine for white stone used for knives and multibarbed spears. South to Pingelly and Wickepin. Western boundary the Darling scarp. Coastal people called them Boijangura, "Hill people." As "Booyungur" this has been given an interpretation of "outsiders" or "strangers" suggesting contacts originally were poor.

Balardong is the native place name for York; seemingly no more valid term has been obtained for the tribe although the name ['Tap:anmai] (used at Goomalling) is in the style of the name of the tribe farther east and W. H. Douglas (A.I.A.S. Doc. 65–226) mentions a dialect called "Tjapanmaya" in the vicinity of Nukarni out from Merredin.

Coord.: 117°05'E x 31°45'S.

Area: 10,500 sq. m. (27,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ballardong, Balladong, Ballardon, Ballerdokking, Waljuk, Warrangul ("kangaroo country," applied also to the Koreng), Warrangle, Warranger, Toode-nunjer (['Tu:denjunga] = men of Toodyay a term applied by coastal people), Boijangura (hill people), Boyangoora, Booyungur, Maiawongi (name applied to language), Mudila, Mudilja, Mudi:a (terms applied by Kalamaia to this and the adjoining southwestern tribespeople who do not practice circumcision), Minang (name applied to this and other southwestern languages by Kalamaia, basic meaning is "south").

Ref.: Nind, 1834; Hackett in Curr, 1886; Gilchrist in Curr, 1886; Bates, 1906, 1915; Giglioli, 1911; W. J. Rae, 1913 MS (PLWA no. PR 342); Spencer, 1914; Hope, 1916 MS; Tindale, 1940, 1966 MS; Douglas, 1966 per. comm.

Barimaia 'Barimaia

Loc.: At Cue, Nannine, Mount Magnet; southwest almost to Yalgoo, northwestern boundary is on Sandford River divide. They circumcise and subincise.

Coord.: 118°5'E x 27°45'S.

Area: 11,300 sq. m. (29,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Parimaia (valid alternative), Bardimaia, Badimaia, Badimala, Padimaia, Badimara, Patimara, Wardal, Waadal (means "west" in Pini language), Bidungu (name given by Wadjari meaning "users of rockhole water," derogatory term implying shiftlessness).

Ref.: Bates, 1914; Tindale, 1940, 1966 MS; Birdsell, 1953 MS; O'Grady, 1953 MS; Davidson and McCarthy, 1957; Fink, 1957 MS; Berndt, 1959; Berndt and Berndt, 1964.

Binigura 'Binigura

Loc.: On Ashburton River between Mount Price and Kooline; south to Wannery Creek; north to near Mount Amy, Urandy, and the beginning of the uplands of Duck Creek; east to lower headwaters of Hardey River on western boundary of Ashburton Downs. Kulanji Pool, 10 miles (15km.) upstream from Kooline, was an important ceremonial place. Another important water was Minbun, the pool at Glen Florrie.

Coord.: 116°15'E x 22°40'S.

Area: 3,100 sq. m. (8,100 sq. km.).

Alt.: Binnigoora, Biniguru, Binnigora, Pinikurra.

Ref.: "Yabaroo," 1899; Brown, 1912, 1913; Bates, 1914; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Connelly, 1932; Tindale, 1953 MS, 1966 MS; Fink, 1957 MS; Brandenstein, 1965 MS.

Buruna 'Buruna

Loc.: On Yannarie River (Pindar Creek) above the edge of the coastal plain; southwest to Winning Pool and the north side of Lyndon River; east to Mount Hamlet and Maroonah; survivors now on Towera Station. They sometimes visited eastward to the Henry River but this was really Tenma territory. Some aborigines pronounce the name with an interdental d̆ sound as ['Bud̆na], but a group preferred ['Buruna] (tape records confirm this). Color plate 31 is relevant.

Coord.: 115°5'E x 23°5'S.

Area: 3,300 sq. m. (8,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wati Puruna (valid alternative), Puduna (variant), Budoona, Poordoona, Peedona.

Ref.: Harper in Curr, 1886; "Yabaroo," 1899; Brown, 1912, 1913; Bates, 1914; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Connelly, 1932; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS, 1966 MS; Worms, 1953 pers. comm.; Fink, 1957 MS; Berndt, 1959; Brandenstein, 1965 MS.

Djaberadjabera 'Djaberadjabera

Loc.: West coast of Dampier Peninsula from Sandy Point on Beagle Bay south to Cape Bertholet; inland for about 30 miles (50 km.) Virtually extinct, with only five survivors in 1953.

Coord.: 122°30'E x 17°10'S.

Area: 800 sq. m. (2,100 sq. km.).

Alt.: Tjabartjabara, Tjabirtjabira (Mangala pronunciation), Tjabiratjabir, Djaberadjaber, Djaberdjaber.

Ref.: Bischofs, 1908; Elkin, 1933; Petri, 1939; Worms, 1950, 1952 MS, 1959; Tindale, 1953 MS.

Djaru 'Djaru

Loc.: East of Ramsay Range along Margaret River to the Mary River Junction. East from the headwaters of Christmas Creek, skirting the sand desert fringe eastward to Cummins Range, Sturt Creek Station, and the Northern Territory border. Thence northward to Nicholson Station homestead, the headwaters of Ord River above the Dixon Range, keeping east of Alice Downs to Hall Creek and the Margaret River gorge. Those living near the Margaret River boundary are said to talk a little differently but are of the same tribe and have the same social organization. The name Njining applies to all Djaru people and seems to be a true alternative name. It is more in use at Flora valley than it is farther west. The southernmost water is Ngaimangaima (Ima Ima Pool on maps) where they meet southern peoples, Ngardi and Kokatja, for ceremonies. The northern hordes, now focused on Turner Station, are called Kodjangana. Capell (1940) is in error in accepting Djaru as cognate with the term Djerag, which is not a tribal name but a native version of the name of the European Durack family who pioneered the tribal area of the Kitja (which see). The Margaret River Djaru were the principal sufferers in the massacre at Hangman Creek. Berndt (1965: 187) incorrectly lists Njining and Djaru as if they were separate tribes.

Coord.: 128°0'E x 18°40'S.

Area: 13,000 sq. m. (33,800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Djaro (valid alternative), Jarroo, Jarrou, Jarrau, Charrau, Jaruo, Djara (? misprint), Deharu, Jaruru (class term), Njining (language name), Njinin, Nyinin, Nining, Neening, Meening (apparently typographical error), Ka:biri

(apparently local group on Margaret River), Karbery, Kodjangana (valid name for the northern Djaru), Ruby Creek tribe.

Ref.: Mathews, 1899 (Gr. 6445), 1900 (Gr. 6447, 6575), 1901 (Gr. 6549, 6453), 1905 (Gr. 6543, 6545, 6454), 1908 (Gr. 6578); Bates, 1914; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Elkin, 1931, 1933; Kaberry, 1937, 1939; Capell, 1940; Berndt and Berndt, 1946, 1964; Worms, 1950 and MS, 1951; Tindale, 1953 MS; Davidson and McCarthy, 1957; Playford, 1960; R. Berndt, 1965; C. Berndt, 1965.

Djaui 'Djaui

Loc.: Sunday Island and archipelago; north to West Roe Island; west to Jackson Island; in modern times claim landing rights on the eastern coast of Dampier peninsula between Cunningham Point and Swan Point. Reef dwellers, traveling from island to island on rafts of mangrove poles pegged together. The islands claimed and used are in part determined by the set of the profound tides upon which they depend for locomotion. Plate 3 is relevant.

Coord.: 123°10'E x 16°25'S.

Area: 50 sq. m. (130 sq. km.), including reefs.

Alt.: Djawi, Djau, Chowie, Djaoi, Tohawi, Tohau-i (name for main island of Buccaneer Group), Ewenu (native name of Sunday Island), Ewanji, Ewenyoon, I:wanja (another version of name of Sunday Island).

Ref.: Bird, 1909, 1910, 1915–1916, 1926; Bates, 1914; Stuart, 1923; Elkin, 1933, 1936; Petri, 1939; Capell, 1940; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS; Worms, 1950; Nekes and Worms, 1953; Coate, 1966.

Djiwali 'Djiwali

Loc.: Headwaters of Henry and Yannarie rivers from Mounts Hamlet and Florry southeast to the Lyons River, northeastward only to Ashburton River divide; at Elliot Creek. Not to be confused with the name Tjiwaling applied to the Walmadjari by their western neighbors.

Coord.: 116°35'E x 23°45'S.

Area: 1,700 sq. m. (4,200 sq. km.).

Alt.: Tjiwali (valid variant), Jiwali, Jivali, Tivali.

Ref.: Brown, 1912, 1913, 1914; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Connelly, 1932; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS, 1966 MS; Davidson and McCarthy, 1957; Brandenstein, 1965 MS.

Djugun 'Djugun

Loc.: Northern side of Roebuck Bay and coast north to Willie Creek, inland for about 15 miles (25 km.). Some informants preferred the term Tjunung. This tribe virtually is extinct.

Coord.: 122°20'E x 17°50'S.

Area: 400 sq. m. (1,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Tjugun, Tjukun, Djukun, Tjugan, Djukan, Jukan, Tjunung, Kularrabulu, Jukannganga (i.e., Jukan speech).

Ref.: Bischofs, 1908; Bates, 1914, 1915; Connelly, 1932; Elkin, 1933; Petri, 1939; Capell, 1940; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS; Worms, 1953 MS; Nekes and Worms, 1953.

Duulngari 'Du:lŋari

Loc.: Coastal mangrove flats and springs north and west of Ninbing Station from Wyndham east to mouth of Keep River in the Northern Territory.

Coord.: 128°35'E x 14°55'S.

Area: 2,000 sq. m. (5,200 sq. km.).

Alt.: Kurramo (stated to be language name), Pokai (horde name), Kanjai (horde west of Knob Peak), Wardaia (horde east of Knob Peak), Wardai, Wardia.

Ref.: Tindale, 1953 MS; Coaldrake, 1954 MS.

Ildawongga 'Ildawoŋga

Loc.: West of Lake Mackay to about Longitude 126°E; north toward a native place named Manggai which is tentatively identified as in the Stansmore Range. Manjildjara say their country begins at Ngila, an unidentified place several days walk east of Liburu (Libral on maps, Canning Stock Route Well 37). South to about 23°30'S latitude. A group of them supposedly suffering from the effects of drought were officially removed in April 1964 from ['Pundudjaba] (Jupiter Well; 126°43'E x 22°50'S) to Papunya Station. Their name was first heard in the west as Ilda in 1953, again in 1956 from a Pintubi man at Haast Bluff and directly from a tribesman in 1964. They may have been the last of the free-living aborigines of Australia to come into Western contact. Birdsell heard two names Nabiwangkadjara and Karo from aborigines of the Kokatja tribe at the Balgo Pallotine Mission. I heard a term Orailku which may apply to this group. J. Long checked my informants data for me in the field.

Coord.: 127°0'E x 22°30'S.

Area: No estimate possible.

Alt.: Ilda, Ilta, Manggawara (of Ngadadjara—so-called from their style of hairdressing), Wanar:wanari (a lone native who arrived at Yuendumu from west of Lake Mackay in 1950 was called this by Pintubi men), Maiidjara (of a Kokatja man), Maiadjara.

Ref.: Tindale, 1951 MS, 1953 MS, 1956 MS, 1964; Birdsell, 1954 MS; Long, 1964.

Inawongga 'Inawoŋga

Loc.: On Hardey River south of Rocklea; southeast along upper Ashburton River from Turee Creek upstream to Kunderong Range and Angelo River; south only a short distance from the main Ashburton River channel to the north of Mount Vernon Station. Enmity with the Ngarlawongga prevented them from visiting Tunnel Creek.

Coord.: 117°45'E x 23°25'S.

Area: 3,600 sq. m. (9,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Inawangga, Inawonga (in error).

Ref.: Brown, 1912, 1913; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS, 1966 MS.

Indjibandi 'Indjibandi

Loc.: On the lower Hamersley Range plateau south of the Peak Hill Range; in the valley of the Hamersley River from Pialin at the junction of Portland Creek with the Fortescue River, east along a line formed by the edge of the scarp facing the eastern headwaters of Yule River; east along the Fortescue River to Marana Pool, about 10 miles (16 km.) west of Kudaidari (Goodiadarrie Hills on maps). South to the clifflike north-facing scarp of the higher Hamersley Range plateau roughly along a line from Mount Elvire east-southeast to Mount George. Their southern boundary is marked by the change from open porcupine grass (*Triodia*)

country to the densely thicketed mulga country extending south. The northeastern corner is very rough range and is not much used by anybody; the principal living places were along the permanent waters at the western end of the plateau. In recent years they moved down the Robe River headwaters to the beginning of the plains, thus usurping Jadira territory. Indjibandi has become a *lingua franca* in the Roebourne area because the Njamal and other people can learn it, but the Indjibandi are unable to talk other peoples' languages. The name Karama said to be used for part of the tribe is really a variant of the word ['kurama] (general meaning highlanders), which is also the proper name of the tribe immediately to the southwest. It probably was being used as a descriptive term for Indjibandi folk in the sense of "uplanders." The Indjibandi circumcise but do not practice subincision. They learned the rites from the Njamal in late precontact times. The Indjibandi are regarded only as "inland Kariara," by the Widagari Njamal. In tradition they are said to have migrated from the southwest to their present position. The Ngaluma and Talandji call the Indjibandi and the Kurama, Jana:ri, which has the general meaning of "Inlanders." Color plate 29 is relevant.

Coord.: 117°45'E x 21°40'S.

Area: 5,000 sq. m. (13,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Indjibandji (of northern tribes), Indjibandje, Ingibandi, Jind'iparndi, Jindjiparndi, Yingiebandie, Indjiban, Jindjibanji, Binjiebandie, Mandanjongo ("top people" applied by Njamal to plateau dwellers including the Pandjima and Indjibandi), Mardanjungu (Ngaluma name), Jana:ri (Talandji name), Yanari, Kakardi ("eastern people," name given by Ngaluma to this and adjoining tribes who circumcise).

Ref.: Walcott, 1863; Withnell, 1901; Clement, 1903; Brown, 1912, 1913; Connelly, 1932; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS, 1966 MS; Ride, 1952 verb. comm.; Worms, 1952 MS, 1954; Berndt, 1959, 1964; Brandenstein, 1965 MS, 1970.

Inggarda 'Iŋga:da

Loc.: Coast at northern end of Shark Bay between Gascoyne and Wooramel rivers; inland to near Red Hill and Gascoyne Junction. The inland hordes were sometimes called ['Kurudandi] which may have been the original of the station name Coordewandy which lies just east of their presently claimed border. Oldfield (1865) stated that the people of this tribe practiced circumcision as a male initiatory rite, using a sharp flint; this is denied by present-day men who said only the Wadjari people farther inland had this practice. It is possible that the Kurudandi hordes at one time were beginning to adopt the rites. They did not claim the flood plain of the Gascoyne which was Mandi territory. There are further notes under the tribal heading Wadjari which are relevant to this tribe.

Coord.: 114°45'E x 25°15'S.

Area: 4,200 sq. m. (10,900 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ingarda, Inggadi, Angaardi, Angaardie, Ingada, Ingara, Ingarra, Ingarrah, Ingra, Ingadi, Inparra ("p" is probably misprint for "g"), Kakarakala (general term incorporating the word Kakarula meaning "east" at Shark Bay; name applied to several tribes on Gascoyne River), Kurudandi (eastern hordes), Jaburu ("northerners," name used by a southern Wadjari man).

Ref.: Oldfield, 1865; Barlee in Curr, 1886; Richardson, 1900; Gribble, 1903; Giglioli, 1911; Connelly, 1932; Fowler, 1940; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS, 1966 MS; Australian Encyclopedia, 1958; Berndt, 1959, 1964; Brandenstein, 1965 MS.

Jaburara 'Jaburara

Loc.: At Nickol Bay and the peninsula leading north to Dolphin and Legendre islands. A small tribe, now extinct, with a separate dialect related to Ngaluma. The name merely means "northerners." My informant half remembered another name as Madoitja but suggested it be queried since he had not thought about it for a long time. In his youth the Jaburara had been reduced in numbers to "a small family."

Coord.: 116°50'E x 20°40'S.

Area: 200 sq. m. (500 sq. km.).

Alt.: Jaburara-ngaluma (northern Ngaluma), Jaburrara-ngarluma, Madoitja (see qualifying note above).

Ref.: Walcott, 1863; Brandenstein, 1965 MS; Tindale, 1966 MS.

Jadira 'Jadira

Loc.: Middle waters of Cane and Robe rivers from south of Mount Minnie north to the Fortescue River; they did not go east of the western scarp of the higher plateau of the Hamersley Ranges. In post-European times some moved east to Ashburton Downs Station and others to the mouth of the Fortescue River and were absorbed into the Mardudunera. They once used to have access to the sea between the Cane and Robe rivers through Noala territory. They did not circumcise.

Coord.: 116°5'E x 21°55'S.

Area: 3,600 sq. m. (9,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Kawarindjari (means "belonging to the west," i.e., Westerners [name given by Ngaluma]), Kawarandjari, Kawarandari, Kawarindjara, Kauarind'arri, Kauarndhari, Garindjari [*sic*].

Ref.: Bates, 1914; Tindale, 1953 MS, 1966 MS; Brandenstein, 1965 MS; A.I.A.S. report, 1966.

Jaudjibaia 'Jaudjibaia

Loc.: On the Montgomery Islands, n.n. ['Jawutjap] (this name applies probably only to the main island), including those in the southern part of Collier Bay. In 1931 they were being absorbed among the Worora as an Atpalari moiety clan, but were stated by J. R. B. Love to represent a different physical type of people. Tradition is that the islands were once a large country but a big flood came and drowned it so that now there are only islands.

Coord.: 124°13'E x 15°56'S.

Area: Under 50 sq. m. (130 sq. km.), including reefs.

Alt.: Yaudjibaia, Yaujibaia, Jawutjubar, Jadjibaia, Jaudjibara, Jadjiba, Bergalgu (language name *fide* Birdsell), Montgomery Islanders.

Ref.: Stuart, 1923; Love, 1931 MS, 1932; Tindale, 1953 MS; Birdsell, 1954 MS; Coate, MS (mentioned in Wurm, 1965), 1966.

Jawuru 'Jawuru

Loc.: Eastern shore of Roebuck Bay south to within 5 miles (8 km.) of Cape Villaret, inland nearly to Dampier Downs, n.n. [Mandikarakapo]. Their southern boundary with the Karadjari is marked by transition from open saltmarsh plain

to the dense pindan scrub and heavy sand of the Karadjari country. The Njikena were friendly with them and they shared initiation ceremonies. A small tribe. Father Worms (1953 MS) preferred Jaoro or Jauro as the best pronunciation; I hear it as above.

Coord.: 122°40'E x 18°10'S.

Area: 2,100 sq. m. (5,500 sq. km.).

Alt.: Yauor, Jauor, Yauera, Djauor, Yaoro, Yauro, Yaroro, Yawur, Jaoro, Jauro, Jawuru (Mangala term), Kakudu-Kakudu (Mangala name), Gawor, Nawudu (extreme variant of pronunciation of Jawuru; also applied to Karadjari).

Ref.: Bates, 1914; Elkin, 1933; Petri, 1939, 1956, 1960; Capell, 1940; Worms, 1950, 1952, 1953 MS; Nekes and Worms, 1953; Tindale, 1953 MS.

Jeidji 'Jeidji

Loc.: Forrest River from seacoast of Cambridge Gulf to Milligan ranges; south to Steere Hills; north to Mount Carty and Lyne River. The term Gwini usually given for these people is a directional one basically meaning "east" or "easterners" and is applied by the inland peoples including those at Kalumburu. Another version suggests that ['Kujini] means "lowlanders" or "bottom people" because they live near the sea. The term Miwa meaning "saltwater," hence Miwadange, saltwater people, applies to them but is not here a tribal name as it is farther to the west. The Guragona horde treated in this work as Wenambal may belong here.

Coord.: 127°55'E x 15°10'S.

Area: 1,000 sq. m. (2,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Yeidji, Yeithi, Gwi:ni, Gwini, Kuini ("easterners," name applied by the people at Kalumburu Mission), Kujini, Gu:jini, Ombalkari (place name east of the Forrest River Mission), Umbalgari, Miwu (said to be language name), Miwadange ("saltwater people"), Waringnari (error for Waringari, has a derogatory meaning, implying cannibalism), Morokorei (name of horde at Forrest River Mission).

Ref.: Elkin, 1933; Kaberry, 1935, 1939; Capell, 1940, 1956; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS; Coaldrake, 1954 MS; Birdsell, 1954 MS; Lucich, 1966 MS.

Jinigudira 'Jinigudira

Loc.: North West Cape and its peninsula to a line between the bottom of Exmouth Gulf and Whaleback Hills. At Point Cloates. Coast-frequenting people, they ventured out to sea on rafts of sticks. They also lived among the mangroves that line the eastern shore of the gulf as far north as Glenroy. Most of their food came from fish traps set in tidal estuaries. They spoke a language close to Talandji and were sometimes considered only to be western Talandji, but informants were sure that they had had separate identities for a long time.

Coord.: 114°10'E x 22°20'S.

Area: 2,000 sq. m. (5,200 sq. km.).

Alt.: Inikurdira, Jinigudera, Jinigura (valid alternative), Jiniguri, Jarungura (another alternative).

Ref.: Tindale, 1953 MS, 1966 MS; Brandenstein, 1966 MS.

Juat 'Juət

Loc.: At Gingin, Moora, New Norcia, Moore River, and Cape Leschenault; north to about Hill River; inland to near Miling and Victoria Plains. The last surviving male member of the Whadjuk tribe, Ngepal, spoke the name of this tribe as ['I:wat] = ['I:wət]. Color plate 36 is relevant.

Coord.: 115°55'E x 30°55'S.

Area: 6,500 sq. m. (16,900 sq. km.).

Alt.: ['juət] = ['juat] = no, I:wat, Yued, New Norcia tribe, Minnalyungar (general name given by northerners, means "southern people"), Jaburu-jungara (Whadjuk name, where Jaburu = north), Tirarop (one of the terms of their social organization), Jabanwongi (name applied to language).

Ref.: Salvado and Monger in Curr, 1886; Giglioli, 1911; Bates, 1915; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS, 1966 MS; Australian Encyclopedia, 1958.

Kalamaia Kə'lamaia

Loc.: At Boorabbin and Southern Cross; east to Bullabulling, north to Youanmi, Lake Barlee, and Pigeon Rocks; west to Burracoppin, Mukinbudin, Kalannie, and Lake Moore; south to about Mount Holland in the Parker Range. A term Jawan is applied to northwestern portions of tribe from north of Mukinbudin.

Coord.: 119°0'E x 30°20'S.

Area: 33,900 sq. m. (88,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ka'la:mai, Kalamaya, Kalamai (valid short form), Jungaa (means "men"), Jungal, Yungar, Youngar, Youngal, Takalako (Njakinjaki term), Njindango, Natingero, Jawan (name for their northwestern hordes), Jaburu (means north), Yabro (poor spelling of Jaburu).

Ref.: Adam in Curr, 1886; Tindale, 1940, 1966 MS; Gould and Gould, 1968; Douglas, MS (Public Lib. of W.A. doc. 342, pp. 14–15 [Southern Cross district place names] and doc. 436).

Kalaako 'Kala:ko

Loc.: Green Patch and Scaddan to north of Widgemooltha; Mount Monger, Golden Ridge, and Burbanks; east to Karkanja, the red ochre deposit approximately 15 miles (24 km.) west of Fraser Range; west to Bremer Range, the Johnston Lakes, Mount Holland, Barker Lake, and Koongornin; a boundary camp was situated about three miles south of Coolgardie; at Norseman and Salmon Gums.

Coord.: 121°30'E x 32°10'S.

Area: 24,000 sq. m. (62,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Kalarko, Malba (i.e., "circumcised and subincised ones"; name applied by Wudjari to this and other immediately northern tribes).

Ref.: Tindale, 1940, 1966 MS, 1968 MS.

Kambure 'Kambure

Loc.: Coasts of Admiralty Gulf except in the vicinity of Osborne Islands; east to Monger Creek in Napier Broome Bay; south only to southern rim of valley of King Edward River; a horde on Sir Graham Moore Island, whose people were chiefly marine food gatherers.

Coord.: 126°15'E x 14°15'S.

Area: 1,700 sq. m. (7,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Kambera, Kamberange (members of the tribe), Kanbre, Gambre, Barurungari (means "upland" or "plateau people"; term used also for other tribes), Kambumiri (name of West Bay and area of World War II Truscott Airfield), Purungari (lit. "coast people"; applied by Worora).

Ref.: Stuart, 1923; Love, 1931 MS; Capell, 1940, 1965; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS; Hernandez, 1941; Mann, 1954; Lucich, 1966 MS.

Kaneang 'Kaneaŋ

Loc.: On the upper Blackwood River; east to a line joining Katanning, Tambellup, Cranbrook, and Tenterden; at Kojonup, Collie, Qualeup, Donnybrook, Greenbushes, Bridgetown; headwaters of Warren and Frankland rivers; south bank of Collie River to Collie; in later days they went west to the coast and as far north as Harvey. Northeastern limits of the tribe correspond with the change from place names with [-up] terminations to ones with [-ing].

Coord.: 116°40'E x 34°0'S.

Area: 4,800 sq. m. (12,500 sq. km.).

Alt.: Kunjung (as spoken by Koreng), Kunyung, Ka:lbaranggara (name given them by Wiilman, Ka:la = fire), Jaburuṛu (Minang term, i.e., northerners), Yobberore, "Uduc-Harvey tribe," Kaleap (place name), Qualeup, Qualup, Quailup, Waal.

Ref.: Nind, 1832; Clark, 1842; Small in Curr, 1886; Giglioli, 1911; Hassell, 1936; Tindale, 1940, 1966 MS.

Karadjari 'Karadjari

Loc.: From Cape Villaret at the south point of Roebuck Bay southwest to Manari, a native meeting place 10 miles (16 km.) north of Anna Plains Station (Jawinja); inland about 70 miles (110 km.). Lendjarkading, a known water on D. Munro's Station block, Redjarth (two days walk farther inland), Undurmadatj, and Mount Phire, n.n. ['Paijara], are at limits of the tribal area. In tradition they came from the northeast, moving south along the coast until they met the Njangamarda.

Coord.: 122°15'E x 18°50'S.

Area: 5,500 sq. m. (14,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Garadjari, Karadjeri, Garadjeri, Karadhari, Garad'are, Garadjara, Laradjeri (misprint), Naudu (inland section of tribe), Nadja (coastal section), Nadjanadja, Kularupulu (name applied by inland Njangamarda to both coastal Njangamarda and Karadjari), Nawudu (Jawuru and Njikena name), Nawurungainj (name given by Njangamarda and Mangala), Minala (['minal] = east; term applied to inland hordes).

Ref.: Bates, 1914; Piddington, 1931; Connelly, 1932; Piddington and Piddington, 1932; Elkin, 1933; Capell, 1939, 1940, 1949, 1950, 1962; Petri, 1939, 1950, 1955, 1956, 1960, 1965; Worms, 1949, 1950, 1953 MS (in letter), 1954;Tindale, 1953 MS; Adams, 1958; Playford, 1960; Petri-Odermann, 1963.

Kariara 'Kariara

Loc.: On the Peeawah, Yule, and Turner rivers and east to Port Hedland. Their western boundary, on divide between Peeawah and Ballaballa creeks extended south to foot of the scarp of the Hamersley tableland in the headwaters of the Yule River; at Mungaroon Range, Turner River area north of Wodgina, at Yandeyarra, and east to a line joining McPhee Hill, Tabba Tabba Homestead, and the mouth of Petermarer Creek 10 miles (16 km.) east of Port Hedland. The area east of Turner River was seldom visited for fear of the Njamal. The Indjibandi are claimed as being inland Kariara, who became separated by reason of their acceptance of the rite of circumcision. Kariara and Indjibandi were at enmity over this in immediately pre-European times. The rock carvings along the shore platforms at Port Hedland and southward were Kariara and continued to be made until modern times. After consultation with Kariara men the best pronunciation of the tribal name is as now given. Barlee (p. 291) transposed the relative positions of this tribe and the Widagari hordes of the Njamal with respect to the Ngarla tribe. Color plate 30 is relevant.

Coord.: 118°25'E x 20°55'S.

Area: 4,500 sq. m. (11,700 sq. km.).

Alt.: Kariera, Karriara, Karriarra, Kyreara, Kaierra, Gariera, Minjiburu:, Minjubururu, Minjirbururu (Kariara name for an ancestral people of Port Hedland who came from the south), Kudjunguru ("coast dwellers," applied to both the Ngarla and the Kariara by the Njamal), Paljarri.

Ref.: Barlee in Curr, 1886; "Yabaroo," 1899; Withnell, 1901, 1903; Clement, 1903; Brown, 1912, 1913, 1914; Bates, 1914; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Tindale, 1953 MS, 1966 MS; Australian Encyclopedia, 1958; Berndt, 1959; Brandenstein, 1966 MS.

Kartudjara 'Kartudjara

Loc.: From Well 22 (n.n. Madaleri) on northern side of Lake Disappointment, southwestward to the vicinity of Canning Stock Route Well 12 (n.n. Pulpurumal), westward on the south side of the Rudall River to Robertson Range and eastern headwaters of the Jiggalong Creek, also the headwaters of Savory Creek; southwestern boundary not well known; much of their territory is said to be covered with parallel sand dunes. Their earlier pre-white contact movements were from the east of Lake Disappointment. About 1890 Kartudjara pressure from the southeast forced the Niabali to retreat from the northern vicinity of Savory Creek to Balfour Downs, a distance of about 60 miles (100 km.). The Kartudjara then came north to water at Wadurara on Rudall River; their northern boundary as mapped is the fringe of the mulga country where it changes to the spinifex plain occupied by the Wanman and Njangamarda. Mardo is a term applied to Kartudjara as well as other tribes in this area; it indicates they are fully initiated people and has no tribal significance. Another term that has been attached for many years to this and some neighboring tribes is Tjargudi (Djargudi, Jargudi, Targudi, Targoodi). It seems not to be a tribal name but an elusive general term. According to Bates (1913) "djargurdi" in Wadjari means a "northerly direction." It seems to play a similar but opposite role to the term Julbaritja, i.e., "southerners" applied to peoples who have shifted north out of the Great Western Desert.

Coord.: 121°50'E x 23°15'S.

Area: 10,000 sq. m. (26,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Katudjara, Katatjara, Kardudjara, Gadudjara, Walmala (of Niabali), Orailku (of Nangatara), Ngadari (['ŋatari] = strangers).

Ref.: Brown, 1912; Bates, 1913; Connelly, 1932; Worms, 1952 MS (in letter); Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS, 1966 MS; Lindquist, 1961; Berndt, 1957, 1959, 1964; J. Calaby, 1958 pers. comm.; Berndt and Berndt, 1964.

Keiadjara 'Keiadjara

Loc.: Southeast of the Mandjildjara territory and south and east of the Potidjara, in territory not identified except as

extending east from Kolajuru which is unidentified except as being several days walk southeast of Tjundutjundu (Well 30) on Canning Stock Route. Their territory may extend as far east as longitude 127° or beyond since Ngadadjara have contact with people whom they call Mangawara (a general term for shifting people who carry treasures tied in their hair chignons. The term is also applied by the Pitjandjara to the Wenamba. Some of these people traveled east through places called Kurultu (perhaps in the Baron Range) to Inindi and made contact with Wenamba at Walukiritj, west of Lake Macdonald. Berndt (1959) places the tribe between Lakes Disappointment and Carnegie which is a place on their post-1930 westward movement into settled country.

Coord.: 126°0′E x 23°30′S (approximate only).

Area: No estimate possible.

Alt.: Keiatara, Keredjara (of Wanman), Kiadjara, Giadjara, Gijadjara, Targudi, Tjargudi (of Kartudjara), Djargudi, Targoodi, Kalgoneidjara, Kalguni.

Ref.: Tindale, 1953 MS; Berndt, 1959, 1964; Berndt and Berndt, 1964.

Kitja 'Ki:tja

Loc.: On Salmond, Chamberlain, and Wilson rivers; Macphee Creek north to Sugarloaf Hill, always on top of the plateau; west to the edge of the Bluff Face Range; east over the Durack Range to Lissadell and Turkey Creek Stations, south to High Range and headwaters of Stony River about Fig Tree Pool; on upper Margaret River above gorge in Ramsay Range; east to Hall Creek and Alice Downs. The terms Kitja and Lungga are of about equal status in the naming of this tribe and a source of some confusion to anthropologists. Capell (1940:404) uses them to denote separate tribes; inquiries suggest this is not correct. The Djaru usually call these people Lungga and a few accept the term without question; most of the others prefer Kitja. Color plate 41 is relevant.

Coord.: 127°30′E x 17°15′S.

Area: 12,500 sq. m. (32,500 sq. km.).

Alt.: Kidja, Gidja, Ku:tji, Kuitji, Kuitj (of Ngarinjin), Gi:dj, Kwitj, Gwidji, Guidj, Guwidji, Kisah, Keha, Kisha, Kityu, Liej (? faulty hearing), ['Luŋgar] (of Walmadjari, their name means "rock wallabies"), Lungga (of southern tribes), Longga, Loonga, Langgu, Lunga, Lungu, Paljarri (a variant of one of the class terms in their social organization), Djarak (modern northern term for Kitja based on a white settler's family name, Djerag, Durackra (*lapsus calami* for Durack Range, based on early white settler family of that name), Tjarak (modern postcontact Ngarinjin name), Waringari (Ngarinjin term, means "cannibals"; a general term also applied to Ola), Warrangari, Kutnalawaru (of western neighbors, has a rude meaning—['kudna] = dung), Miwa (language name ascribed to Kitja by Ngarinjin—means "salt water"), Waiki.

Ref.: Mathews, 1899 (Gr. 6445), 1900 (Gr. 6447, 5975), 1901 (Gr. 6549, 6453), 1905 (Gr. 6545), 1908 (Gr. 6578); Giglioli, 1911; Bates, 1913; Terry, 1926; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Elkin, 1931, 1933; Kaberry, 1937, 1939; Davidson, 1938; Capell, 1939, 1940, 1956, 1963; Hernandez, 1941; Worms, 1950; Tindale, 1953 MS; Birdsell, 1954 MS; Davidson and McCarthy, 1957; Australian Encyclopedia, 1958; Maddox, n.d.; Playford, 1960; Berndt and Berndt, 1964; C. Berndt, 1965.

Koara 'Ko:ara

Loc.: From Morgans and Leonora west to Mount Ida, Lake Barlee, and Sandstone; north to Gidgee, Mount Sir Samuel, and Lake Darlot; east to Mount Zephyr; northwestern boundary west of Sandstone. There is an alternative name Konindjara. In the Wadjari and several other tongues ['konin] means "poor fellow" or "I am a poor fellow." It thus has possible implications of tribal shifts out of the desert at some time in the past. It is the basis of the name given to the tribe by the Pini and other tribes to the east. Koara itself, although here seemingly a valid name, has connotations of peaceable or friendly recent arrivals.

Coord.: 120°15′E x 28°10′S.

Area: 18,100 sq. m. (47,100 sq. km.).

Alt.: Go:ara, Goara, Guwara, Konindja (of eastern tribes), Konindjara, Waula (i.e., "northerners" of the Waljen).

Ref.: Tindale, 1940, 1966 MS; Berndt, 1959, 1964.

Kokatja 'Kokatja

Loc.: About Gregory Lake and east to the area of the Pallotine Mission at Balgo North to Billiluna with a boundary water shared with the Djaru at Ngaimangaima, 12 miles (20 km.) south of Kandimalal (Wolf Creek Meteorite Crater); west to the Canning Stock Route wells from Godfrey Tank, n.n. ['Koninara], south to Well 40, n.n. ['Marawuru], the ['Nadawalu] of the Nangatara, their western neighbors with whom their only contact, at Kuljai (Gula, Tank 42 on maps) many years ago, had been hostile.

Father Worms met the Kokatja both south and east of Gregory Salt Sea (Lake) during journeys in 1948 and 1950.

Several different southern groups have come into Kokatja territory by following the Canning Stock Route northeastward since its development in 1910. These detached peoples usually are given the designation Julbaritja ("southerners"). More than one have been mentioned by authors in this region. Capell (1940) called one such group, west of Sturt Creek, the Julbre. The term is, of course, not tribally limited and it is useless as a distinguishing label.

Western hordes of the Kokatja were called Nabijangkadjara and spoke "heavy Kokatja." They had associations with eastern hordes of the Walmadjari who were known as Wangkatjunga. Figure 11 shows a Kokatja man's sketch map of his country and his opinion of the placement of other tribes.

The Kokatja language name is Nambulatji. This term is used also for the Walpiri in central Australia, perhaps indicating former closer contacts. The Walmadjari to the west call them ['tjilparta] because they appear tall to them.

Davidson's 1938 map shows the name of the Balgo Mission as if it were a tribal name, Balgu, and 150 miles (240 km.) out of position in a west-southwesterly direction.

Coord.: 127°5′E x 20°45′S.

Area: 11,900 sq. m. (30,900 sq. km.).

Alt.: Gogada, Gogadja, Gugudja, Gogoda, Gugadja, Kukuruba (of Ngalia tribe), Pardoo (applied to western hordes), Julbaritja (a general term from ['julbari] meaning south, term not tribally limited), Julbre (Capell's version), Ilbaridja, Nambulatji (language name), Bedengo (lit. "rock hole people" implying shiftlessness), Bidong, Bidungo, Peedona, Peedong, Pidung, Pidunga, Manggai (name of a key southern watering place probably near 127°40′E. x 21°20′S), Wangkatjunga (southwestern hordes), Wangatjunga, Wang-

atunga, Wangkatunga, Wangkadjungga, Wankutjunga, Wanaeka, Wangu, Panara (general term for grass seed gatherers; see additional note under Northern Territory tribe Ngardi), Bunara, Boonara.

Ref.: Capell, 1940; Worms, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953 MS, 1954; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS, 1956 MS; Birdsell, 1954 MS; Australian Encyclopedia, 1958; Berndt, 1965.

Konejandi 'Konejandi

Loc.: West to Fitzroy Crossing; at Bohemia Downs and Margaret River Stations. Formerly south to Christmas Creek, but they lost the open plains on the north side of the river to Walmadjari just before the time of the first appearance of whites. East to junction of Mary and Margaret rivers and the Ramsay Range, north to Stony River, Sandstone, Mueller, Burramundy, and Geikie Ranges; their headquarters were in the eastern limestone areas of the King Leopold Ranges. They were unfriendly with the Njikena, the Kitja, and the Punaba, and had fought them; they did not understand one anothers' languages, but now they follow Punaba and Kitja speech better than Njikena. The people prefer to be called Konejandi and object to the form Konean applied by others.

Coord.: 126°20'E x 18°25'S.

Area: 4,600 sq. m. (12,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Konean, Konajan, Konejanu (Mangala term), Gunian, Gunan, Kuniandu, Kunian, Kunan, Goonien, Wadeawulu (Kitja term for them).

Ref.: Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6447); Elkin, 1933; Kaberry, 1937; Capell, 1940, 1952–1953, 1965; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS; Worms, 1953 MS (in letter); Meggitt, 1955.

Koreng 'Ko:reŋ

Loc.: From Gairdner River to Pallinup (Salt) River; at Bremer Bay; inland to Jeramungup, Pingrup, Nampup (= Nyabing), Badgebup, and Kibbleup near Broome Hill; south to Stirling Range; at Gnowangerup and Ongerup; west to Cranbrook and Tambellup but not originally at Kojonup or Qualeup; they moved west in earliest settlement times under pressure from Wudjari. Northern limit marked by change of termination of place names from [-up] to [-ing]; border place names have alternative versions. The Hassell manuscript summarized by Davidson has much data about this tribe included under the tribal name Wheelman (i.e., Wiilman of this work).

Coord.: 118°30'E x 34°0'S.

Area: 6,000 sq. m. (15,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ko:rengi (valid alternative), Kuriny, Corine, Cororan, Bremer Bay tribe, Warangu, Warrangoo, Warranger, Warrangle, Kojonup and Stirling tribe, Mongup (place name), Kokar (basic meaning "east"), Kaialiwongi (['kaiali] = north, name applied to language by the Minang).

Ref.: Nind, 1831; Chester in Curr, 1886; Goldsworthy in Curr, 1886; Graham in Curr, 1886 (vocabulary 23); Bates, 1915; Tindale, 1940, 1966 MS; Hassell, MS (part); P.L.W.A. MS doc. 436.

Kurama 'Kurama

Loc.: Plateau tops of Hamersley Range, north to cliff wall looking down on valley of Fortescue River; east to Mount McCrae at western boundary of Hamersley Station; south to headwaters of Duck Creek and upper Hardey River at Rocklea. They practiced both circumcision and subincision as initiation rites. Color plate 29 is relevant.

Coord.: 117°0'E. x 22°20'S.

Area: 3,700 sq. m. (9,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Jawunmara (Indjibandi term, applied also in a slightly different form to Mardudunera), Gurama, Kerama, Karama, Korama, Jana:ri (see note under Indjibandi).

Ref.: Brown, 1912, 1913, 1914; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS, 1966 MS; Berndt, 1959, 1964; Brandenstein, 1965 MS.

Madoitja 'Madoitja

Loc.: East of Three Rivers and Old Peak Hill to Lakes King and Nabberu. South to Cunyu and the northwestern border of Millrose. Bates shows the tribe as placed north-northeast of the Wadjari. The limits have been approximately defined chiefly by exclusion from areas claimed by other tribes.

Coord.: 120°0'E x 25°25'S.

Area: 9,000 sq. m. (23,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Marduidji, Milamada, ? Wainawonga, Konin (of southern tribes), Waula (means "northerners," applied by Pini).

Ref.: Bates, 1913; Connelly, 1932; Tindale, 1940, 1966 MS; Berndt, 1959.

Maduwongga 'Maduwoŋga

Loc.: From Pinjin on Lake Rebecca west to Mulline; from a few miles south of Menzies to Kalgoorlie, Coolgardie, Kanowna, Kurnalpi, and Siberia. Statements suggest a protohistoric movement from the east displacing Kalamaia people west to beyond Bullabulling. Their language was called ['Kabəl] and it was understood as far west as Southern Cross.

Coord.: 121°30'E x 30°15'S.

Area: 9,000 sq. m. (23,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Jindi (valid alternative), Yindi, Maduwonga, Kabul (language name), Julbaritja (i.e., "southerners," name used by Ngurlu).

Ref.: Garnier in Hugenin, 1902; Davidson, 1938; Tindale, 1940, 1966 MS.

Maia 'Maia

Loc.: Short coastal strip west of Boolathanna; east of coastal salt lakes to Manberry and Hutton Creek; south to Gascoyne River but only above the floodplain, claimed by the Mandi; inland to Mooka, Mardathuna, Binthalya, and the Kennedy Range.

Coord.: 114°25'E x 24°25'S.

Area: 4,700 sq. m. (12,200 sq. km.).

Alt.: Miah, Majanna (Inggarda term).

Ref.: Barlee in Curr, 1886; "Yabaroo," 1899; Brown, 1912, 1913; Bates, 1914; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Connelly, 1932; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS, 1966 MS.

Malgana 'Malgana

Loc.: Inland from Hamelin Pool south of the Wooramel River area; extending eastward to Talisker Station; south to the Murchison River near Ajana, Coolcalalaya, and Riverside. A small tribe overshadowed in later years by the Inggarda and Tedei. Noncircumcising. Their principal terri-

tory was on the inland plateau. In the 1940 work the information supplied was inaccurate. Color plate 33 is relevant.

Coord.: 114°55'E x 26°45'S.

Area: 7,000 sq. m. (18,200 sq. km.).

Alt.: Maldjana (incorrect interpretation of *g* symbol in first edition; copied in A.I.A.S. list).

Ref.: Barlee in Curr, 1886; Giglioli, 1911; Brown, 1912, 1913; Connelly, 1932; Tindale, 1940, 1966 MS.

Malgaru 'Malga'ru

Loc.: East of Kennedy Range and in the hills east of Lyons River from Gascoyne Junction north to near Minnie Creek; at Eudamullah; south to near Fossil Hill; a small tribe of people not practicing circumcision.

Coord.: 115°35'E x 24°35'S.

Area: 4,500 sq. m. (11,700 sq. km.).

Alt.: Mal'garu (different system of marking stress).

Ref.: Brandenstein, 1965 MS; Tindale, 1966 MS.

Malngin 'Malŋin

Loc.: Western boundary on upper Ord River at Flecker Creek; north-northeast to Lissadell, Rosewood, and Argyle Downs; westward to eastern scarp of Carr Boyd Range at Carlton Gorge; eastward only in the valley of the Ord River and the lower Negri River; south to Nicholson River junction with Ord River. They have been ascribed also to the area southwest of Victoria River mouth but without definite boundaries; the people there are of a separate tribe, the Arnga.

Coord.: 128°45'E x 17°0'S.

Area: 5,600 sq. m. (14,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Malgin, Malngjin.

Ref.: Elkin, 1933; Davidson, 1935; Kaberry, 1937, 1939; Capell, 1940; Tindale, 1953 MS; Meggitt, 1955; Berndt and Berndt, 1964; C. Berndt, 1965.

Mandara 'Mandara

Loc.: A small tribe on Ophthalmia Range and on the plateau at the head of Turee and Weediwolli creeks; south to Prairie Downs. Driven north to the Fortescue River by a southeastward movement of the Pandjima and absorbed among the Niabali and Pandjima. Now extinct as a tribe. See further notes under Pandjima.

Coord.: 119°15'E x 23°25'S.

Area: 1,500 sq. m. (3,900 sq. km.).

Alt.: None has been reported.

Ref.: Tindale, 1953 MS, 1966 MS.

Mandi 'Mandi

Loc.: At Carnarvon; on the lower Gascoyne River from Doorawarrah to the sea on the swampy distributaries of the river, south to near Grey Point, north only to the southern part of Boolathanna.

Coord.: 114°0'E x 24°45'S.

Area: 1,000 sq. m. (2,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Maandi, Nandu.

Ref.: Fink, 1957 MS; Brandenstein, 1965 MS; Tindale, 1966 MS.

Mandjildjara 'Mandjildjara

Loc.: Along Canning Stock Route between Well 30, n.n. ['Tjundu'tjundu] and Well 38, n.n. ['Watjaparni]; south about 50 miles (80 km.) to a hill called Tjanbari, not yet identified, and unidentified waters called Kolajuru, Karukada, Keweilba, and Kunkunba; northward only a few miles from the line of the Stock Route to unidentified places called Tjam:ala and Maindu; eastward no farther than about Longitude 126°E to an unlocalized water known as Ngila. In 1964 W. B. MacDougall found a party of nine women at Imiri on Percival Lakes who used the above tribal designation. A tribal shift, following European occupation, has led many of these people to the coast and to Hall Creek where they have been studied sometimes as if they were indigenous there; they must not be confused with the Mandjindja from south of the Warburton Ranges.

Coord.: 125°5'E x 22°35'S.

Area: 8,700 sq. m. (22,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Mandjiltjara, Mantjiltjara, Mandjildara, Mantjildjara, Manjiljara.

Ref.: Tindale, 1953 MS, 1963, 1964 MS; Birdsell, 1954 MS; Jensen, 1957; O'Grady, 1958 MS; Lindquist, 1961; Berndt, 1964; MacDougall, 1964 verb. comm.

Mandjindja 'Mandjindja

Loc.: Sandhill country south of Warburton Range (not extending to this range), commencing at Papakula (Babbagoola Rockhole on maps); west to Lakes Gillen and Throssell; south to Amy Rocks and Saunders Range; east to Lenga:na, a ['wati 'walji 'tjukur] place probably east of Sydney Yeo Chasm; southeast to Wardadikanja, a ['kalaia 'tjukur] or emu totem place perhaps near 127°E x 28°30'S.

Coord.: 126°10'E x 27°20'S.

Area: 21,000 sq. m. (54,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Mandjindjara (valid extension of name), Mandjindji, Mangundjara (variant pronunciation by a member of the tribe), Mandjindjiwongga, Manjinjiwonga, Mantjila, Mangula, Kalgonei, Kalgoneidjara (language name applied by Ngadadjara to this tribe and to the Wenamba), Nanggarangku (lit. "hostile men," a term applied by the Pitjandjara, as also to the Ngalea), Mandshindshi [*sic*].

Ref.: Bates, 1910, 1914; Elkin, 1935, 1940; Tindale, 1935 MS, 1940, 1953 MS, 1968; Berndt and Berndt, 1946, 1964; Berndt, 1954; Dunlop et al., 1967 (cinefilms).

Mangala 'Maŋala

Loc.: On the desert plateau about the McLarty Hills; north to Geegully Creek, n.n. ['Tjirkali], and headwaters of Edgar Range; northwest to plateau above Dampier Downs, extending no nearer than 50 miles (80 km.) to the coast; south to a known E-W line of salty waters along 21° latitude including Tandalgoo, n.n. ['Tjandalkuru]; east to a line about 40 miles (55 km.) east of Joanna Springs, n.n. ['Ka:lun] and ['Pikuraŋu]. A member of this tribe living in 1953 claimed to have seen Warburton's tracks there in 1874, being the younger of two who made the tracks seen there by Warburton. Eastern boundary at an unidentified place called ['Piraju]. The northeastern limit lay between the known waters of Tanndulla, n.n. ['Ta:ndala], and Karraga, n.n. ['Karakan]. Their eastern territory is described as ['ngokanitjarda] which appears to be a special kind of flat country with salt water (see reference under Walmadjari). In

the early 1900s the Mangala attacked the inland Karadjari at ['Lindjarukading] in their own country and killed many, driving the remainder to ['Pidarpidar] (now Nita Downs). The Mangala were hostile to the Njikena when they ventured in to get water at Mandikarakapo (Dampier Downs) and Tjirkali (Geegully Creek); only in extremely dry times did they go to the Fitzroy River at [°Ne:ramal] (Nerrima of maps). They have a high percentage of persons, especially children, with blond hair, a fact first noted by Father Worms and confirmed in the field.

Coord.: 124°0'E x 19°50'S.

Area: 15,600 sq. m. (40,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Manala (individual pronunciation by a Njangamarda man), Mangala (orthodox version), Mangal, Minala, Mangula (? typographical error), Mangai (a form of name heard by Worms, 1953 MS).

Ref.: Brown, 1912; Bates, 1914; Connelly, 1932; Elkin, 1933; Kaberry, 1937, 1939; Capell, 1940, 1956; Lindblom, 1940; Petri, 1950, 1955, 1956, 1960; Worms, 1940, 1950, 1951, 1953 MS (letter); Tindale, 1953 MS, 1966 MS; Berndt, 1959, 1964; Playford, 1960; Tindale and Lindsay, 1963.

Mardudunera 'Mardu'ðunera

Loc.: Coastal plain north of the Fortescue River; north to visited islands of the Dampier Archipelago on log rafts; inland only to foot of ranges. These are perhaps the people described by King, (1827:i:38) as tide riding on logs near Lewis Island. Brown (1913) gave them a tribal area of 3,500 square miles (9,100 sq. km.) which seems to be an overestimation. The name has been checked in the field as above.

Coord.: 116°30'E x 21°5'S.

Area: 2,100 sq. m. (5,500 sq. km.).

Alt.: Mardudjungara, Mardudhunera, Mardudhunira, Mardudhoonera, Mardutunira, Mardatunera, Marduduna, Mardathoni, Mardatuna, Maratunia, Jawunmala (Indjibandi term).

Ref.: King, 1827; "Yabaroo," 1899; Clement, 1903; Brown, 1912, 1913, 1914; Bates, 1914; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Tindale, 1953 MS, 1966 MS; Fink, 1957 MS; Brandenstein, 1965 MS.

Minang 'Min:əŋ

Loc.: King George Sound; north to Stirling Range, Tenterden, Lake Muir, Cowerup, and Shannon River. On coast from West Cliff Point to Boat Harbour; at Pallinup (Salt) River; at Mount Barker, Nornalup, Wilson Inlet, and Porongurup Range. ['Minaŋ] = south and by extension "southerners." Nind's identification of *Meananger* as *Mearn anger* or "red root eaters" not confirmed, although it is a possible one. Mathew (1899, 18:23) confuses this tribe with the Mirning of Eyre Sand Patch. Clark (1842) calls a western horde (?) the Murrayman and indicates a northern one as the "Munite" or Cockatoo group. The last-named are probably the ones seen by Darwin.

Coord.: 117°40'E x 34°45'S.

Area: 4,900 sq. m. (12,700 sq. km.).

Alt.: Minung, Meenung, Mirnong, Mean-anger, Meernanger, Minnal Yungar (lit. "southern men"), Meenung (name given by Ko:reng), Mount Barker tribe.

Ref.: Nind, 1832; Darwin, 1842; Clark, 1842; Graham in Curr, 1886; Spencer et al. in Curr, 1886; Mathew, 1899; Mathews, 1910 (Gr. 6516); Giglioli, 1911; Tindale, 1940, 1966 MS, 1968 MS; James Brown, plate.

Miriwung 'Miriwuŋ

Loc.: Valley of Ord River north to Carlton; upstream to Ivanhoe Station and east to Newry Station. On the Keep River to near the coastal swamps. The eastern tribes generally call these people Miriwung, the westerners, Moreng.

Coord.: 128°55'E x 15°40'S.

Area: 4,000 sq. m. (10,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Miriwun, Miriwong, Mirriwong, Miriwu (of Kitja), Moreng, Mirong, Mirung.

Ref.: Elkin, 1933; Kaberry, 1937, 1939; Capell, 1940; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS; Coaldrake, 1954 MS; C. Berndt, 1965.

Mirning (Ngandatha) 'Mirniŋ ('Ŋandaða)

Loc.: From east of Port Culver to White Well, So. Aust., at head of Great Australian Bight; inland normally only to edge of the treeless karst plateau of the Nullarbor Plain, but after big rains they ventured far inland to the inner edge of the open country. Two or more hordes named after localities, including Wonunda- and Jirkala-mirning (['mirniŋ] = ['mi:niŋ] = man, Wonunda = a place = Eyre Sand Patch; Jirkala = Eucla). The Wonunda-mirning were on the Hampton plateau chiefly west of Eyre Sand Patch. The important ceremonial meeting place for these two hordes was a water called Jadjuuna, 5 miles (8 km.) south of Cocklebiddy at 126°7'E x 32°7'S. These people practiced rites of circumcision and subincision but their knowledge of the associated ceremonies was considered incomplete by northerners. The members of this tribe were relatively short in stature and those seen in 1939, all old people, were small. Mathew (1899) confused the Wonunda Mirning with the entirely separate tribe, Minang of King George Sound, 500 miles (800 km.) farther west. The Jirkala-mirning name has an ecological connotation, indicating the wide expanse of treeless plain where the lowly buckbush is a prominent shrub. Their language name was Ngandatha, based on the phrase "What is it?"

Coord.: 128°0'E x 31°10'S.

Area: 39,000 sq. m. (101,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Mining (valid alternative pronunciation), Meening, Minninng, Mininj [*sic*], Ngandatha (valid alternative), Ngandada, Wanbiri (basic meaning = "sea coast"), Warnabirrie, Wonbil also Wonburi (Kokata names for the Jirkala-mirning), Wonunda-meening (['wonunda], basic meaning "low country," hence the name aptly applies to the section of the tribe living around Eyre and south of the Hampton cliff scarp), Wonunda-minung, Warnabinnie, Wanmaraing (MS), Jirkala-Mining (['jirkala] = buck bush, an indirect reference to those who live on the cliff top and open plateau. Williams (p. 40) has another explanation for the name), Yirkla, Yirkala-Mining, Yerkla-mining, East Meening (term coined by P. W. Schmidt; for West Mining, *see* Ngadjunmaia), East Mining, Ikala, Ikula, Ngadjudjara and Ngadjuwonga (hearsay names applied by Jangkundjara), Ngadjadjara, Julbari (means "south," term applied by tribes to north), Julbara, Ba:duk ("circumcised" also can mean "ignorant" because they had not received all the rites

accompanying subincision to which they had been introduced only recently.

Ref.: Roe in Fison and Howitt, 1880; Graham in Curr, 1886; Williams in Curr, 1886; Mathew, 1900; Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6448), Williams in Howitt, 1904; Bates, 1918; Schmidt, 1919; Basedow, 1925; Elkin, 1931, 1940; Tindale, 1928 MS, 1934 MS, 1939 MS, 1940, 1966 MS, 1968 MS; Tindale in Condon, 1955; Australian Encyclopedia, 1958; Ethell, 1958 verb. comm.; Wurm, 1963; Wells, ca. 1890 (no given date).

Miwa 'Miwa

Loc.: East side of Napier Broome Bay and lower reaches of King Edward River; inland to about Mount Connelly; eastward to near Cape Bernier; inland on Drysdale River to the Barton Plain; eastward to the King George River and headwaters of the Berkeley River where the range is called Manungu by aborigines. The horde (clan) on the Carson River is called Taib or Taibange. It has some relationship also with the Wilawila tribe. Lucich (1966 MS) prefers the name Miwa; this term is said to mean "saltwater"; the alternative is Konun. At Kalumburu Mission tribal distinctions have broken down in recent years and the people are now known by three new designations based on the directions of their original homes—namely Kulari, northwesterners; Kuini, southeasterners; and Walambi, westerners.

Coord.: 127°0'E x 14°10'S.

Area: 2,200 sq. m. (8,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Konun (valid alternative), Konan, Konin, Gonin, Kaianu, Kianu, Kyanoo, Murgura (name of eastern horde), Kuna, Kunange, Gunan, Koonange, Mande, Manda, Pago (not a tribal term but place name of old Drysdale Mission site), Bagu, Ba:gu, Manungu, Manunggu (a place or district name), Galumburu (place name of new Drysdale River Mission site), Kalumbura, Caloombooroo, Wulanggur (place name on Cape Talbot peninsula, also a horde name), Ulaŋgu Wulaŋgu (Ngarinjin name for Miwa), Ulangu, Umari (place name on King George River), Pela, Boola, Pelange (use as tribal term not substantiated by Lucich), Walar (name of a snake clan).

Ref.: Elkin, 1933; Kaberry, 1937, 1939; Capell, 1939, 1940; Tindale, 1940 (in text only), 1953 MS; Hernandez, 1941; Coaldrake, 1954 MS (letter and map); Cawte, 1963; Lucich, 1966 MS.

Murunitja 'Murunitja

Loc.: Northern margin of Nullarbor Plain from Naretha to about north of Loongana; northward for about 100 miles (160 km.); at Rawlinna and Walawuluna Rockhole. The Mirning word for a fat or stout person is ['murun]. The men of this tribe tend to be of the heavy Murrayian physical type.

Coord.: 126°0'E x 30°15'S.

Area: 11,000 sq. m. (28,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Mooroon, Murnidja, ? Mara, Kogara (means "east," hence by extension "easterners").

Ref.: Williams in Curr, 1886; Davidson, 1938; Tindale, 1940; Berndt, 1959.

Nakako 'Nakako

Loc.: South and southwest of the Blackstone Ranges; at Bell Rock Range; encountered first by the patrol officer at Woomera, W. B. MacDougall, about 1953; not seen again until 1961 although an unsuccessful attempt was made in 1957 to follow their tracks south of the Blyth Range. They use wooden spears with up to three hooked barbs carved in the solid. They camped at Mount Davies and at Mamutjara (south of Blackstone Ranges) in November 1963 and were studied by our University of Adelaide party then and again in 1966. Color plate 39 is relevant.

Coord.: 128°40'E x 27°20'S.

Area: 19,000 sq. m. (49,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Nakaku, Nangako, Nangakopitja (Pitjandjara name), Wanudjara.

Ref.: MacDougall, 1954 verb. comm.; Tindale, 1957 MS, 1963 MS, 1965, 1966 MS; Tindale and George, 1971.

Nana 'Nañ:a

Loc.: East and northeast of Lakes Carnegie and Wells; west of Lake Gillen, probably to about Timperley Range; southward to Ernest Giles Range. Their extension northward was to an unidentified place called Manggudu in the general vicinity south of the Hutton Range. The Browne Range may be near their undefined eastern limits. An important watering place was Tjilka:li, not yet identified, probably on the north side of Lake Gillen (it is perhaps the Alexander Spring on maps). It was a ceremonial place of the Wati kutjara tjukurupa. The western hordes have a descriptive name ['I:nabandaŋgural] for themselves. Some hordes moved southwest to near Wiluna in 1930, appearing from the east at Cunyu ['Kunju] (120°5'E x 26°1'S.) suffering from effects of drought in their home areas. Their normal refuge in drought was ['Kadidi], a large pool with *Eucalyptus* trees, i.e., a ['miŋgul] of the ['ilba] or goana totem, north of Lake Carnegie, near Lake Buchanan (not identified on map). Other hordes moving east were the people who appeared in distress from shortages of water at Warupuju in the Warburton Ranges in August 1935. Their arrival was recorded in the 16mm. films of the University of Adelaide Anthropological Expedition of that year.

Coord.: 124°15'E x 25°50'S.

Area: 20,000 sq. m. (52,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ngan:adjara (alternative form of name), Nangandjara, Nangaridjara, Nona, I:nabadanggural (descriptive name for western hordes), Nganadjara and Jumudjara (Ngadadjara terms), Ngatari (i.e., "strangers," said of those who appeared in Ngadadjara territory in August 1935 at Warapuju, Warburton Ranges), Kalgoneidjara (name used by Ngadadjara for several tribal groups near them), Kalgonei, Kalguni.

Ref.: Tindale, 1935 MS, 1937, 1940, 1953 MS, 1957 MS, 1966 MS; Stocker and Tindale, 1935 (16mm. films); Birdsell, 1953 MS; Epling, 1953 MS; Berndt, 1956.

Nanda 'Nanda

Loc.: From Willigabi, n.n. ['Wilugabi], on the coast near Northampton northward to Shark Bay, Hamelin Pool, and Yaringa. The northern hordes who spoke slight dialect ventured to islands off Shark Bay but only by walking at low tide and swimming with logs. Watjandi is a Nokaan term for the Nanda and means "westerners." From the evidence of Oldfield (1865), the name Watjandi probably was the one by which they were known also to the natives of Geraldton.

They do not practice circumcision. The supposed tribal groups Tamala and Buluguda of the Sheard MS are hordes at Tamala Homestead (113°43'E x 26°42'S) and at Billiecutherra (114°4'E x 27°14'S). A third hordal name was Daguda. Color plate 33 is relevant.

Coord.: 114°5'E x 27°0'S.

Area: 6,300 sq. m. (16,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Jau (['jo] = no), Yau, Eaw (J. Forrest, note in British Museum), Watjandi (['watju] = west), Watchandi, Watchandie, Buluguda (horde and place name), Bulgulu, Tamala (horde and place name), Daguda (horde).

Ref.: Foley, 1865; Oldfield, 1865; Goldsworthy, Barlee and Oldfield, in Curr, 1886; Giglioli, 1911; Brown, 1912, 1913; Radcliffe-Brown, 1931; Connelly, 1932; Sheard MS in Tindale, 1940; Berndt, 1959; Tindale, 1966 MS.

Nangatadjara 'Naŋaṫadjara

Loc.: East of Lake Carey and Burtville to about Jubilee and Plumridge Lakes; northeast to Bailey, Virginia, and Newland Ranges. At Lakes Yeo and Rason and at Bartlett Soak. Moved westward, between 1890 and 1900, to Burtville and Laverton.

Coord.: 124°45'E x 28°45'S.

Area: 23,000 sq. m. (59,800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Nanggatha, Nangandjara, Nganandjara, Nangata, Wangata (perhaps casual error), Dituwonga, Ditu, Ngalapita, Njingipalaru (name given by Waljen—means "different talk"), Alindjara (means "east" and by extension "easterners"; was used by a man of the tribe—"we are the Alindjara").

Ref.: Bates, 1914; Tindale, 1935 MS, 1937, 1940, 1966 MS; Elkin, 1940; Serventy, 1961.

Nangatara 'Naŋaṫara

Loc.: Northwest of the Canning Stock Route, chiefly between Lake Wooloomber and Well 42, n.n. ['Kuljai]; northwestern boundary about halfway between Percival Lakes and Joanna Springs. In drought times they seek water from Karbardi, a place south of Adverse Well; this is a meeting place for five tribes. Main native waters: Ngokanitjarda, Mutikutjara, Kudara, Winba, Kolor, Kuljai, Nadawalu, Lo:ka, Mul:u (Morlu), Tabilji, Badukutjara, Rama, Irilja, Linggura, Kudara, Di:ru, and Kaldjali; none of these is fixed except Kuljai, Nadawalu (Waddawalla, Well 40 of Canning Stock Route), and Di:ru (Tiru, Well 41). The area around Rama in the heart of their territory is called "laribuka" which has a meaning of "hard flat gravel plain." In the recent precontact past they extended their movements northeast to near Kardalapuru (Well 47 on the Canning Stock Route) after the Walmadjari people had withdrawn northward. This is one of the tribes identified as Bedengo from their dependence on the uncertain water supplies of rock hole catchments.

Coord.: 124°45'E x 21°15'S.

Area: 13,800 sq. m. (35,900 sq. km.).

Alt.: Nangadjara, Njangadjara, Julbaritja (of Northern Njangamarda, means "southerners"), Julbaritja (of Mangala), Yulbari-dja, Julbaridja, Ilbaridja, Nanidjara (name seemingly derisive, applied by Wanman to Nangatara and by others to the Wanman), Nangi, Mangai, Mangi.

Ref.: Tindale, 1953 MS, 1963; Worms, 1951, 1952 MS, 1953 pers. comm., 1960; O'Grady in Capell, 1956; Petri, 1955, 1956, 1960, 1965; Berndt, 1957, 1959, 1964.

Ngadadjara 'Ŋa:dadjara

Loc.: At Warburton Ranges, east to Fort Welcome, Blackstone Ranges, Murray Range, and Mount Hinckley; their southeasternmost water being Ero:tjo, just south of Wangalina; northeastward to Kudjuntari in the Schwerin Mural Crescent Range; at ['Julia] (Giles) in the Rawlinson Ranges. North to Hopkins Lake and Carnegie Range and beyond Christopher Lake; west to Tekateka and Jalara and about Alfred Marie Ranges. Gould (1968), confusing tribe and language, considers this not to be a tribe. The Ngatatara of Roheim (1933) are the Jumu of the western MacDonnell Ranges. C. Berndt (1965:243) by implication made an unwarranted equation with this tribe resulting in considerable warping of her data. Much detail about this tribe is recorded in the 16mm films of the 1935 expedition from the University of Adelaide, led by me. Since 1917 the Warara portion of the Ngadadjara have extended their movements into the Petermann Ranges following the eastward shift of the Pitjandjara in that year. Color plates 27 and 28 are relevant. Warupuju Soak in the Warburton Ranges was the site of the studies made in 1935. Unfortunately, in an editorial blunder not seen by this author, Warupuju was given repeatedly in Tindale and George (1971) as though it was a tribal name. In each instance, the tribal name should have been Ngadadjara and the locality Warupuju.

Coord.: 127°15'E x 25°15'S.

Area: 30,000 sq. m. (78,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Nga:da (short form of name), Rumudjara, Witjandja (name of the people of the Warburton Range horde), Wirtjandja (alternative name), Ngadatara (Pitjandjara term), Ngatatjara, Ngatatara (misprint), Ngadjatara, Ngadadara, Nadadjara, Ngadatjara, Ngadawongga, Jabungadja ("mountain Ngadja," i.e., Ngadadjara of Rawlinson Ranges), Warara (name used for the northeastern hordes), Teitudjara (name used by Nan:a to west), Nga:dapitjardi (name applied by western people to hordes near Blackstone Ranges), Nganadjara (name used by Warburton Range hordes for those northeast toward the Rawlinson Ranges, also shortened to Ngan:a), Wan:udjara (eastern Ngadadjara name for their northern hordes at Giles ['Julia] in the Rawlinson Ranges); Ku:rara (name given by Pitjandjara to people of Rawlinson Ranges).

Ref.: Tindale, 1935 MS, 1936, 1937, 1940, 1941, 1957 MS, 1965, 1966 MS, 1968, 1972 (in press); Stocker and Tindale, 1935 films; Serventy, 1961; Tindale and Lindsay, 1963; Berndt, 1964; C. Berndt, 1965; Dunlop et al., 1967 films; Gould, 1967, 1968; Macfarlane, 1969; Tindale and George, 1971.

Ngadjunmaia 'Ŋadjunmaia

Loc.: Goddard Creek south to Mount Ragged, Israelite Bay, and Point Malcolm, possession of the latter place being a matter of dispute with the Njunga people since before contact times; west to Fraser Range; east to near Narethal and to near Point Culver on the coast; at Mount Andrew and Balladonia. They practice circumcision and subincision. Several members of this tribe possessed six fingers and toes. One such family shifted to the Bremer Bay area in historical

time; a girl of the family was photographed by Helms at Fraser Range during the Elder Expedition.

The Ngadjunmaia are known to the southwestern uncircumcised tribes as Wanggara, a term that has a derogatory significance based on the fancied resemblance of their mutilated organs to the beaks of ducks.

Coord.: 123°45′E x 32°15′S.

Area: 20,600 sq. m. (53,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ngadjunpakara, Ngadjunpukara, Ngadjunma (valid short form of name), Ngadju: (['ŋadan] = yes), Ba:donjunga (i.e., subincised men, Wudjari term), Bardok (means "subincised"), Pardoak (Wiilman term), Ngadjumaja (of Njunga tribe to south), Malba (general name for their language; it is applied by southern tribes to the languages of the Kalaako and Kalamaia as well as the Ngadjunmaia; the term really means the "circumcised ones"), Fraser Range tribe, Minninng, West Meening (term coined by P. W. Schmidt), West Mining, Buljigu (dialect spoken by northern Ngadjunmaia hordes).

Ref.: Wells, 1893; Helms, 1896; Schmidt, 1919; Hassell, 1936; Tindale, 1940, 1950 MS, 1966 MS, 1968 MS.

Ngaiawongga 'ŋaiawoŋga

Loc.: Meekatharra north to Gascoyne River; at Mount Maitland and Robinson Range; east to Wiluna and Lakes Way and King; at Peak Hill and Murchison West. An aged Geraldton informant said he knew the people around Meekatherra as the Dirungu. Berndt (1959) placed a term Badu on his sketch map. This term merely indicates the people practiced subincision. The "Yarragabbie" of L. A. Wells's account has been considered to be the same as Yarrabubba 30 miles west-northwest of Meekatharra and beyond the territory of this tribe. Note that ['kabi] and ['baba] both mean water in this area. In 1940 I preferred Ngadawongga as tribal name but Ngaiawongga now seems more accurate; however, this is still one of the least understood tribal areas in Western Australia. Color plate 32 is relevant.

Coord.: 119°45′E x 26°40′S.

Area: 13,200 sq. m. (34,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ngajawonga, Ngaiu-wonga, Ngadhawonga, Ngargawonga, Maliar:a (applied by Wadjari, basic meaning "east"), Wallawe, Waula (means "west" or "northwest," applied by Koara), Pidungu ("rock hole" people—a general term), Madutjara (name used by the Pini).

Ref.: Wells (ca. 1890); Bates, 1913, 1914; Connelly, 1932; Davidson, 1938; Tindale, 1940, 1966 MS; Brandenstein, 1965 MS.

Ngalea (*see* South Australia).

Ngaluma 'ŋaluma

Loc.: Port Walcott, Roebourne and vicinity; at Sherlock River; inland to the foot of the uplands from 40 to 70 miles (65 to 110 km.); east to Depuch Island and Balla Balla; they visited islands off Nickol Bay but not those off Hampton Harbour which belonged to the Jaburara; west almost to Maitland River. Note that Curr's "Markand" River is a misreading of Maitland.

Coord.: 117°30′E x 21°0′S.

Area: 3,300 sq. m. (8,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ngalama, Gnalooma, Gnalouma, Gnalluma, Ngarluma, Qualluana (a misreading of handwriting), Naluma (perhaps draftsman's error), "Nickol Bay" tribe, Kymurra and Paljari (class terms of their social organization).

Ref.: Walcott, 1863; Richardson, 1865; Richardson in Curr, 1886; "Yarbaroo," 1899; Stone, 1899; Withnell, 1901, 1903; Clement, 1903; Giglioli, 1911; Brown, 1912, 1913; Bates, 1914; Connelly, 1932; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS, 1966 MS; Peabody Museum (MS label as Qualluana); Worms, 1953 MS (letter); Berndt, 1959, 1964; Brandenstein, 1965 MS, 1970; A.I.A.S. report, 1966.

Ngardi (*see* Northern Territory).

Ngarinjin 'ŋarinjin

Loc.: From Walcott Inlet at Mount Page, southeast along the north face of the King Leopold Range in the Isdell Valley to Isdell Range, thence east to Phillips Range, the headwaters of Chapman River, Blackfellow Creek, and Wood River; north along the Barnett and Harris Ranges; at Gibb River junction with upper Drysdale; on upper waters of Drysdale River to near Maitland Range; on King River headwaters north to about Mount Reid; west to about Mounts Bradshaw and Hann; southeast to Mount French on the highlands, thence south by west to Walcott Inlet opposite Mount Page. Divided into about forty named local groups or hordes each with a clan and moiety classification. In pre-European times the Ngarinjin were pressing south into territory held by the Punaba. The northern boundary as mapped has been confirmed by the fieldwork of Lucich (1966 MS).

Coord.: 126°0′E x 16°15′S.

Area: 10,500 sq. m. (27,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Gular (name given to hordes between Karunjie and Gibb River Stations by Forrest River people; ['kular] = west), Ungarinjin, Unŋarinjin (as spoken by a Worora), Warnarinjin, Angarinjin, Ngarinjin (as articulated by Moreng), Wangarinjinu (language name), Arawari (lit. "southeastwards," a Worora name), Ingarinjindja (a man of the tribe), Njingarinjanja (a woman of the tribe), Arkarinjindja (people of the tribe), Oladjau (language name used by Miriwung tribe; their contacts are through the Kitja to Ola people), Marangana (name applied to all people who speak like the Ngarinjin), Walmidi (Forrest River name), Andedja (northern term), Andidja, Narrinyind, Ungarinyin, Ungarinjen, Ngaring-ngyan, Ngerringun, Kandjalngari (name of a horde on northern boundary of tribe).

Ref.: Elkin, 1930, 1933; Love, 1931 MS (in letter), 1950; Kaberry, 1939; Capell, 1940, 1963, 1966; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS; Petri, 1952; Mann, 1954; Birdsell, 1954 MS; Coaldrake, 1954 MS; Playford, 1960; Lucich, 1966 MS; Coate, 1966; Lommel, 1969; Coate and Oates, 1970.

Ngarla 'ŋarla (ŋərla)

Loc.: On the coast west of Solitary Island to mouth of the de Grey River; at Pardoo; inland to Mulyie; formerly inland as far as Yarrie but contracting at time of early white contacts. Northernmost of the noncircumcising tribes of the western sea border; formerly a large tribe based on an economy of fishing and eating of *Cyperus* ['ŋalgu] corms. Their upriver boundary was between Kudingaranga (Mulyie Station) and Tjaljaranja (Taluirina Pool). Theirs was the

classic type of social organization in the purity that Brown attributed in error to the Kariara.

Coord.: 119°30′E x 20°10′S.

Area: 2,000 sq. m. (5,200 sq. km.).

Alt.: Nga:la (valid variant), Ngala, Ngerla (valid variant), Ngurla, Ngirla, Ngala, Gnalla, Ngalana, Kudjunguru ("coast dwellers," applied by Njamal to this and Kariara tribe).

Ref.: Harper in Curr, 1886; "Yabaroo," 1899; Giglioli, 1911; Brown, 1912, 1913; Bates, 1914; Connelly, 1932; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS, 1966 MS, Worms, 1953 MS (letter); Petri, 1956, 1960; Berndt, 1959, 1964.

Ngarlawongga 'ŋarlawoŋga

Loc.: Headwaters of the Ashburton and Gascoyne Rivers; south to near Three Rivers and Mulgul; east to Ilgarari.

Coord.: 118°55′E x 20′S.

Area: 8,700 sq. m. (22,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ngalawongga, Nalawonga, Ngarla-warngga, "Southern Pad'ima" Ngalawonga, Ngarla (not to be confused with de Grey River tribe of that name).

Ref.: Brown, 1912, 1913, 1914; Connelly, 1932; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS, 1966 MS; Fink, 1957 MS; Brandenstein, 1965 MS.

Ngolibardu 'ŋolibardu

Loc.: From the Paterson Range south to Rudall River; east only to Mount Broadhurst Range and Rooney Creek; west to Throssell Range; westernmost water, on fringe of Niabali country, was Wongarlong, n.n. ['Waŋali:na]; the tribe was said to be declining even before European times and is now almost extinct; its territory was usurped by the Njangamarda and Kartudjara moving respectively west and north more than fifty years ago. Their waterhole of final refuge in drought was ['Kalamilji] on Rudall River. Key waters were ['Mantamara] (Mandamadda Pool on maps), ['Waritjawa], an unlocalized place west of there ['Janda-ko:tji], ['Wadurara] (Watrara Pool), and ['Punamalaru] (Poonemerlarra Soak). The people were subjected to a feverish sickness about the year 1900 which killed a great many of them and hastened their virtual extinction. See further notes under the Njangamarda heading.

Coord.: 122°0′E x 22°15′S.

Area: 3,300 sq. m. (8,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Tjilakurukuru (regional name for their country).

Ref.: Tindale, 1953 MS.

Ngombal 'ŋombal

Loc.: Vicinity of Barred Creek; south from Coulomb Point to Willie Creek; inland for about 30 miles (50 km.); at Cape Boileau. The name as given in the 1940 work was not acceptable to native informants.

Coord.: 122°25′E x 17°30′S.

Area: 1,200 sq. m. (3,100 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ngormbal, Ngombaru.

Ref.: Bischofs, 1908; Elkin, 1933; Worms, MS; Capell, 1940; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS.

Ngurlu 'ŋurlu

Loc.: Menzies to Malcolm; northwest to Mount Ida; east to Lake Raeside and Yerilla; at Lake Ballard. Their southern boundary lies at the change from their predominantly mulga country to the mallee Eucalypt country of the Maduwongga. After 1890 they were overwhelmed by a westward movement of Waljen and Nangatadjara tribes.

Coord.: 120°50′E x 29°20′S.

Area: 5,000 sq. m. (13,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Jaa (valid alternative), Jata, Njata, Nata, Ngulutjara, Nguludjara, Kuru (valid variant), Kurutjara.

Ref.: Tindale, 1940, 1966 MS.

Niabali 'Niabali

Loc.: Headwaters of Oakover and Davis rivers above their junction; middle waters of the Fortescue River; northwest to Roy Hill; on Weedi Wolli Creek north of the Ophthalmia Range; east to Talawana. About 1890 pressure by Kartudjara forced Niabali to retreat from the northern vicinity of Savory Creek to a boundary on the headwaters of Jiggalong Creek. The Niabali are closely related to the Bailgu with whom they are becoming much mixed. Capell (1963) places his Dargudi in the area of this tribe northwest of the Robertson Range. He uses several spellings and a term Gumbadimaia. It is possible these terms relate to incoming strangers such as the Keiadjara who have been shifting from the east since 1940.

Coord.: 120°10′E x 23°S.

Area: 5,700 sq. m. (14,800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Njiabali (of western neighbors), Njijabali, Iabali, Janari (inlanders or newcomers, i.e., "those who have come," name given by western tribes), Jana.

Ref.: Birdsell, 1953 MS; Tindale, 1953 MS, 1966 MS; Fink, 1957 MS; Berndt, 1959, 1964; Capell, 1963; Brandenstein, 1965 MS; A.I.A.S., 1966.

Nimanburu 'Nimanburu

Loc.: Coast of King Sound from Repulse Point south to include swamp plain at mouth of Fraser River; inland to its sources. They did not use rafts and knew nothing of seagoing. Their speech is described as "heavy Warwa," and they are considered to be related to the Warwa people. I heard their name in the field as above.

Coord.: 124°5′E x 17°15′S.

Area: 1,200 sq. m. (3,100 sq. km.).

Alt.: Nimanboro, Nimanbur, Ninambur (typographical error), Wadiabulu (Njikena name).

Ref.: Petri, 1939; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS; Worms, 1950, 1952 MS; Capell, 1952–1953.

Ninanu 'Ninanu

Loc.: On Lyons and North Lyons rivers west to near Mount Phillips and to Peedawarra Bluff; east to eastern end of Teano Range; south to about Mount Augustus. Von Brandenstein (1965 MS) has heard of another tribal name on the Lyons River, Ngaunmardi, centered on Dooley Downs; these are probably one people since my informants stressed the Ninanu were at Dooley. They practice both circumcision and subincision.

Coord.: 117°20′E x 24°10′S.

Area: 4,500 sq. m. (11,700 sq. km.).

Alt.: ? Ngaunmardi.

Ref.: Brandenstein, 1965 MS; Tindale, 1966 MS.

Njakinjaki 'Njaki'njaki

Loc.: East of Lake Grace; at Newdegate, Mount Stirling, Bruce Rock, Kellerberrin, and Merredin; west to Jitarning; south to Lake King, and Mount Madden; east to near Lake Hope and Mount Holland. They were known to the southern tribes as Njagi and were said to be a naked people with an unintelligible language, in contrast with the skin-cloak-using coastal people who spoke "properly," i.e., as did other southwestern people. The term Mudila (Mudilja, Mudi:a) was applied by the Kalamaia to this and to other southwestern tribes not practicing the rites of circumcision and subincision; it had a derogatory meaning.

Coord.: 118°40'E x 32°30'S.

Area: 12,000 sq. m. (31,200 sq. km.).

Alt.: Njagi (valid alternative), Njagiman (of Njungar), Kokar (['koka:r] = east), Karkar, Kar Kar, Kikkar, "Eastward tribe," Punuatch (a place name Punuatj, now Buniche), Punwatch (in MS).

Ref.: Goldsworthy in Curr, 1886; Graham in Curr, 1886; Hassell, 1936; Tindale, 1940, 1966 MS, 1968 MS; Anon., P.L.W.A. MS doc. 436.

Njamal 'Njamal

Loc.: On the Coongan and Shaw rivers to their headwaters and on the lower reaches of the de Grey River west of Barramine almost to Mulyie and Wodgina; at Marble Bar, Nullagine, Hillside, Bamboo Springs, and Warrawoona. They claim access to the sea on a narrow strip following the Tabba Tabba Creek through Strelley and Pippingarra; the coastal hordes are called the ['Bidu 'Njamal]. Njamal also inhabit the headwaters of the Yule and Turner rivers east of Wodjina. They are the ['Pundju 'Njamal] or "heavy" speakers of Njamal. The area west of the Shaw River divide represents a late precontact territorial gain by the Njamal at expense of Kariara and Indjibandi. These western coastal plain dwellers are also called the ['Tjingkai 'Njamal]; those on the uplands eastward to Bamboo Springs are the ['Jabiru ('Jaburu) 'Njamal], while the hordes on the Nullagina River between Nullagine and Meentheena on the east and north to Callawa are distinguished as the ['Widagari] (they speak "light" Njamal), and consider themselves as only "half Njamal." The Njamal circumcise but make only a token subincision of the glans sufficient to be regarded as "men" by the invading peoples from the east. Physically, the Njamal, like some other western coastal tribes, tend to be heavily built, more like the classic Murrayians of southeastern Australia than the people of the Western Desert. Color Plate 30 is relevant.

Coord.: 120°0'E x 21°10'S.

Area: 16,300 sq. m. (42,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Nyamal, Nyamel, N'amal, Njalmal (probably a draftsman's error), Namal, Namel, Gnamo (in Leiden Museum MS), Tjingkai Njamal (hordes near Strelley River), Ibarga (upper Oakover River hordes), Ibarrga, Ibargo, Njamat (an Indjibandi version of name), Wanbarda (Njangamarda name for this, the Ngarla and the Kariara tribe, it means "lowlands people"), Widagari (the southeastern hordes of Njamal), Widagaree, Wirdakarri, Weedokarry, Weedookary, Pundju Njamal ("heavy" speakers of Njamal), Pundu N'amal.

Ref.: Barlee in Curr, 1886; Harper in Curr, 1886; Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6506); Withnell, 1901; Clement, 1903; Brown, 1912, 1913; Bates, 1914; Connelly, 1932; Davidson, 1938; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS; Worms, 1954; Petri, 1956, 1960; Fink, 1957 MS; Berndt, 1959, 1964; Davidson and McCarthy, 1957; Brandenstein, 1965 MS.

Njangamarda 'Njaŋamarda

Loc.: Eighty Mile Beach north of Cape Keraudren to Anna Plains; inland about 200 miles (320 km.).

Divided into two subtribes using different and conflicting arrangements of four-class social organization, preventing intermarriage; a northern, Nabardu or Waljuli, centered on the salty springs inland from Eighty Mile Beach, and a southern Ngapakarnu, centered on [Wa'kali'kali] (Lake Waukarlycarly of maps); together embracing more than twenty-five hordes.

In the preferred terminology the northern coastal Njangamarda are called Kundal and the southern inland ones are Iparuka. In early historical time the Iparuka Njangamarda usurped the territory of the Ngolibardu tribe around Throssell Range. Including this, their territory extends from Rudall River northeast to ['Karbardi] near Swindell Field east of ['Tjandalkuru], (Tindalgoo on maps), thence west to near the eastern border of Warrawagine Station. The Kundal Njangamarda go from this line northwest to ['Manda] (Munda Well on Munro Station) and west to Anna Plains Station, just south of Cape Missiessy, where ['Jawinja], situated beside the present Station homestead, was their northernmost water. Their southwestern boundary lay along the edge of the tableland north of de Grey and Oakover rivers to ['Jalalo] (Ulalling Hills on maps). I have shown the Ngolibardu territory as it was last century. See further notes under Ngolibardu. Division between the northern and southern groups of the Njangamarda hordes runs approximately along a line drawn between Ullaling Hills and Tjandaljuru. In ancestral times Karbardi was a center for both branches of the tribe.

Coord.: Njangamarda Kundal 121°45'E x 20°0'S.

Area: 16,000 sq. m. (41,600 sq. km.).

Coord.: Njangamarda Iparuka 122°15'E x 21°20'S.

Area: 8,700 sq. m. (22,600 sq. km.) excluding Ngolibardu area.

Alt.: Njangamada, Nyangamada, Nangamada, Nangamurda, Njangomada (cerebral d *fide* Petri), Njangumada, Njangumarda, Nangumarda, Njangomada, Nyangumada, Nyangumata, Njadamarda (typographical error), Njanjamarta, Ngapakoreilitja (northern name for southern Njangamarda, "southern waters people"), Ngardungardu (term used by northern Njangamarda in contrast to the Nanudu [Nganudu] or "southern people"), Warmala (general derogatory term applied by northern Njangamarda to southern people), Kundal (a name for coastal Njangamarda of the north), Kundal and Waljuli Njangamarda (southern inlanders names for northern coastal Njangamarda), Kularupulu (name applied jointly to coastal Njangamarda and Karadjari), Iparuka (name used by southern hordes), I:baruga, Ngapakarna (another southern Njangamarda name for themselves), Iparuka (of coastal tribespeople for southern hordes), Ibarga, Ibarrga, Ibargo.

Ref.: Brown, 1912; Bates, 1914; Capell, 1930, 1956, 1965; Connelly, 1932; Piddington, 1932; Piddington and Piddington, 1932; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS; Worms, 1954; Petri, 1955, 1956, 1960, 1965; Davidson and McCarthy, 1957;

O'Grady, 1957 MS (in letter), 1960, 1964; Australian Encyclopedia, 1958; Odermann, 1958; McCarthy, 1961, Wurm, 1965; Jones, 1965; A.I.A.S. report, 1966; Tindale and George, 1971.

Njikena 'Njikena

Loc.: Lower Fitzroy River from Yeeda upstream to Noonkanbah, on both banks; an eastern section of the tribe, called Wanji or Tjaba, extends from Mount Wynne and Nuranura Ridge on the northern side of the river to Fitzroy Crossing; north to Oscar Range, Kimberley Downs, and Meda; southwest to scarp of Edgar Ranges and Dampier Downs; on lower waters of Jurgurra (Wilson) Creek. The eastern hordes relied on ['Ilimbiri], a spring near Mount Percy for water in drought times, but in pre-European times were confronted here by hostile strangers, the Punaba, whom they fought; they had not met in friendly fashion. Some of the Tjaba hordes of the tribe today could understand Punaba and there has been some intermarriage. The Njikena of the desert fringe visited ['Mandikara'kapo] (Dampier Downs) and the upper Tjirkali (Geegully) Creek for water, principally in times of drought, and there they had hostile contact with the Mangala.

Coord.: 124°20'E x 18°10'S.

Area: 11,300 sq. m. (29,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Njigena (valid variant), Nigena, Njigina, Nyigina, Nyi-gini, Njikini (Mangala term), Njigana, Wanji (name for eastern hordes), Tjaba (language name for eastern hordes), Dja:ba, Wanji (Punaba name for eastern Njikena), Yeeda (place name).

Ref.: Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6524, 6575); Bates, 1914; Mjöberg, 1922-1923; Kaberry, 1937, 1939; Petri, 1939, 1952, 1956, 1960; Capell, 1939, 1940, 1952, 1955, 1960, 1965; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS, 1956; Worms, 1950, 1952; Playford, 1960; Coate, 1966.

Njulnjul 'Njulnjul

Loc.: Dampier Peninsula on western side, from Cape Borda south to Sandy Point, extending across peninsula to Carlyle Head and Goodenough Bay; formerly they held more territory on the King Sound side; this was usurped by the Nimanburu.

Coord.: 122°50'E x 16°50'S.

Area: 500 sq. m. (1,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Njolnjol (variant), Nyolnyol, Nyulnyul, Nyul-nyul.

Ref.: Bischofs, 1908; Bates, 1914; Elkin, 1933; Kaberry, 1937, 1939; Nekes, 1937, 1939; Petri, 1939; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS; Worms, 1940, 1951, 1952; Capell, 1956, 1958; Coates, 1966.

Njunga 'Njuŋa:

Loc.: From Young River east to Israelite Bay along the coast and inland for about 30 miles (50 km.), with a disputed area between Point Malcolm and a native place called ['Ka:p'kidja'kidj], at the northern end of Israelite Bay, claimed also by the Ngadjunmaia. These people had begun to accept circumcision but not subincision and had separated from hordes west of Young River who refused to undergo the rite and preferred the name Wudjari, although they also used on occasion the eastern name Nunga. The two have been mapped as separate tribes on the authority of several old men still living, including Murray Newman, now over eighty years of age. Many of the people had been taken by Bishop Salvado to the mission at New Norcia long before my chief informant was born and they had never returned; some descendants are now at Goomalling. References are combined with those for Wudjari.

Coord.: 122°10'E x 33°45'S.

Area: 5,100 sq. m. (13,300 sq. km.).

(*See* Wudjari for references, etc.)

Noala 'Noala

Loc.: Coastal plain from about Cape Preston near the mouth of Fortescue River southwest in a strip about 40 miles (65 km.) wide to a line running south from Onslow, but not extending to the Ashburton River, which is held by the Talandji. They kept near the seashore and went out to the Barrow and Monte Bello islands using a form of wooden "canoe." They neither circumcised nor subincised. They were closely related to the Talandji and have been regarded as a subtribal unit; this is denied by informants. Their inland areas away from the creeks could be visited only when claypans were filled after rain. Most of the living came from fish traps set at tidal inlets. Some of these traps were observed by King (1827, i:31). Jadira people from inland sometimes came to the coast by trespassing on their territory.

Coord.: 115°35'E x 21°30'S.

Area: 2,200 sq. m. (5,700 sq. km.).

Alt.: Nuala, Ngoala, Noella, Noanamaronga (Mardudunera term), Nooanamaronga, Jawanmala (means "downstream people," name used by the Indjibandi), Nunkaberi.

Ref.: King, 1827; "Yabaroo," 1899; Brown, 1912, 1913, 1914; Schmidt, 1919; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Connelly, 1932; Tindale, 1953 MS, 1966 MS; Fink, 1957 MS; Brandenstein, 1965 MS.

Nokaan 'Noka:n

Loc.: From Curbur south on the plateau country west of the Murchison to Yallalong and Coolcalaya; south to the inland vicinity of Northampton; they only extended to the coast in earliest contact times. Unlike their northern neighbors, the Nanda and Malgana and the people south of Geraldton, the Amangu, they practiced circumcision as a male rite of initiation. They did not have the additional rite of subincision.

Coord.: 115°20'E x 27°35'S.

Area: 4,700 sq. m. (12,200 sq. km.).

Alt.: Noga:n (as spoken by Malgana people), Nagadja (eastern people, general term applied by Amangu to circumcised people east of Geraldton), Nagodja (pronunciation of a Wadjari man), Ngadja, Akadja, Akady, Akadi, Wiludjanu (language name given by Wadjari, means "western talk").

Ref.: Walcott, 1863; Fink, 1965 MS; Tindale, 1966 MS.

Ola 'O:la

Loc.: North side of King Leopold Range east of Isdell Range; north to Phillips Range and watershed of Hann and upper Fitzroy rivers; east to Bluff Face Range on a line joining Elgee Cliffs and the Burramundy Range. One of their main camping areas is near Mount House. Additional information obtained by Birdsell in 1954 shows that the Ola

went down the Chapman and Durack rivers to Karunjie and to just above the New York Jump Ups, completely cutting off the Ngarinjin tribe from direct contact with the Kitja. They do not extend east to the Salmond River. They go west to Mount Hart.

Coord.: 126°45′E x 17°0′S.

Area: 7,800 sq. m. (20,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wo:la, Wola, Wula, Waladjangari, Woladjangari, Woolaja, Walandjari, Wolmardai, Waringari (of Ngarinjin, general term, has implications of cannibalism; applied also to Kitja), Oladjau (name applied by Miriwung to several Ngarinjin speaking peoples), Ngarangari, Ngalangari, Ngaiangari ("top of range dwellers," general term applied by Ngarinjin), Wardia (a horde at Ellenbrae).

Ref.: Kaberry, 1939; Capell, 1940; Tindale, 1953 MS; Birdsell, 1954 MS; Coaldrake, 1954 MS.

Ongkarango 'Oŋkaraŋo

Loc.: Northeastern side of King Sound from east side of Stokes Bay north to Crawford Bay and the eastern islands of the sound from Helpman Island to Caffarelli; not on inshore islands east of Byron Island. On mainland they went inland only for about 10 miles (15 km.). They were more a land-dwelling people than their raft-using neighbors, the Umede, but they visited Helpman Island on rafts made of light mangrove poles and also visited Wilima, an island at the mouth of Meda River directly off Warwa territory.

Coord.: 123°30′E x 16°35′S.

Area: 400 sq. m. (1,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ongkarang (valid alternative), O:kwata (language name), Unggarangi.

Ref.: Tindale, 1953 MS; Coate, 1966.

Ongkomi 'Oŋkomi

Loc.: Leopold Range south of the gorge of the Isdell River; westward to headwaters of Robinson River; southeast to Richenda River; south only to Lennard River and Chestnut Creek; principally on the higher limestone range and plateau country. This tribe was listed but omitted in error from the 1940 map. The spelling (Wongkomi) given in 1940 was not confirmed during fieldwork in 1953.

Coord.: 124°50′E x 17°5′S.

Area: 3,800 sq. m. (9,900 sq. km.).

Alt.: Ong Komi, Wongkomi, Unggumi, Ongaranjan (name as spoken by one of them living among Ngarinjin), Ungumi, Ungami, Ngarangari (i.e., "living on top" of the range; said of the Ongkomi by the Ngarinjin.

Ref.: Elkin, 1933; Capell, 1939, 1940, 1956, 1965; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS; Mann, 1954.

Pandjima 'Pandjima

Loc.: Upper plateau of the Hamersley Range south of the Fortescue River; east to Weediwolli Creek near Marillana; south to near Rocklea, on the upper branches of Turee Creek east to the Kunderong Range. In later years under pressure from the Kurama, they moved eastward to Yandicoogina and the Ophthalmia Range forcing the Niabali eastward. They also shifted south to Turee and Prairie Downs driving out the Mandara tribe, now virtually extinct. ['Punduwana], a native place not yet located, was their main refuge water in very dry times; other refuges were in Dales Gorge and at ['Mandjima] (Mungina Creek on maps). They practiced both circumcision and subincision in their male initiation ceremonies.

Coord.: 118°15′E x 22°50′S.

Area: 6,600 sq. m. (17,200 sq. km.).

Alt.: Mandanjongo (top people; applied by Njamal to plateau dwellers including the Pandjima and Indjibandi), Bandjima (as pronounced by western tribespeople), Panjima, Pand'ima.

Ref.: Brown, 1912, 1913; Connelly, 1932; Tindale, 1953, 1966 MS; Worms, 1954; Fink, 1957 MS; Berndt, 1964; Brandenstein, 1965 MS; A.I.A.S., 1966.

Pibelmen 'Pi:bəlmen

Loc.: Lower Blackwood River; chiefly on the hills in country between the Blackwood and Warren rivers; east to Gardner River and Broke Inlet; on Scott River; inland to Manjimup and Bridgetown.

Coord.: 115°50′E x 34°20′S.

Area: 3,100 sq. m. (8,100 sq. km.).

Alt.: Pepelman, Peopleman, Piblemen (misprint in 1940 edition), Bibulman, Bibulmun, Bibu:lmoun, Bibbulmun, Bebleman (MS), Pibilum (means stingray), Bibilum (MS), Meeraman (of Koreng), Murram (of Minang), Bajongwongi (a language name).

Ref.: Nind, 1832; Gifford in Curr, 1886; Graham in Curr, 1886; Mathews, 1910 (Gr. 6516); Giglioli, 1911; Bates, 1915, 1923, 1927; Tindale, 1940, 1966 MS; O'Grady, 1957 MS; Australian Encyclopedia, 1958; P.L.W.A. MS doc. 436; Bussell, MS; P.L.W.A. doc. 1648A; Nina Layman, undated MS (typescript).

Pindiini 'Pindi:ni

Loc.: Northern margin of Nullarbor Plain from north of Hughes, So. Aust., to north of Loongana; northward from the plain margin for about 150 miles (240 km.). An important water is the unidentified place ['Kaluru] = ['Koljoru]. This is not Queen Victoria Spring, which bears the same name. The name Pindiini was first heard at Ooldea in 1934; its definitive character was only learned after 1940 when some men objected to the term Wonggai. According to the Pitjandjara, who name them ['Wonggai:'wati], the term has the implication of "thievery." Thus, according to J. E. Johnson (verb. comm., 1960), mice stealing flour from a bag were referred to as Wonggai:. Most of them migrated to Ooldea in the 1930s and they are now at Yalata, So. Aust., where, along with the Ngalea, Abbie measured them, assuming they belonged to the south coast. The true Murrayian type people of the coast, the Mirning and Wirangu, were measured by Birdwell in 1939 and by T. D. Campbell and others in 1928.

Coord.: 127°30′E x 29°30′S.

Area: 11,500 sq. m. (29,900 sq. km.).

Alt.: Bindinini, Bindunda, Wonggai, Wongaidya, Wongaii, Wonkai (variant pronunciation by a member of the tribe when deriding the name), Wanggada, Wanggaji.

Ref.: Bates, 1918; Black, 1933; Tindale, 1934 MS, 1940, 1964 MS, 1966 MS, 1968 MS; Berndt, 1942; Australian Encyclopedia, 1958; Walsh, 1958 (verb. comm.), Tindale in Greenway, 1963; Abbie, 1967.

Pindjarup 'Pindjarəp

Loc.: Pinjarra to Harvey and Leschenault Inlet; lower reaches of Murray River. The real name of this tribe possibly has been lost; its members are extinct. The only recent data is from Kaneang sources. Banyowla was named as its leading man by Lyon (1833). The accounts by Roth (1903) and by Hammond (1933) of his "South West tribe" appear to belong to this people.

Coord.: 115°55'E x 32°55'S.

Area: 1,800 sq. m. (4,700 sq. km.).

Alt.: Pinjarra (place name), Penjarra, Pidjain, Peejine (Murray people), Murray tribe, South West tribe (see comments in text), Banyowla, Bangoula (name of a man of this tribe), Banyoula, Kuriwongi (name applied to language), Yaberoo (of people near Wonnerup; basic meaning is "north," i.e., "northerners").

Ref.: Lyon, 1833; Grey, 1839; Aborigines Protection Society, 1841; Roth, 1903; Bates, 1915; Hope, 1916 MS; Hammond, 1933; Tindale, 1940; Nina Layman, undated MS (typescript).

Pini 'Piñi

Loc.: West of Lakes Carnegie and Wells to Millrose and Barwidgee; at Erlistoun Creek and Lake Darlot. North to Wongawol and Princes Range. This is a tribe discrete from the Tjalkadjara, although they speak allied dialects of the Western Desert type. Capell (1963) was incorrect in listing them as one people.

Coord.: 122°0'E x 26°55'S.

Area: 14,000 sq. m. (36,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Piniiri (valid variant), Piniridjara, Biniridjara, Pandjanu, Bandjanu (locality term, now Bandya Station), Banjanu, Tjubun, Madutjara (term applied by the Nangatadjara), Jabura ("northerners," name used by Tjalkadjara), Birni (a supposed name of their language probably a corruption of Piniiri), ? Buranudjara, Nangaritjara (name of their speech as used by Tjalkadjara), Wordako (said by a Ngadadjara man to be a language name of the Lake Darlot people; also used for Tjalkadjara).

Ref.: Mason, 1895 MS (vocabulary only); Mathews, 1907 (Gr. 6488); Tindale, 1940, 1966 MS; Epling, 1953 MS; Capell, 1963; Berndt, 1964.

Pintubi (*see* Northern Territory).

Potidjara 'Po:tidjara

Loc.: South of Lake George; east of Lake Disappointment, n.n. ['Podali]; their boundary with Mandjildjara is at Tjundutjundu (Dundadjinda Well 30 on Canning Stock Route). In times of drought they came south for water to Kadidi on Wongawol Station near Lake Augusta and to Tjangara (not marked on maps). The latter is a good sand soak of the ['raga] or moon totem. Pulburumal (Canning Stock Route Well 12) is the southernmost named place within their earlier tribal knowledge; at Lawulawu (Canning Stock Route Well 16) they met the Kartudjara. Eastward their territory extended to Mendel, somewhere considerably beyond the southeastern point of Lake Disappointment in the direction of Hutton Range and east to Kolajuru, an unidentified place probably near 124°30'E x 23°20'S. Berndt (1964) seems to have transposed positions of this tribe and Kartudjara on his sketch map. Brandenstein's and Berndt's maps place the names of these people in places only visited since tribal disruption took place in the 1930s.

Coord.: 123°15'E x 24°0'S.

Area: 20,000 sq. m. (52,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Potitjara, Putitjara, Budidjara, Bududjara, Purditara, Budidjara, Pawutudjara, Paodudjara, Patudja, Patudjara, Partutudjara, Bawndudjara, Partutu (of the Walmadjari among whom some appeared coming from the south), Ngondidjara (Kartudjara name), Kaltalbudara (of Mandjildjara), Kaltalbudjara, Kaltalbudjira, Poroko (name used by Kokatja at Balgo Mission), Partutu (descriptive term "lake people" applied to people associated with lake country; for example, by the Ngardi to the Pintubi; it appears as a suffix in such names as Kanapartu [Lake Mackay]), Bardu-wonga, Badu, Pardu, ? Tutudjara.

Ref.: Bates, 1914; Tindale, 1953 MS, 1957 MS, 1966, 1966 MS; Birdsell, 1954 MS; O'Grady, 1958 MS; Berndt, 1959, 1964; Lindquist, 1961; Berndt and Berndt, 1964; Brandenstein, 1965 MS.

Punaba 'Punaba

Loc.: North boundary along Lady Forrest Range; west to Mount Broome; along divide of Richenda River to Granite Range and Mount Percy; southeast along Oscar Range to Brooking Springs; along Geikie Gorge and scarp of Geikie Range northeast to the headwaters of Stony Creek. Includes the whole of the eastern half of the King Leopold Ranges, particularly on the limestone areas. Ilimbiri, a spring near Mount Percy was a common refuge water shared with the Ongkomi and Njikena but in precontact times the Njikena had been hostile. Tradition in the tribe says they were driven south out of the Leopold Ranges by the Ngarinjin before the coming of white men.

Coord.: 125°40'E x 17°45'S.

Area: 2,500 sq. m. (6,500 sq. km.).

Alt.: Bunaba, Punamba (of Ngarinjin), Kunamba (derogatory version by other tribespeople, 'kuna = dung), Bunapa, Booneba.

Ref.: Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6447); Kaberry, 1932, 1939; Elkin, 1933; Capell, 1939, 1940, 1952, 1965; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS; Worms, 1950, 1952 MS; Australian Encyclopedia, 1958; Playford, 1960.

Talandji 'Talandji

Loc.: Along the Ashburton River from the coast to Nanutarra, Boolaloo, and the lower Henry River. They neither circumcise nor subincise. Their extension to the coast at Exmouth Gulf is probably all due to late migration, the postcontact position was shown on the first edition of my map. An ultimate water supply base on the coast was an offshore fresh water spring or springs at ['Pi:ltan], now within the township area of Onslow.

Coord.: 115°10'E x 22°25'S.

Area: 4,500 sq. m. (11,700 sq. km.).

Alt.: Talanji, Talanjee, Dalandji, Talaindji (valid alternative), Talainji, Tallainji, Dalaindji, Djalendi, Talandi, Tallainga (? misprint), Dalangi (g = dj).

Ref.: "Yabaroo," 1899; Brown, 1912, 1913; Bates, 1914; Radcliffe-Brown, 1929, 1930; Connelly, 1932; Fowler, 1940; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS, 1966 MS; Davidson and McCar-

thy, 1957; Fink, 1957 MS; Australian Encyclopedia, 1958; Berndt, 1959; Brandenstein, 1965 MS; A.I.A.S. report, 1966.

Targari 'Targari

Loc.: On Lyndon Station and the coastal plain south of the Lyndon River and west of Round Hill; east to Hill Springs and Minilya River headwaters; south to Middalya, Moogooree, and Kennedy Range. Post-European migration took them east to the Lyons River. This late event was reflected in the 1940 map.

Coord.: 114°55'E x 23°50'S.

Area: 3,200 sq. m. (8,300 sq. km.).

Alt.: Tarugari, Dargari, Tarkari, Tarkarri, Dalgari, Tarlgarri.

Ref.: "Yabaroo," 1899; Brown, 1912, 1913; Bates, 1914; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Connelly, 1932; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS, 1966 MS; Fink, 1957 MS; Brandenstein, 1965 MS.

Tẹdei 'Tedei

Loc.: Eastern coast of Shark Bay and valley of the Wooramel River from the coast north of Yaringa, inland to the headwaters, north only to Pimbie, Carey Downs, and the southern vicinity of Towrana. They ranged only one day's walk away from the river. A noncircumcising tribe. Color plate 33 is relative.

Coord.: 114°55'E x 25°40'S.

Area: 3,100 sq. m. (8,100 sq. km.).

Alt.: Tjoki, Choe-kie, Chockie.

Ref.: Oldfield, 1865; Bradenstein, 1965 MS; Tindale, 1966 MS.

Tenma 'Te:nma

Loc.: Head of Henry River; Barlee Range; Frederick River; on Marillana.

Coord.: 115°55'E x 23°20'S.

Area: 2,300 sq. m. (6,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Te:n (valid alternative), Teen.

Ref.: Brown, 1912, 1913; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Connelly, 1932; Brandenstein, 1965 MS; Tindale, 1966 MS.

Tjalkadjara 'Tjalkadjara

Loc.: Northeast of Laverton to Lake Throssell; west nearly to Darlot; at Erlistoun; north to Lake Wells. Their water supplies were largely from the roots of eucalypts. The oldest living survivor was born at ['Pabul] (Babool Rockhole on maps) northeast of their claimed boundary at ['Baldja] (Baldya Soak on maps). Capell (1963) incorrectly associated this tribe with the Pini under his term "Birni" and "Biniridjara." They were driven northwestward to Darlot after 1900 by pressure from Nangatadjara. Possession of their red ochre mine at Taralguta, north of Laverton, was a cause of conflict with other tribespeople. It was a solid red ochre (not powdery) much traded to tribes in the northwest.

Coord.: 123°0'E x 27°50'S.

Area: 11,300 sq. m. (29,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Talkumara and Tjalkandjara (valid alternatives), Tjalkakari (means "come this way"), Wordako (language name), Tjalkani, Djalgani, Djalgandi, Tjalgandi, Erlistoun tribe (of Mathews), Dituwonga (language name given by Waljen).

Ref.: Mathews, 1907 (Gr. 6488); Tindale, 1940, and MS; Berndt and Berndt, 1942; Berndt, 1959; Capell, 1963.

Tjeraridjal 'Tjerari'dja:l

Loc.: At Queen Victoria Spring, n.n. ['Mun:u'runa] also called ['Kaluru]; west to about Kurnalpi, Lake Yindarlgooda, Piniin, and Karonie; on Ponton and Goodard creeks; east to near Naretha on the edge of the treeless Nullarbor Plain. Southern boundary is a little farther south than shown on the 1940 map. Northeastern boundary shown only approximately as at ['Kapi Kirkela] and ['Tjikarunja], native places not yet fixed. Serventy traversed some of their country and gives details of the ecology.

Coord.: 123°45'E x 30°35'S.

Area: 14,700 sq. m. (38,200 sq. km.).

Alt.: None has been reported.

Ref.: Tindale, 1940; Serventy, 1961.

Tjuroro 'Tjuroro

Loc.: On Ashburton River southeast from Kooline to Ashburton Downs and Turee Creek junction; north and south only to the headwaters of local creeks on Kenneth and Capricorn Ranges north only to the beginning of the higher land overlooking Hardey River. Their name is said to mean "lowlanders" in contradistinction to "uplanders," the Kurama.

Coord.: 117°0'E x 23°20'S.

Area: 2,200 sq. m. (5,700 sq. km.).

Alt.: Tjororo (valid variant), Tjururu (another version), Tjururo, Churoro, Chooroo, Chooraroo, Djururo.

Ref.: "Yabaroo," 1899; Brown, 1912, 1913; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Connelly, 1932; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS, 1966 MS; Brandenstein, 1965 MS; A.I.A.S. report, 1966.

Umede U:'mede

Loc.: Coast and inlets south of Yampi Sound to Cone Bay, islands from Koolan Island north to Macleay Island, west to Bathurst Island, Bayliss Island, and islands in Strickland Bay; inland usually only to the watershed, but they claimed country near Shoal Bay afterward taken by the Worora and the country south to Oobagooma. Some of the people were taken to Beagle Bay where they died. Some mixed blood descendants live in Broome. They were principally a nomadic raft-using people who lived on offshore islands and were friendly with the Djaui and Ongkarango.

Coord.: 123°55'E x 16°25'S.

Area: 1,800 sq. m. (4,700 sq. km.).

Alt.: Umeda, Umidi, Aobidai (of Ongkarango), Umi:da, Oken, Okat, Okwata, O:ka:ta, O:kada (alternative name applied by themselves; used as a language term by the Ongkarango who speak the same language).

Ref.: Tindale, 1953 MS; Coate, 1966.

Wadjari 'Wadjari

Loc.: North to the hills overlooking the head of the Lyons River, Teano Range, Mount Isabella, Waldburg Range; on upper Gascoyne River west of Three Rivers; at Erivilla and Milgun; south to Cheangwa and the Roderick and upper Sanford rivers. The terms Jana, Janu, Njanu, Nanu, and perhaps Ninu, applied in a tribal sense, are variations of a word ['jana], "to come." It seems to have the general

meaning of "newcomers," and as such is not a definite name for any one group. In the eastern part of Wadjari territory it is associated with several groups of ['biduŋu] or rock hole water-using people who have drifted southwest out of the desert during recent years of drought.

The Wadjari western boundary, in the Byro and Dalgety Downs area, reflects a late expansion from the Murchison valley. This forced the Kurudandi hordes of the Inggarda to shift westward. The line on the map could have been drawn some 40 miles (65 km.) farther to the east in this area. The tribal name is based, as are so many, on their word for "no," ['wadja] or ['wadji]. The hordes in the vicinity of Dalgety Downs claim they are the real Wadjari (the I:rawadjari), but there seems no real justification for showing them as a separate tribe. According to other informants, the place Jagarang (Mount Gould) was the central place in Wadjari territory. This is a remarkably accurate observation as is shown by the map; and the people of that area claim to have kurduwongga, i.e., "true speech."

Coord.: 117°15′E x 26°0′S.

Area: 35,000 sq. m. (91,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wadgaree, Wadjeri, Wajeri, Wajjari, Wajari, Waianwonga, Baialdju (Widi name), Pidong (general term of disrespect meaning "rock hole people" applied to those who depend on precarious water supplies), Wad'arri, Iirrawad'ari, Irawadjari, Kurduwongga (see above), Kurduwonga, Maliara (means "east" and is merely a directional term applied to some hordes in the Sanford River area), Miliarra, Miliara, Cheangwa (a place name south of the middle Sanford River), Wardal (of the Barimaia, means "west," hence by extension "westerners"), Yajeri (typographical error for Wajeri), Jamadji (general term for aborigines in contrast with white men—not a tribal term), Yamaidyi.

Ref.: Gifford in Curr, 1886; Perks in Curr, 1886; Wells, ca. 1890; Richardson, 1900; Brown, 1912, 1913; Bates, 1913, 1914; Connelly, 1932; Day, 1953 MS; Davidson and McCarthy, 1957; Berndt, 1959, 1964; Fink, 1965; Brandenstein, 1966 MS; Tindale, 1966 MS, 1968 MS.

Waljen 'Wa:ljen

Loc.: East of Lake Raeside from Malcolm, Morgans, Laverton, and Burtville, southeast to Edjudina Soaks, n.n. ['I:tjuruna], ['tjortjor] or ['manda 'tjukur] (mopoke totem) and Lake Lightfoot; at Lake Carey; east to beyond Lake Minigwal and a native place, not fixed, called ['Winbalj]. In the 1890s they shifted south to Kalgoorlie in a general southwestward movement. To the Maduwongga and Kalamaia they were Wonggai-juŋara, broadly interpreted as "aggressive men" or "usurpers."

Coord.: 122°45′E x 29°20′S.

Area: 6,000 sq.m. (15,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Koara (means "latecomers" and is applied to any friendly people who have moved into a new area), Waula (means "north side"), wa: = no.

Ref.: Tindale, 1940, 1966 MS.

Walmadjari (Tjiwaling) 'Walmadjari (Tjiwaliŋ)

Loc.: Desert plateau south of the Fitzroy and Christmas Creek valleys from Noonkanbah, n.n. ['Kunkadea], east to Cummins Range; south on the line of the Canning Stock Route to Well 47, n.n. ['Kardalapuru], west from there to about 124°50′E; southwesternmost water used is Ngokanitjardu (unidentified but near 124°50′E x 20°30′S; see reference to this term also under Mangala tribe). In the south by traveling along tribal boundaries they met the Wanman at Munggakulu (perhaps the Adverse Well on maps). Their western boundary ran due north to Mount Fenton. The known Karrage Well, n.n. ['Karakan] is the first water west beyond their territory in that of the Njikena. About four generations ago they usurped some former Konejandi territory, the open downs on the north side of Christmas Creek between Mellon Spring and Landrigan Cliffs. This is shown on the map as their boundary. The term Tjiwaling is used for this tribe mostly by western neighbors and is acceptable only to western members of the tribe; those in the east prefer Walmadjari or speak of themselves as belonging to the "Wanaeka side" in contrast to those of the "Tjiwaling side." Only in dry times did they descend from the George Ranges ['Kalji:da] to get water in the Fitzroy River.

Those who took over the former Konejandi area are called Ngainan. Their main water was south of Fitzroy Crossing at ["Tjandu], a billabong, not located; this group traveled in the desert region southwest of Christmas Creek. The easternmost horde mixed with the Nabijangkadjara hordes of the Kokatja and traveled to Billiluna Station and the vicinity of Gregory Lake. They also went south to Koninara (Godfrey Tank). Indications are that formerly their territory extended south to ['Kuljai], Canning Stock Route, Well 42, but the Nangatara had moved in there at least two generations ago. Only Walmadjari men taken on journeys during their initiation had ever been there.

C. Berndt (1965:13) implies this is a tribe of the west-central Northern Territory. Her data is based on displaced persons transported by Europeans.

Coord.: 125°45′E x 19°25′S.

Area: 15,000 sq. m. (39,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Walmajari (valid eastern pronunciation), Walmadjeri, Walmade're, Wolmadjari, Walmajeri, Wolmaijari, Wulumari, Wolmeri, Wolmera, Walmaharri, Walmaharry, Wolmaharry, Wariŋari Pundur ("cannibal men" name given by Kokatja), Walmajai (Njikena pronunciation), Wulumarai, Wanmadjari, Tjiwaling (Mangala name), Djualin, Tjiwali, Tjiwalindja, Djiwalinja, Djuwali, Djiwalinj, Ngadjukura (language name), Pitangu (derogatory Kokatja name), Wanaeka, Waneiga, Ngainan (Birdsell in 1954 obtained this from measured natives nos. R1535 and R1541 of Christmas Creek as name of "light Walmadjari" who were said to belong to an area halfway between Christmas Creek and Billiluna), Nganang, Warmala (general term applied to several Western Desert tribes).

Ref.: Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6447), 1901 (Gr. 6549); Elkin, 1933; Kaberry, 1937, 1939; Worms, 1940, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1954, MS; Capell, 1940, 1952, 1956; Berndt, 1950, 1959, 1964; Petri, 1950, 1955; Tindale, 1953 MS, 1956; Birdsell, 1954 MS; Meggitt, 1955; Australian Encyclopedia, 1958; C. Berndt, 1965.

Wandjira (*see* Northern Territory).

Wanman 'Wanman

Loc.: South to McKay Range and Lake Disappointment; west to near Wadurara on Rudall River, north to Lake Dora, Mendidjildjil, and the unlocalized place ['Karbardi] near 123°40′E x 21°0′S; east to Lakes George, Wooloomber,

Auld, and the northern portion of Lake Disappointment. Their southern boundary was at the change from porcupine grass (*Triodia*) plains to the dense mulga (*Acacia aneura*) of the Kartudjara country. In drought they went to Karbardi and Pulburukuritji on the northwestern border of their country, and to Kalamilji on the Rudall River.

Coord.: 123°20′E x 22°10′S.

Area: 9,400 sq. m. (24,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wanmanba (Mandjildjara term), Wanmin, Nanidjara (derisive term applied by others, including the Kartudjara; the Wanman themselves apply it to the Nangatara), Nenidjara, Njanidjara, Warumala (Mangala term; a general term in this part of Western Australia which has a meaning related to "foreigner" also "stranger").

Ref.: Worms, 1952 (in letter), 1958; Tindale, 1953 MS, 1957, 1963; Birdsell, 1954 MS; O'Grady in Capell, 1956; Berndt, 1959, 1964.

Wardal 'Wardal

Loc.: West and northwest of Lake Carnegie to Goodwin Soak on the Canning Stock Route, thence west to the Old Bald Hill Station near Beyond Bluff. South to near Lake Nabberu. The eastern boundaries are chiefly determined by exclusion from areas claimed by neighbors. The basic meaning of their name is "west" and by extension "westerners." No more valid name has appeared. The Barimaia of the Cue area have an alternative name Wardal but they are not related to the present tribespeople. They in their turn call Wadjari people Wardal. This is a situation parallel to the one of the many tribal groupings named Julbaritja, i.e., "southerners" by people who live to their north.

Coord.: 121°10′E x 25°0′S.

Area: 15,600 sq. m. (40,600 sq. km.).

Alt.: Tjitijamba (an indeterminate term sometimes given for this tribe), Tjitjijamba, Waula (means "northerners" applied by Pini).

Ref.: Tindale, 1940, 1966 MS; Brandenstein, 1965 MS.

Wardandi 'Wa:dandi

Loc.: From Bunbury to Cape Leeuwin, chiefly along the coast; at Geographe Bay, the vicinity of Nannup and Busselton. According to one informant, the tribal name is linked with the ['wardan] or crow, but the name given in vocabularies for crow is ['kwa:kum]. They were also called the "seacoast people," and the detailed Nina Layman MS gives "werdandie" also "wartine" as meaning "the sea." In yet another version it is a derivative of the negative term.

Coord.: 115°20′E x 33°50′S.

Area: 1,800 sq. m. (4,700 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wa:dandi (['wa:da] = no), Waddarndi, Wadarndee, Wardandie, Wadjandi, Belliman, "Geographe Bay and Vasse tribe," "Bunbury tribe," Kardagur (lit. "between," i.e., "between the two seas"), Dardanup (a place name), Dordenup, Dunanwongi (name applied to language), Doonin, Dornderupwongy, Jabaru (means north in tribes farther north), Yabaroo, Nghungar (Njunga means man in tribes farther east).

Ref.: Barlee in Curr, 1886; Bates, 1906, 1915; Giglioli, 1911; Hope, 1916 MS; Tindale, 1940, 1968 MS; Brockman, 1949 MS; Buller-Murphy, 1958; A.I.A.S., 1966; Bussell, MS, P.L.W.A. doc. 1648A; Layman, undated MS.

Wariangga 'Warianga

Loc.: Upper Lyons River, also Gifford and Minnie creeks; on Minnie Creek Station, at Edmund and the eastern side of Maroonah. They claimed to have very strict boundaries with surrounding tribes, their term for boundary being ['waðara], which word they share with the Djiwali and Tjuroro.

Coord.: 116°0′E x 24°0′S.

Area: 1,700 sq. m. 4,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wariengga, Warianga, Warienga, Warrijangga, Woorienga, Woorenga, Wariwongga (valid alternative), Wari-wonga, Warriwonga.

Ref.: "Yabaroo," 1899; Brown, 1912, 1913; Bates, 1914; Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Connelly, 1932; Tindale, 1940, 1966 MS; Fink, 1957 MS; Davidson and McCarthy, 1957; A.I.A.S., 1966.

Warwa 'Wařwa (Waruwa)

Loc.: On eastern shores of King Sound from Fraser River to Round Hill, n.n. ['Maria] on Stokes Bay; inland to upper Logue River; on Fitzroy River only to Yeeda; at Derby; north of Meda extending inland about 40 miles (65 km.); eastern and western sections of the tribe almost cut off from each other by movement of Njikena down Fitzroy River before European settlement; contact was maintained only along coastal swamps flooded at high tide (tide rises here up to forty feet (17 m.]). Njikena using English call the western Warwa the "Little Warwa" and those between Purula (Derby) and Meda the "Big Warwa." Some men do not roll the *r* in their tribal name, thus two forms are given above.

Coord.: 123°40′E x 17°15′S.

Area: 3,800 sq. m. (9,900 sq. km.).

Alt.: Waruwa (valid alternative when *r* not rolled), Warwai, Warrwai, Kolaruma ("coast people"; name given by Ongkomi; in some local languages ['kolar] means west).

Ref.: Bates, 1914; Capell, 1940, 1952, 1955; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS; Playford, 1960.

Wenamba 'Wenamba

Loc.: North of Lakes Neale and Hopkins, ranging north to Lake Macdonald and Garden Hills; west to Kurultu ('Kurultja) identified as probably near the Baron Range. In this area mapped positions of such features as Baron Range may vary by as much as 30 miles (50 km.). On a 1960 map it is shown at 127°12′E. The people are also called Wenamba Pintubi and are closely related to the Pintubi, but their territories are separate and they may be considered to have the status of separate tribes. Their dialects are considered different by native informants. The Pitjandjara call them ['A:wuntara] because they were supposed to answer all conversation with them with the word ['a:wu] meaning "yes." They consider them related. Some men of the tribe traveled to Yuendumu Government Station in 1950, went to Haast Bluff and then returned to their country. They were still nomadic in 1963.

Coord.: 128°50′E x 23°50′S.

Area: 10,000 sq. m. (26,000 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wenanba, Wankawinan (a Pitjandjara name for them), Kalgonei (Ngadadjara name for their dialect; as Kalgonei and Kalgoneidjara it is a general term with the general sense of "drifters" or "refugees" applied to at least five tribal groupings), Wanudjara (name given them by

Ngadadjara; also used by them for Pitjandjara), Pintularapi (rude description used by Ngadadjara for Wenamba and Pintubi in general), Mangawara (i.e., "hair bun wearers" from their custom of carrying their tresses tied up in a chignon—a name given them by the Pitjandjara), Kalguni, ? Widanda (Birdsell believed he heard the name as "Widanda" at Cunderlee given for the tribal affiliation of the mother of the person measured as R76), Tjurti (name given them by Pintubi; see discussion in chap. 10).

Ref.: Tindale, 1932 MS, 1933 MS, 1951 MS, 1953, 1964 MS; Birdsell, 1953 MS; Tindale and Lindsay, 1963.

Wenambal 'Wenambal

Loc.: Upper Forrest and Patrick rivers; north to Mount Casuarina and Seppelt Range; west to headwaters of the Berkeley River in a range called Manungu by aborigines. They live chiefly on the plateau and higher ranges of the headwaters of the Berkeley River, n.n. ['Djuri] the real course of which is said to be very different from that shown on some present-day maps; west to about 127°20′E and south to Forrest River headwaters and the Milligan Range but not extending east to Forrest River Mission. There are sixteen or more hordes that together are referred to also as the Balangara. Gwini, a general term, also heard as Kuini and Guji:ni has a known meaning "east." It is applied to this and other eastern tribes by the people of the west. The term has caused some confusion in the past.

Coord.: 127°35′E x 14°50′S.

Area: 2,500 sq. m. (6,500 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wenambal (language term applied north and west of Forrest River Mission but excluding the Miwa), Wanumbaal, Wembria, Wemrade, Namula (horde upstream from Mission), Kulunggulu (a northern horde name), Bugai (a southern horde name), Jura (eastern horde name but may belong to Jeidji tribe), Marokorei (western horde name), Mirray-gona, Bemba (means north, hence Bembara), Jangala (a northeastern horde), Guragona (southeastern horde name but may belong to Jeidji), Guragoona, Waringnari [*sic*] (derogatory name reminding of the Waringari = cannibal term farther inland to the south), Kular (means "northwest"; name applied by coastal people of Cambridge Gulf), Kulari, Mulngane (Berkeley River; perhaps a horde, applied also at Kalumburu to people who come from the northwest), Mulgane.

Ref.: Tindale, 1930, 1953 MS; Elkin, 1933; Kaberry, 1935, 1937; Capell, 1940; Hernandez, 1941; Birdsell, 1954 MS; Coaldrake, 1954 MS.

Whadjuk (Witjari) 'Whadjuk ('Witja:ri)

Loc.: Swan River and northern and eastern tributaries inland to beyond Mount Helena; at Kalamunda, Armadale, Victoria Plains, south of Toodyay, and western vicinity of York; at Perth; south along coast to near Pinjarra. An aged survivor, named Ngepal, of a horde of the tribe living between Perth and Toodyay was met in northwestern Australia in 1953; he had lived a long time in the Hall Creek area and had been in trouble with the law in his youth. He used the term ['Witja:ri] as name for his tribe. According to him the word [i:'wet] = [i:'wat] means "no" in the northern dialect but at Perth the word is ['jaruka]. In earlier writings ['wadə], ['whad], and ['juad] have been suggested for this word. Whether Witjari or Whadjuk is used, there is every reason to suspect that the word for the negative is a basis for the tribal name.

Coord.: 116°5′E x 32°0′S.

Area: 2,600 sq. m. (6,800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wadjuk, Wadjug, Whajook (['whad] = ['wadə] = ['juad] = [i:wat] = no), Witja:ri, Wadjup (name of the flats of the Canning River), Juadjuk, Yooard, Yooadda, Minalnjunga: (Juat term ['minaŋ] = south, ['njuŋa:] = man), Minnal Yungar, Derbal (a name for general locality of Perth), Karakata (a name for Perth), Caractterup tribe, Karrakatta (bank of Swan River at Perth), Ilakuri wongi (name applied to language).

Ref.: Lyon, 1833; Grey, 1839; Clark, 1842; Symmons, 1842; Parker, Scott, Whitfield, Knight, Goldsworthy, Hackett, Morgan, et al. in Curr, 1886; Mathews, 1908 (Gr. 6556), 1910 (Gr. 6516); Giglioli, 1911; Bates, 1915; Hassell, 1936; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS, 1963, 1966 MS; Australian Encylcopedia, 1958.

Widi 'Widi

Loc.: From between Lakes Monger and Moore north to Yuin, Talleringa Peak, and Nalbarra; west to Mullewa and Morawa (Morowa); east to Paynes Find and Wogarno, south of Mount Magnet; at Yalgoo and upper Greenough River. They evidently visited Cheangwa in later times but it was north of their country. At Lake Darlot, two tribes distance away, Widi (as Weedy) was given the description of "too savage; no good" by A. Mason (1895 MS). Northern hordes around Pinegrove pushed southwest to Geraldton down the Irwin and Greenough rivers in early contact times. Their older boundary is shown on map. They practiced both circumcision and subincision.

Coord.: 116°45′E x 28°50′S.

Area: 13,800 sq. m. (35,900 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wiri (valid alternative ['widi] = ['wiri] means "no"), Minango (of Wadjari tribe, means southerners), Minangu, Nanakari (of Nokaan), Nanakati (my people), Barimaia (nondiscriminative name used by Wadjari for this and Barimaia tribe), Jaburu ("northern people," name given by a man of Northam, i.e., probably Balardong).

Ref.: Spencer, 1914; Tindale, 1940, 1966 MS, 1968 MS; Berndt, 1964.

Wiilman 'Wi:lmən

Loc.: At Wagin and Narrogin; on Collie, Hotham, and Williams rivers west to Collie; Wuraming north to Gnowing, Dattening, and Pingelly; east to Wickepin, Dudinin, and Lake Grace; south to Nyabing (Nampup), Katanning, Woodanilling, and Duranilling. Southern and western boundaries correspond with the change in place name terminations from [-iŋ] to [-əp]. The Hassell manuscript as summarized by Davidson includes much Koreng tribe data under the name of this tribe.

Coord.: 117°10′E x 33°10′S.

Area: 6,700 sq. m. (17,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wheelman, Weel, Weal, Weil, Will, Jaburu (Koreng term, i.e., northerners or northwesterners), Williams tribe.

Ref.: Nind, 1832; Brown, 1856; Curr, 1886; Bates, 1914; Hassell (Davidson), 1936; Tindale, 1940; Davidson and McCarthy, 1957; Anon. MS, P.L.W.A. no. 436.

Wilawila 'Wila'wila

Loc.: On Carson and middle Drysdale rivers from near Mount Connelly south to lower Gibb and Durack rivers; an inland tribe. It seems to be the one called Taib by Hernandez. Birdsell (1954 MS) who met a woman of the Wilawila from the upper Drysdale River also found Wolmidi as an alternative for Andedja in the area of this tribe.

Coord.: 126°55'E x 15°10'S.

Area: 5,300 sq. m. (13,800 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wular: (said to be a language name), Taib (horde on Carson River, also claims to be of Miwa tribe), Wulu, Taibange (member of Taib), Munumbara (horde on headwaters of Forrest River), Munumburu, Kalari: (horde on middle Drysdale River), Andedja (horde on southern tributaries of upper Forrest River), Andidja, Andadja, Piarngongo (horde at Mount Beatrice; there is also a horde of Ola tribe of Purunor moiety, and same name, south and southwest of Karunjie), ? Kundjanan, Kandjanan, ? Ullumbuloo.

Ref.: Elkin, 1933; Kaberry, 1935; Davidson, 1938; Capell, 1940; Tindale, 1940; Hernandez, 1941; Birdsell, 1954 MS; Coaldrake, 1954 MS; Lucich, 1966 MS.

Wirdinja 'Wirdinja

Loc.: Robertson Range west to Ophthalmia Range; at Sylvania, Mundiwindi, Murramunda, and Jiggalong; south to heads of Ashburton and Ethel rivers; east along Savory Creek; eastern boundary not well established.

Coord.: 120°20'E x 23°50'S.

Area: 6,200 sq. m. (16,100 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wirdinya, Woordinya, Jabura (basic meaning north), Mardo (means initiated man, i.e., circumcised and subincised. This name was a trap to J. Epling [1953 MS] and to myself on the 1940 map).

Ref.: Brown, 1912, 1913; Bates, 1914; Connelly, 1932; Tindale, 1940, 1966 MS; Epling, 1953 MS; Brandenstein, 1966 MS.

Wirngir 'Wirngir

Loc.: Coast from near Cape Bernier southeast to the lower Lyne River and Vancouver Point; inland no farther than the highlands. There are about nine hordes that have together been called a subtribe in the literature, without indication of specific attachment to any other. They visited Reveley Island which they knew as ['Djaru]. Their language is said to be distinctive. Lucich notes that their supposed language name, Walar, denotes a species of snake and is also the name of a clan of the Miwa tribe. Further work is urgently necessary on this area before tribal boundaries and names can be firmly established.

Coord.: 127°50'E x 14°30'S.

Area: 800 sq. m. (2,100 sq. km.).

Alt.: Walar (supposed language name), Wular, Wola, Wadaja, Winggir (also as Baiane; native names of Cape Dussejour).

Ref.: Elkin, 1933; Kaberry, 1935; Capell, 1940; Tindale, 1953; Lucich, 1966 MS.

Worora Wo'ṙora

Loc.: At Secure Bay and Walcott Inlet; Collier Bay to Prince Regent River; northern boundary passes up Rothsay Water, inland 25 to 30 miles (40 to 50 km.) along Princess May Ranges to Mount Hann and Mount French and cliff base of the tablelands. See detailed map for subtribal and hordal divisions. Some members of the tribe prefer [Wo'rara] as the best form of their name; it is commonly spoken so by Ngarinjin speakers.

Coord.: 124°45'E x 15°40'S.

Area: 4,000 sq. m. (10,400 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wororra, Wurara, Worrora, Worara (pronunciation of Ngarinjin speakers), Maialnga (supposed name of a northern horde but Lucich [1966 MS] could not confirm it with Worora informants).

Ref.: Bates, 1914; Love, 1915, 1917, 1931 MS, 1932, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1941, 1945, 1950, and MS; Basedow, 1925; Robertson, 1928; Elkin, 1930, 1933; Petri, 1939; Capell, 1940, 1956; Tindale, 1940, 1953 MS; Hernandez, 1941; Fry, 1950; Playford, 1960; Lucich, 1966 MS; Coate, 1966; Lommel, 1969.

Wudjari 'Wudjari

Loc.: From near Gairdner River east to Point Malcolm; inland to edge of coastal slope, approximately 30 miles (50 km.); at Kent, Ravensthorpe, Fanny Cove, Esperance, and Cape Arid; western members were moving toward Bremer Bay in earliest historical time; those members of the tribe living east of Fanny Cove and Young River had, within earliest historical time, begun to adopt circumcision and therefore they were called Bardonjunga or Bardok by the rest of the tribesfolk; they were becoming a separate tribe; these eastern hordes preferred the term Njunga; they disputed with the Njadjunmaia over possession of the area between Mount Ragged and Israelite Bay. (See special comments in text of chap. 5 and under Njunga.)

Coord.: 119°45'E x 33°40'S.

Area: 6,900 sq. m. (17,900 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wudjarima (extended form of name), Wudjari:ma, Wuda, Wudja, Widjara, Warangu (valid alternative), Kwaitjman (of northern tribes), Ngokwurring, Ngokgurring, Nunga, Njungar, Nyungar, Nonga, Yunga (['nuŋa = 'noŋa = 'njoŋa = 'njuŋa = 'njuŋar] = man), Bremer Bay tribe (area originally not theirs), Yungar, Njungura (name applied by a Mirning man of Ooldea who went to Esperance by train and found friendly southern people there), Karkar (Karkar = east, name applied by Willman), Cäskear [*sic*] (presumably misreading of handwritten word of the form Carkcar, i.e., Karkar) ? Daran (name at Perth applied to eastern tribespeople who saw the sun rising from the sea [Moore 1884]).

Ref.: Moore, 1884; Chester in Curr, 1886; Taylor in Curr, 1886; Helms, 1896; Garnier in Hugenin, 1902; Mathews, 1910 (Gr. 6525); Giglioli, 1911; Hassell, 1935, 1936; Tindale, 1940, 1966 MS, 1968 MS; Brockman, 1949 MS; Douglas, 1966 MS, 1968.

Wunambal 'Wunambal

Loc.: York Sound; coast north of Brunswick Bay, northward to Admiralty Gulf and the Osborne Islands; inland about 25 to 30 miles (40 to 50 km.). Cape Wellington peninsula north and east to Port Warrender and the little known area to east; inland to the divide of the King Edward River; two distinctive small groups or hordes of raft voyagers lived on islands to northwest, the Laiau on the Institut Group and the now extinct Wardana on the Montalivet Group. The

Peremanggurei horde was at the head of Prince Frederick Harbour while the Tjawurungari (Tawandjangango) were on the Osborne Islands. The last-named were also called Wilawila people and their language is thought to have affinities with Kambure. According to a native informant they are "light Kambure" speakers. Another tribe claiming the name Wilawila lives on the Carson River (*see separate heading*). The making of wooden canoes had been learned from the Malays; these were cut from trees in the limited areas of rain forest present in the area. The practice of making them was spreading southwest at the rate of about 50 miles (80 km.) per generation.

Coord.: 125°30′E x 14°50′S.

Area: 3,800 sq. m. (9,900 sq. km.).

Alt.: Wunambulu, Wunambullu, Wanambal, Laiau (small tribe or horde name), Wardana (extinct small tribe or horde name), Winjai (term for an eastern horde), Kanaria (northeastern horde near Port Warrender), Peremanggurei (horde name), Jamindjal, Jarmindjal ("northeasterners," a term applied by Worora), Unambal, Wonambul, Wumnabal (? typographical error), Wunambulu, Unambalnge (people of tribe).

Ref.: Bates, 1914; Elkin, 1930, 1933; Love, 1931 MS (in letter), 1932; Kaberry, 1939; Capell, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1965; Hernandez, 1941; Lommel, 1949, 1952; Petri, 1950, 1952; Tindale, 1953 MS; Birdsell, 1954 MS; Mann, 1954; Odermann, 1959; Lucich, 1966 MS; Coates, 1966; Lommel, 1969.

PART III

ALTERNATIVES, VARIANT SPELLINGS, AND INVALID TERMS

List of Alternatives, Variant Spellings, and Invalid Terms Associated with Australian Tribes

Alternatives are given for as many as possible of the recorded variations in spelling appearing in print and in original sources. Variants are legion under the influence of the barbarous method by which many English speakers attempt to match any unfamiliar term they hear against some unspecified English word model to which for the moment it may seem to bear a resemblance. Under the circumstances it is unlikely that every perpetrated spelling has been caught because all possibilities have not yet been exhausted; however, those listed are very likely to lead to the term or to the spelling nearest to the pronunciation used by the aborigines and thus favored in this work.

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
A:mini	Ngameni	SA
A:rwu:r	Kakadu	NT
A:wuntari	Wenamba	WA
Abedal	Kakadu	NT
Abercrombie tribe	Ngadjuri	SA
Abodja	Wikapatja	Q
Ad-dok	Ngardok	NT
Adelaide tribe	Kaurna	SA
Adetingiti	Winduwinda	Q
Adjadura	Narangga	SA
Adjahdurah	Narangga	SA
Adjinadi	Atjinuri	Q
Adjnjakujani	Kujani	SA
Adjnjamatona	Wailpi	SA
Adnjamadana	Wailpi	SA
Adnjamatana	Wailpi	SA
Adowen	Djauan	NT
Adyamatana	Wailpi	SA
Agaminni	Ngameni	SA
Aggrakundi	Wulwulam	NT
Agigondin	Wulwulam	NT
Agikwala	Wulwulam	NT
Agiqwolla	Wulwulam	NT
Agiwallem	Wulwulam	NT
Agoguila	Wulwulam	NT
Agrikondi	Wulwulam	NT
Agwamin	Ewamin	Q
Agwiallem	Wulwulam	NT
Ahminie	Ngameni	SA
Ahminnie	Ngameni	SA
Ahnbi	Banbai	NSW
Aiabadu	Ajabatha	Q
Aiabakan	Ajabakan	Q
Aiawong	Ngaiawang	SA
Aiawung	Ngaiawang	SA
Ai'ebadu	Ajabatha	Q
Airamanga	Waramanga	NT
Aiyaboto	Ajabatha	Q

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	Q
Aji	Kawadji	Q
Ajnya-kuyani	Kujani	SA
Ajokoot	Jaako	WA
Akadi	Nokaan	WA
Akadja	Nokaan	WA
Akady	Nokaan	WA
Akaja	Wakaja	NT
Akoonkool	Kokomini	Q
Akoon-koon	Kokomini	Q
Akunkun	Kokomini	Q
Aku Rarmul	Kokojawa	Q
Ak Waumin	Ewamin	Q
Alauian	Djagaraga	Q
Alava	Alawa	NT
Albura	Walpiri	NT
Aldolanga	Aranda	NT
Aldolinga	Aranda	NT
Aldolinga	Antakirinja	SA
Algan	Wik-kalkan	Q
Aliawara	Iliaura	NT
Alindjara	Nangatadjara	WA
Alingit	Winduwinda	Q
Alinjera	Jangkundjara	SA
Alitera	Aranda	NT
Aliwara	Iliaura	NT
Aljawara	Iliaura	NT
Alaaroonga (East, 1889:10)	Not identified	NT
Allaua	Alawa	NT
Allaura	Alawa	NT
Allawa	Alawa	NT
Allowa	Alawa	NT
Allowiri	Alawa	NT
Allua	Alawa	NT
Allura	Alura	NT
Alngid	Winduwinda	Q
Alowa	Alawa	NT
Alpira	Walpiri	NT

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Alpiri	Walpiri	NT
Aluna	Jangkundjara	SA
	Matuntara and Aranda	NT
	Antakirinja	SA
Alunkun	Kokomini	Q
Aluratja	Kukatja	NT
Aluri	Ngadjuri	SA
Aluridia	Kukatja	NT
Aluridja	Kukatja	NT
Aluritja	Kukatja and	CA
	Antakirinja	SA
Alury	Ngadjuri	SA
Alyawara	Iliaura	NT
Amakurupa	Ingura	NT
Amandyo	Amangu	WA
Amarag	Amarak	NT
Amberu	Dainggati	NSW
Ambukula	Ngormbur	NT
Ami	Amijangal	NT
Amini	Ngameni	SA
Amkomti	Ankamuti	Q
Amurag	Amarak	NT
Amurrak	Amarak	NT
Amuruk	Amarak	NT
Anangit	Winduwinda	Q
Anaywan	Anaiwan	NSW
Anbara	Barara	NT
Andadja	Wilawila	WA
Andagari	Antakirinja	SA
Andagarinja	Antakirinja	SA
Andagirinja	Antakirinja	SA
Andeberegina	Andakerebina	NT
Andedja	Ngarinjin	WA
Andedja	Wilawila	WA
Andegilliga	Antakirinja	SA
Andekarinja	Antakirinja	SA
Andekerinja	Antakirinja	SA
Andidja	Ngarinjin and Wilawila	WA
Andigari	Antakirinja	SA
Andigarina	Antakirinja	SA
Andigarinya	Antakirinja	SA
Andigirinji	Antakirinja	SA
Andijiringna	Antakirinja	SA
Andilagwa	Ingura	NT
Andiljaugwa	Ingura	NT
Andiljaukwa	Ingura	NT
Andilyaugwa	Ingura	NT
Andingari	Antakirinja	SA
Andingarina	Antakirinja	SA
Andingiri	Antakirinja	SA
Andjingit	Winduwinda	Q
Andjirigna	Antakirinja	SA
Andrawilla	Karanguru	SA
Andrewilla	Karanguru	SA

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Andyamatana	Wailpi	SA
Andyingati	Winduwinda	Q
Anewan	Anaiwan	NSW
Anga (g = dj)	Kotandji	NT
Anga	Jeidji	WA
Angaardi	Inggarda	WA
Angaardie	Inggarda	WA
Angadimi	Jupangati	Q
Angara-pingan (Foelsche in Curr, 1886, 1:273)	Not identified	NT
Angarinjin	Ngarinjin	WA
Angee (g = dj)	Kotandji	NT
Angutimi	Jupangati	Q
Aniula	Janjula	NT
Anjamutina	Wailpi	SA
Anjimatana	Wailpi	SA
Anjingat	Winduwinda	Q
Anjiwatana	Wailpi	SA
Anjula	Janjula	NT
Ankundjara	Jangkundjara	SA
Anmatjara	Anmatjera	NT
Anna Creek tribe	Arabana	SA
Annan River tribe	Kokobujundji	Q
Antakarinja	Antakirinja	SA
Antakerinya	Antakirinja	SA
Antakerrinya	Antakirinja	SA
Antakiripina	Andakerebina	NT
Antegarinya	Antakirinja	SA
Antekarinja	Antakirinja	SA
Anterrikanya	Antakirinja	SA
Antigarinya	Antakirinja	SA
Antigerinya	Antakirinja	SA
Antingari	Antakirinja	SA
Anula	Janjula	NT
Anyamatana	Wailpi	SA
Anyingit	Winduwinda	Q
Anyoola	Janjula	NT
Anyula	Janjula	NT
Anyuwa	Janjula	NT
Aobidai	Umede	WA
Apukwi	Ankamuti	Q
Aquguilla	Wulwulam	NT
Arabuna	Arabana	SA
A'ragu	Ngardok	NT
Aranta	Aranda	NT
A:rap	Araba	Q
Arapani	Arabana	SA
Arapina	Arabana	SA
Arawari	Ngarinjin	WA
Arawari	Arnga	WA
Arawodi	Arnga	WA
Archualda	Wailpi	SA
Aretinget	Winduwinda	Q
Arinta	Aranda	NT
Aripa	Araba	Q

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Aritingiti	Winduwinda	Q
Arkaba-tura	Pangkala and Jadliaura	SA
Arkarinjindja	Ngarinjin	WA
Arkatko	Ngarkat	SA
Arkiya	Wakaja	NT
Arrabonna	Arabana	SA
Arrabunna	Arabana	SA
Arramouro	Joti-jota	NSW
Arranda	Aranda	NT
Arrawiya	Duwal	NT
Arrinda	Aranda	NT
Arrunta Ilpma	Aranda	NT
Arubbinna	Arabana	SA
Arunda	Aranda	NT
Arunndta	Aranda	NT
Arunta	Aranda	NT
Arunta Ulpma	Aranda	NT
Arwur	Kakadu	NT
Arwur-angkana	Juru	Q
Athokurra	Ngathokudi	Q
Atjualda	Wailpi	SA
Auanbura	Jagalingu	Q
Augustus Islanders		WA
Aumine	Ngameni	SA
Aumini	Ngameni	SA
Auminie	Ngameni	SA
Auwulwarwak	Wurango	NT
Auwur	Kakadu	NT
Awaba	Awabakal	NSW
Awabagal	Awabakal	NSW
Awarikpa	Ingura	NT
Awarrai	Awarai	NT
Awinmil	Awinmul	NT
Awinnmull	Awinmul	NT
Awmani	Ngameni	SA
Awur	Kakadu	NT
Bababingo	Duwala	NT
Babbinburra	Wangan	Q
Babulbabul (Falkenberg, 1962:14)	Not identified	
Ba:bung	Kokopera	Q
Bacchus Marsh dialect	Kurung	V
Băd	Baada	WA
Bad	Baada	WA
Baddyeri	Badjiri	Q
Baderi	Badjiri	Q
Badimaia	Barimaia	WA
Badimala	Barimaia	WA
Badjari	Badjiri	Q
Badjedi	Badjiri	Q
Badjela	Batjala	Q
Badjelang	Badjalang	NSW
Badjeri	Badjiri	Q
Badjidi	Badjiri	Q
Ba:donjunga	Ngadjunmaia	WA
Badtała	Batjała	Q
Badu	Potidjara	WA
Ba:duk	Mirning	WA
Badyala	Batjala	Q
Bagadji	Pakadji	Q
Bagandji	Barkindji	NSW
Bagindji	Barkindji	NSW
Bagirgabara	Mamu	Q
Ba:gu	Miwa	WA
Bagu	Miwa	WA
Bagundi	Barkindji	NSW
Bahkunji	Barkindji	NSW
Bahkunjy	Barkindji	NSW
Bahnbi	Banbai	NSW
Bahnga-la	Pangkala	SA
Bahree	Worimi	NSW
Bahroongee	Parundji	NSW
Bahroonjee	Parundji	NSW
Baialdja	Wadjari	WA
Baianbal	Thaua	NSW
Baiangal	Thaua	NSW
Baijungo	Baijungu	WA
Bailgo	Bailgu	WA
Bailko	Bailgu	WA
Bailju	Bailgu	WA
Baine Hill tribe	Ngarkat	SA
Baiong	Baijungu	WA
Baiung	Baijungu	WA
Bajongwongi	Pibelmen	WA
Baka	Barungguan	Q
Bakandi	Barkindji	NSW
Bakanji	Barkindji	NSW
Bakanu	Ajabakan	Q
Bakiin	Muthimuthi	NSW
Bak-on-date	Bunganditj	SA
Balamumu	Duwal	NT
Balangara	Wenambal	WA
Balbarum	Barbaram	Q
Balgalu	Bugulmara	Q
Balgoo	Bailgu	WA
Balgu	Bailgu	WA
Baljgu	Bailgu	WA
Balju	Bailgu	WA
Balladong	Balardong	WA
Ballardon	Balardong	WA
Ballardong	Balardong	WA
Ballerdokking	Balardong	WA
Balmawi	Djinang	NT
Balmbi	Djinang	NT
Balpamadramadra	Wongkumara	Q
Baluk-mernen	Latjilatji	V
Balumbant	Janggal	Q
Banambia	Bakanambia	Q
Banambila	Bakanambia	Q
Bandjalong	Badjalang	NSW

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Bandjangali	Barkindji	NSW
Bandjanu	Pini	WA
Bandji	Bandjin	Q
Bandjima	Pandjima	WA
Bandyin	Bandjin	Q
Baneidja	Puneitja	NT
Bangala	Pangkala	SA
Bangandidj	Bunganditj	SA
Bangerang	Pangerang	V
Banggala	Pangkala	SA
Bangoula	Pindjarup	WA
Baniidja	Puneitja	NT
Banjanu	Pini	WA
Banjarrpuma	Duwal	NT
Banjgaranj	Pangerang	V
Banjigam	Barungguan	Q
Banjin	Bandjin	Q
Banju-bunan	Latjilatji	V
Banthamurra	Punthamara	Q
Banyoula	Pindjarup	WA
Baraba-baraba	Baraparapa	NSW
Barabal	Kurung	V
Baraban	Not identified	Q
Barabull	Kurung	V
Barangu	Nango	NT
Barappur	Baraparapa	NSW
Bararngu	Nango	NT
Bararparar	Nango	NT
Bararrnga	Nango	NT
Bararrparar	Nango	NT
Barbarum	Barbaram	Q
Barconedeet	Bunganditj	SA
Bard	Baada	WA
Barda	Baada	WA
Bardi	Baada	WA
Bardimaia	Barimaia	WA
Bardok	Ngadjunmaia	WA
Barduwonga	Potidjara	WA
Barea	Barara	NT
Bareber Bareber	Baraparapa	NSW
Barera	Barara	NT
Bargalia	Walbanga	NSW
Bargunji	Barkindji	NSW
Barimaia	Widi	WA
Barinja	Parundji	NSW
Barkindjee	Barkindji	NSW
Barkinjee	Barkindji	NSW
Barkinji	Barkindji	NSW
Barkunjee	Barkindji	NSW
Barlamomo	Duwal	NT
Barlamumu	Duwal	NT
Barlmawi	Djinang	NT
Barmerara-meru	Ngawait	SA
Baroongee	Parundji	NSW
Barrabool	Kurung	V
Barren-binya	Baranbinja	NSW

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Barrengee	Barindji and Parundji	NSW
Barron River dialect	Tjapukai	Q
Barrumbinya	Baranbinja	NSW
Barrunbarga	Baranbinja	NSW
Barundji	Parundji	NSW
Barunga	Parundji	NSW
Barungam	Barunggam	Q
Barungi	Parundji	NSW
Barunguan	Barungguan	Q
Barurungari	Kambure	WA
Barutadura	Nukunu	SA
Basthom	Mutumui	Q
Batala	Batjala	Q
Bathurst Islanders	Tunuvivi	NT
Batjana	Jupangati	Q
Battara	Nauo	SA
Batyala	Batjala	Q
Batyana	Jupangati	Q
Baulam	Mutumui	Q
Baurera	Barara	NT
Bauwiwarra	Darambal	Q
Bawududjara	Potidjara	WA
Bayungu	Baijungu	WA
Bebleman	Pibelmen	WA
Beddiwell	Bidawal	V
Bedengo	Kokatja and Nangatara	WA
Bedia-mangora	Eora	NSW
Bee-gum-bul	Bigambul	Q
Beengeewarra	Kokonjekodi	Q
Begumble	Bigambul	Q
Belliman	Wardandi	WA
Bellingen (Bellinger) tribe	Kumbainggiri	NSW
Bemba	Wenambal	WA
Bembara	Wenambal	WA
Bemerigal	Thaua	NSW
Bemeringal	Ngarigo	NSW
Benbakanjamata	Wailpi	SA
Bendalgubber	Bindal	Q
Bentinck Islanders	Kaiadilt	Q
Bergalgu	Jaudjibaia	WA
Beriait	Barindji	NSW
Berinken	Magatige	NT
Berinkin	Magatige	NT
Berlko	Maraura	NSW
Berluppa	Pilatapa	SA
Berriait	Barindji	NSW
Berri-ait	Barindji	NSW
Berrigurruk	Beriguruk	NT
Berringin	Magatige	NT
Biaigiri	Bandjin	Q
Biangil	Watiwati	V
Bibbulmun	Pibelmen	WA
Bibulman	Pibelmen	WA

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Bibu:lmoun	Pibelmen	WA
Bibulmun	Pibelmen	WA
Bibulum	Pibelmen	WA
Bidhala	Batjala	Q
Bidjandja	Pitjandjara	SA
Bidjandjadjara	Pitjandjara	SA
Bidjandjara	Pitjandjara	SA
Bidjenelumbo	Oitbi	NT
Bidjera	Pitjara	Q
Bidjuwongga	Pitjandjara	SA
Bidong	Kokatja	WA
Biduell	Bidawal	V
Bidungo	Kokatja	WA
Bidungu	Barimaia	WA
Bidu Njamal	Njamal	WA
Bidwell	Bidawal	V
Bidwelli	Bidawal	V
Bidwill	Bidawal	V
Bieli	Baiali	Q
Bigabal	Bigambul	Q
Bigabul	Bigambul	Q
Bigambal	Bigambul	Q
Bigumble	Bigambul	Q
Bijai	Bandjin	Q
Bijnalumbo	Oitbi	NT
Bilinara	Bilingara	NT
Bilinurra	Bilingara	NT
Billianera	Bilingara	NT
Billidapa	Pitatapa	SA
Bilyanarra	Bilingara	NT
Bilyanurra	Bilingara	NT
Bimbirik	Ngardok	NT
Bimurraburra	Kairi	Q
Binbarnja	Wailpi	SA
Binbingha	Binbinga	NT
Binbinka	Binbinga	NT
Bindaboo	Pintubi	NT
Bindaga	Kokojawa	Q
Bindiboo	Pintubi	NT
Bindibu	Pintubi	NT
Bindini	Pindiini	WA
Bindjiwara	Kokonjekodi	Q
Bindooboo	Pintubi	NT
Bindubi	Pintubi	NT
Bindubu	Pintubi	NT
Bindunda	Pindiini	WA
Bing Binga	Binbinga	NT
Binggu	Tjapukai	Q
Bingiebandie	Indjibandi	WA
Bin-gongina	Bingongina	NT
Biniguru	Binigura	WA
Biniridjara	Pini	WA
Binnigoora	Binigura	WA
Binnigora	Binigura	WA
Binnimiginda	Larakia	NT
Biong	Baijungu	NT

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Birdhawal	Bidawal	V
Biria	Bidia (Thomson River)	Q
Biria	Biria (Bowen River)	Q
Biriaba	Biria (Bowen River)	Q
Birigaba	Biria (Bowen River)	Q
Biriin (collective)	Jukambe and Jagara	Q
Biriin (collective)	Kitabal	NSW
Birni	Pini	WA
Birrababirraba	Baraparapa	NSW
Birrapee	Birpai	NSW
Birria	Bidia (Thomson River)	Q
Birria	Biria (Bowen River)	Q
Birrikilli	Janango	NT
Birripai	Birpai	NSW
Birripi	Birpai	NSW
Birta	Ngaiawang	SA
Birtowall	Bidawal	V
Bithara	Bitjara	Q
Bitta Bitta	Ngadjuri	SA
Boandik	Bunganditj	SA
Boandiks	Bunganditj	SA
Boangilla	Barindji	NSW
Boanjilla	Barindji	NSW
Bo-arli	Wiljakali	NSW
Boijangura	Balardong	WA
Boinji	Pitapita	Q
Bolagher	Tjapwurong and Kirrae	V
Bolakngat	Tjapwurong and Kirrae	V
Bolambi	Idindji	Q
Bombala tribe	Ngarigo	NSW
Booandik	Bunganditj	SA
Booandikngolo	Bunganditj	SA
Booburam	Barbaram	Q
Boogoolmurra	Bugulmara	Q
Boola	Miwa	WA
Boolboora	Djiru	Q
Boolcanara	Kokoimudji	Q
Boolgoo	Bailgu	WA
Boolucburer	Jardwa	V
Boonara	Ngardi	NT
Boonarra	Kokatja	WA
Booneba	Punaba	WA
Boongerong	Bunurong	V
Boonoorung	Bunurong	V
Boonthamurra	Punthamara	Q
Boonurrong	Bunurong	V
Bo-oobera	Undanbi	Q

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Boora Boora	Baraparapa	NSW
Booripung	Ngarkat	SA
Boorkutti	Dainggati	NSW
Boorong	Warkawarka	V
Booroo-geen-merrie	Ngugi	Q
Booroung	Warkawarka	V
Boort	Baraparapa	NSW
Bootherboolok	Taungurong	V
Booyieburra	Kaiabara	Q
Booyungur	Balardong	WA
Boraipar	Ngarkat	SA
Borandikngolo	Bunganditj	SA
Boripar	Ngarkat	SA
Borumbeet-bulluk	Wathaurung	V
Botany Bay tribe	Eora	NSW
Boulboul	Tatungalung	V
Boun	Dalabon	NT
Boyangoora	Balardong	WA
Bpaa'gko-jee	Barkindji	NSW
Bpaa'roo	Barindji	NSW
Brabirrawulung	Brabralung	V
Brabriwoolung	Brabralung	V
Brabrolong	Brabralung	V
Brabrolung	Brabralung	V
Bradjerak	Ngarigo	NSW
Bradowooloong	Bratauolung	V
Braiakolung	Braiakaulung	V
Brajerak	Jaitmathang	V
Brapkut	Jaadwa	V
Bratanolung	Bratauolung	V
Brataua	Bratauolung	V
Brataualung	Bratauolung	V
Brayakaboong	Braiakaulung	V
Brayakan	Braiakaulung	V
Brayakaulung	Braiakaulung	V
Breagalung	Braiakaulung	V
Breeaba	Biria (Bowen River)	Q
Bremer Bay tribe	Koreng	WA
Brewarrana tribe	Ualarai	NSW
Bringara	Bilingara	NT
Bringgin	Magatige	NT
Brinkan	Magatige	NT
Brinken	Magatige	NT
Bripi	Birpai	NSW
Brippai	Birpai	NSW
Brisbane tribe	Jagara	Q
Broken Bay tribe	Daruk	NSW
Buan	Dalabon	NT
Buandic	Bunganditj	SA
Buandik	Bunganditj	SA
Buanditj	Bunganditj	SA
Budalpudal	Djangu	NT
Budidjara	Potidjara	WA
Budoona	Buruna	WA
Bududjara	Potidjara	WA
Budulung	Badjalang	NSW
Buduna	Buruna	WA
Bugai	Wenambal	WA
Bugarnuba (saltwater people, collective name in south Qld.)		Q
Bugellimanji	Walbanga	NSW
Buggul	Badjalang	NSW
Bugula	Not identified	NT
Buibatjali	Wotjobaluk	V
Buibatyalli	Wotjobaluk	V
Buijibara	Kaiabara	Q
Bujibada	Kaiabara	Q
Bujibara	Kaiabara	Q
Bujiebara	Kaiabara	Q
Bujundji	Kokobujundji	Q
Bulalli	Maljangapa and Wiljakali	NSW
Bulanu	Jaroinga	NT
Bulgeraga	Kawambarai	NSW
Bulgulu	Nanda	WA
Bulinara	Bilingara	NT
Buljigu	Ngadjunmaia	WA
Bulponara	Jungkurara	Q
Bulpoonarra	Jungkurara	Q
Buluguda	Nanda	WA
Bulukwuro	Jaadwa	V
Buluwandji	Buluwai	Q
Buluwandyi	Buluwai	Q
Bulwandji	Buluwai	Q
Bulwandyi	Buluwai	Q
Bulway	Buluwai	Q
Bumbara	Gia	Q
Bumbarra	Gia	Q
Bunaba	Punaba	WA
Bunapa	Punaba	WA
Bunara	Ngardi	NT
Bunara	Kokatja	WA
Bunbury tribe	Wardandi	WA
Bundah Wark Kani	Brabralung	V
Bundel	Badjalang	NSW
Bundela	Badjalang	NSW
Bundhul Wark Kani	Brabralung	V
Bundjin	Bandjin	Q
Buneidja	Puneitja	NT
Bungabara	Warakamai	Q
Bungandaetch	Bunganditj	SA
Bundandaetcha	Bunganditj	SA
Bungandaitj	Bunganditj	SA
Bungandity	Bunganditj	SA
Bungeha	Pangkala	SA
Bungela	Pangkala	SA
Bungilearney Colagiens	Kolakngat	V
Bungyarlee	Naualko	NSW
Buninjon	Tjapwurong	V
Buninyong	Wathaurung	V

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Bunjellung	Badjalang	NSW
Buntamara	Punthamara	Q
Buntamurra	Punthamara	Q
Buntha-burra	Punthamara	Q
Bunthomarra	Punthamara	Q
Bunuron	Bunurong	V
Bunwurru	Bunurong	V
Bunwurung	Bunurong	V
Burabura	Baraparapa	NSW
Burada	Barara and Djangu	NT
Buraigal	Worimi	NSW
Buralbural	Djangu	NT
Buranadjini	Diakui	NT
Burapper	Baraparapa	NSW
Burara	Barara	NT
Burarra	Barara	NT
Buratha	Djangu	NT
Burduna	Buruna	WA
Bureba	Baraparapa	NSW
Burera	Barara	NT
Burhwundeirtch	Bunganditj	SA
Buripung	Ngarkat	SA
Burrabinya	Baranbinja	NSW
Burrabura-ba	Baraparapa	NSW
Burra Burra tribe	Ngadjuri	SA
Burragorang	Gandangara	NSW
Burrambinya	Baranbinja	NSW
Burranbinga	Baranbinja	NSW
Burranbinya	Baranbinja	NSW
Burrapper	Baraparapa	NSW
Burrea	Watiwati	V
Burreba-burreba	Baraparapa	NSW
Burringah	Aranda	NT
Burugadi	Dainggati	NSW
Buruguman	Wulgurukaba	Q
Burukuman	Wulgurukaba	Q
Buruwatung	Ngardi	NT
Butchulla	Batjala	Q
Butherabulak	Taungurong	V
Bu:wan	Dalabon	NT
Byellee	Baiali	Q
Byellel	Baiali	Q
Byjerri	Badjiri	Q
Bywoom	Mbeiwum	Q
Cabbee	Kabikabi	Q
Caddiegal	Eora	NSW
Calcadoon	Kalkadungu	Q
Caloombooroo	Miwa	WA
Cambooble	Kambuwal	Q
Camel Duhai	Kamilaroi	NSW
Cam-ell-eri	Kamilaroi	NSW
Camera-gal	Eora	NSW
Cameraygal	Eora	NSW
Cammealroy	Kamilaroi	NSW

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Cammera	Eora	NSW
Cammeray	Eora	NSW
Cangarabaluk	Potaruwutj	SA
Cangoolootha	Kangulu	Q
Caractterup tribe	Whadjuk	WA
Carapath	Worimi	NSW
Carawal	Tharawal	NSW
Carby	Kabikabi	Q
Carby-carbery	Kabikabi	Q
Caskcar	Wudjari	WA
Chaapwurra	Tjapwurong	V
Chaap-wuurong	Tjapwurong	V
Champion Bay tribe	Amangu	WA
Changunberries	Djankun	Q
Charmong	Djauan	NT
Charrau	Djaru	WA
Charroogin	Idindji	Q
Charumbul	Darambal	Q
Chau-an	Djauan	NT
Cheangwa	Wadjari	WA
Cheeal	Tjial	NT
Chepara	Jukambe	Q
Cherait	Djerait	NT
Chera-kundi (Davidson, 1938 map)	Not identified	Q
Cherite	Djerait	NT
Chiangwa	Wadjari	WA
Chingalee	Tjingili	NT
Chingalli	Tjingili	NT
Chinganji	Tjongkandji	Q
Chipalji	Djirubal	Q
Chipara	Jukambe	Q
Chirpa	Djirubal	Q
Chockie	Tedei	WA
Choe-kie	Tedei	WA
Chongandji	Tjongkandji	Q
Choolngai	Djirubal	Q
Chooraroo	Tjuroro	WA
Choororo	Tjuroro	WA
Chowie	Djaui	WA
Chunchiburri	Ngugi	Q
Chungki	Djankun	Q
Chunkunberry	Djankun	Q
Chunkunburra	Djankun	Q
Chunkunji	Tjongkandji	Q
Churoro	Tjuroro	WA
Churrabool	Undanbi and Jagara	Q
Coa'	Koa	Q
Coah	Koa	Q
Cockatoo tribe	Minang	WA
Cocotah	Kokata	SA
Cogai	Kunggari, Barunggam and Mandandanji	Q
Colac-Conodeet	Kolakngat	V
Coligan	Kolakngat	V

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Colijon	Kolakngat	V
Colongulac tribe	Kirrae	V
Comleroy	Kamilaroi	NSW
Congaro	Kunggari	Q
Coo-al	Arakwal	NSW
Coobenpil	Keonpal	Q
Coo-coo-warra	Kokowara and Laia	Q
Coodjingburra	Minjungbal	NSW
Coo-inbur-ri	Kawambarai	NSW
Cookutta	Kokata	SA
Coolucooluck	Potaruwutj	SA
Cooma tribe	Ngarigo	NSW
Coombagoree	Kumbainggiri	NSW
Coombargaree	Kumbainggiri	NSW
Coombyngara	Kumbainggiri	NSW
Coombyngura	Kumbainggiri	NSW
Coongurri	Kunggari	Q
Coorinji	Kwarandji	NT
Coorna	Kaurna	SA
Coorong (regional name)	Tanganekald	SA
Coorong	Kurung	V
Cooyarbara	Kaiabara	Q
Cooyiannie	Kujani	SA
Coraloon	Wurundjeri	V
Corine	Koreng	WA
Corm-bur	Ngormbur	NT
Cornu	Kula	NSW
Cororan	Koreng	WA
Cottong	Worimi	NSW
Croker Islanders	Jaako	NT
Cudgingberry	Minjungbal	NSW
Cumilri	Kamilaroi	NSW
Cummeroy	Kamilaroi	NSW
Cummilroy	Kamilaroi	NSW
Cundundeerie	Kunindiri	NT
Curang-gurang	Korenggoreng	Q
Currak-da-bidgee	Ngarigo	NSW
Dacournditch	Watiwati	V
Dadiera	Potaruwutj	SA
Da:galag	Tagalag	Q
Dagalang	Tagalag	Q
Daguda	Nanda	WA
Daguwuru	Taungurong	V
Dai	Daii	NT
Dainiquid	Winduwinda	Q
Daiyuri	Taior	Q
Dajor	Taior	Q
Dakundair	Djakunda	Q
Dalaindji	Talandji	WA
Dalambara	Dalla	Q
Dalandji	Talandji	WA
Dalangi	Talandji	WA
Dalebura	Jirandali	Q
Dalgari	Targari	WA
Dallamburrah	Dalla	Q
Dalleburra	Jirandali	Q
Dalleyburra	Jirandali	Q
Dallundeer	Jaadwa	V
Dalwango	Daii	NT
Dalwongo	Daii	NT
Dalwongu	Daii	NT
Dandan	Tulua	Q
Dandi	Banbai	NSW
Dangadi	Dainggati	NSW
Dangani	Tanganekald	SA
Dangban	Dangbon	NT
Dangbar	Dangbon	NT
Dangbun	Dangbon	NT
Danggadi	Dainggati	NSW
Dang-getti	Dainggati	NSW
Dantgart	Kirrae	V
Dantgurt	Kirrae	V
Dapuingu	Duwal	NT
Daran	Wudjari	WA
Darawal	Tharawal	NSW
Dardanup	Wardandi	WA
Dargari	Targari	WA
Darginjang	Darkinjang	NSW
Dargudi	Niabali	WA
Daribelum	Taribelang	Q
Darknung	Darkinjang	NSW
Darlwongo	Daii	NT
Darngoorang	Taungurong	V
Darpil	Taribelang	Q
Darrook	Daruk	NSW
Darti-darti	Tatitati	V
Darty-darty	Tatitati	V
Darwin tribe	Larakia	NT
Datiwui	Duwal	NT
Datiwuy	Duwal	NT
Dayerrie	Dieri	SA
Deba	Mamu	Q
Deerie	Dieri	SA
Deharu	Djaru	WA
Deitchenballuk	Wembawemba	NSW
Deitjenbaluk	Wembawemba	NSW
Derbal	Whadjuk	WA
Dhalwangu	Daii	NT
Dhangatty	Dainggati	NSW
Dhanuhurtwurru	Gunditjmara	V
Dhapuyngu	Duwal	NT
Dharrook	Daruk	NSW
Dharruk	Daruk	NSW
Dharug	Daruk	NSW
Dhauhurtwurru	Gunditjmara	V
Dhiyakuy	Diakui	NT
Dhooroomba	Duduroa	V
Dhudhuroa	Duduroa	V
Dhu:rga	Thaua and Walbanga	NSW
Dhurili	Duwal	NT

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Diari	Dieri	SA
Dickeri	Dieri	SA
Didjadidja	Waluwara	Q
Dieyerie	Dieri	SA
Dieyrie	Dieri	SA
Dijogoi	Diakui	NT
Dilik	Marimanindji	NT
Dippil (also special note in text)	Undanbi and Kabikabi	Q
Ditu	Nangatadjara	WA
Dituwonga (general term)	Nangatadjara and Tjalkadjara	WA
Dituwonga	Ngadadjara	WA
Diwi	Tunuvivi	NT
Diyeri	Dieri	SA
Dja:ba	Njikena	WA
Djaberadjaber	Djaberadjabera	WA
Djaberdjaber	Djaberadjabera	WA
Djabu	Duwal	NT
Djabwuru	Tjapwurong	V
Djadjala	Wotjobaluk and Potaruwutj	SA
Djadjawara	Jaara	V
Djaingadi	Dainggati	NSW
Djakanda	Djakunda	Q
Djaka-nde	Djakunda	Q
Djalendi	Talandji	WA
Djalganda	Tjalkadjara	WA
Djalgani	Tjalkadjara	WA
Djamadjong	Djamindjung	NT
Djambarbingo	Duwal	NT
Djambarbingu	Duwal	NT
Djambarbwingo	Duwal	NT
Djambargingo	Duwal	NT
Djambarpinga	Duwal	NT
Djambarpingu	Duwal	NT
Djambarrpuyngu	Duwal	NT
Djamundon	Djamindjung	NT
Djamunjun	Djaminjung	NT
Djandai	Koenpal	Q
Djandnandi	Djankun	Q
Django	Djangu	NT
Djaoi	Djaui	WA
Djappuminyou	Jaadwa	V
Djappuninyou	Jaadwa	V
Djapu	Duwal	NT
Djara	Djaru	WA
Djarak	Kitja	WA
Djarawala	Not identified	NT
Djargudi	Keiadjara	WA
Djarlwa:g	Daii	NT
Djaro	Djaru	WA
Djau	Djaui	WA
Djawi	Djaui	WA
Djauan	Kokojawa	Q
Djauor	Jawuru	WA
Djauun	Djauan	NT
Djauwung	Djauan	NT
Djawark	Daii	NT
Djawi	Djaui	WA
Djawin	Djauan	NT
Djawun	Djauan	NT
Djedjuwuru	Jaara	V
Djendjawuru	Jaara	V
Djerag	Kitja	WA
Djeramanga	Djerimanga	NT
Djikai	Diakui	NT
Djimba	Djinba	NT
Djindubari	Undanbi	Q
Djingali	Tjingili	NT
Djinggili	Tjingili	NT
Djingili	Tjingili	NT
Djinhang	Djinang	NT
Djinibal	Weraerai	NSW
Djinnang	Djinang	NT
Djiramo	Ngolokwangga and Pongaponga	NT
Djirbal	Djirubal	Q
Djiribara	Mamu	Q
Djirubagala	Djiru	Q
Djirukurumbant	Janjula	NT
Djouan	Djauan	NT
Djuadubari	Undanbi	Q
Djualin	Walmadjari	WA
Djukan	Djugun	WA
Djukun	Djugun	WA
Djumbandji	Idindji	Q
Djunggidjau	Dalla	Q
Djururo	Tjuroro	WA
Doenbauraket	Ngarkat	SA
Dogeman	Tagoman	NT
Doondooburra	Kabikabi	Q
Doondoora	Kabikabi	Q
Doongiburra	Dalla	Q
Doonin	Wardandi	SA
Doora	Ngadjuri	SA
Dordenup	Nukunu	WA
Dornderupwongy	Wardandi	WA
Dorobura	Jangga	Q
Dowarburra	Kabikabi	Q
Drualat-ngolonung	Bunganditj	SA
Dsandai	Koenpal	Q
Dsharu	Djaru	WA
Dthang-gaa-lee	Danggali	SA
Dthang'gha	Danggali	SA
Dthee-eri	Dieri	SA
Duala	Duwala	NT
Du:ala	Duwala	NT
Dulingbara	Batjala	Q
Dulkabara	Mamu	Q
Dunanwongi	Wardandi	WA
Dundubara	Kabikabi	Q

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Dundu:ra	Kabikabi	Q
Dungadungara	Pitapita	Q
Dungara	Irukandji	Q
Dungaral	Irukandji	Q
Dungibara	Dalla	Q
Dungidau	Dalla	Q
Durackra [*sic*]	Kitja	WA
Durga	Thaua	NSW
Du:rga	Thaua	NSW
Durilji	Duwal	NT
Durroburra	Jangga	Q
Duwinbarap	Ngarkat	SA
Dyabugandyi	Tjapukai	Q
Dyabugay	Tjapukai	Q
Dyagaraga	Djagaraga	Q
Dyangun	Djankun	Q
Duangunbari	Djankun	Q
Dyargurt	Kirrae	V
Dyinning-middhang	Duduroa	V
Dyirbal	Djirubal	Q
Dyirbalngan	Djirubal	Q
Dyirbalyi	Djirubal	Q
Dyirringan	Djiringanj	NSW
Dyiru	Djiru	Q
Dyirubagala	Djiru	Q
Eacham	Ngatjan	Q
Eachim	Ngatjan	Q
Eaewardja	Iwaidja	NT
Eaewarga	Iwaidja	NT
Eae-warge-ga	Iwaidja	NT
Ea-ora	Eora	NSW
Eastern Walmadjari	Kokatja	WA
East Mining	Mirning	WA
Eastward tribe	Njakinjaki	WA
Eaton	Ngatjan	Q
Eaw	Nanda	WA
Ebawudjena	Atjinuri	Q
Echuca tribe	Jotijota	NSW
Edward River tribe	Taior	Q
Eeleeree	Ngadjuri	SA
Ee-na-won	Anaiwan	NSW
Eetha-eetha	Jitajita	NSW
Eethee Eethee	Jitajita	NSW
Eethie Eethie	Jitajita	NSW
Egwamen	Ewamin	Q
Eibole	Mutumui	Q
Eiwaja	Iwaidja	NT
Elcho Islanders	Nango	NT
Elleby	Ilba	Q
Elookera	Waluwara	Q
Elpira	Walpiri	NT
Emangu	Amangu	WA
Emon	Jiman	Q
Empikeno	Unjadi	Q
Emu Mudjug	Kwatkwat	V

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Endawarra	Jandruwanta	SA
Eneby	Ilba	Q
Eneewin	Anaiwan	NSW
Engarilla	Jokula	Q
En Indjiljaugwa	Ingura	NT
En-nee-win	Anaiwan	NSW
Enni-won	Anaiwan	NSW
Enuin	Anaiwan	NSW
Eraweerung	Erawirung	SA
Erawirrangu	Erawirung	SA
Erawiruck	Erawirung	SA
Erei	Beriguruk	NT
Eri	Beriguruk	NT
Eritark	Ngawait	SA
Erlistoun tribe	Tjalkadjara	WA
Eromarra	Ngandangara	Q
Erunta	Aranda	NT
Ettrick tribe	Widjabal	NSW
Euahlayi	Ualarai	NSW
Eucla tribe	Mirning	WA
Eugoola	Jokula	Q
Eura (general term)	Jadliaura, Ngadjuri, and Nukunu	SA
Euronbba	Juru	Q
Evelyn Creek tribe	Wadikali	NSW
Everard Range tribe	Jangkundjara	SA
Ewanji	Djaui	WA
Ewenyoon	Djaui	WA
Fishing Net people	Mandandanji	Q
Five Islands tribe	Tharawal	NSW
Flinders Islanders	Walmbaria	Q
Forsyth Islanders	Janggal	Q
Fraser Islanders	Batjala and Ngulungbara	Q
Gababingo	Duwala	NT
Gabi Gabi	Kabikabi	Q
Gadang	Worimi	NSW
Gadangee	Kotandji	NT
Gadjalibi	Gadjalivia	NT
Gadjalibir	Gadjalivia	NT
Gadjerong	Kadjerong	NT
Gadjnjamadja	Wailpi	SA
Gadudjara	Kartudjara	WA
Gagadju	Kakadu	NT
Gagadu	Kakadu	NT
Gaiamba	Ngemba	NSW
Gaiardilt	Kaiadilt	Q
Gaididj	Kaititja	NT
Gajadild	Kaiadilt	Q
Gajalivia	Gadjalivia	NT
Galali	Kalali	Q
Galawlan	Not identified	NT
Galbu	Dangu	NT
Galgadung	Kalkadungu	Q

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Galgadungu	Kalkadungu	Q
Galleewo	Alawa	NT
Galpu	Dangu	NT
Galumburu	Miwa	WA
Galwa	Duwal	NT
Galwanuk	Duwal	NT
Gamalangga	Nango	NT
Gambabal	Kambuwal	Q
Gambubal	Kambuwal	Q
Gambuwal	Kambuwal	Q
Gambre	Kambure	WA
Gamete	Nggamadi	Q
Gametty	Nggamadi	Q
Gamilaroi	Kamilaroi	NSW
Gamilroi	Kamilaroi	NSW
Gamipingal	Worimi	NSW
Gamiti	Nggamadi	Q
Gamor	Kamor	NT
Gamu	Kamor	NT
Gandju	Kandju	Q
Gando Minjang	Minjungbal	NSW
Gandowal	Minjungbal	NSW
Ganganda	Barunguan	Q
Gangulu	Kangulu	Q
Garad'are	Karadjari	WA
Garadjara	Karadjari	WA
Garadjari	Karadjari	WA
Garadjeri	Karadjari	WA
Garama	Murinbata	NT
Garawa	Karawa	NT
Gara-wali	Karuwali	Q
Garego	Ngarigo	NSW
Garewagal	Geawegal	NSW
Gari	Gaari	NT
Gari	Batjala	Q
Gariera	Kariara	WA
Garindjari	Jadira	WA
Garmalangga	Nango	NT
Garnghes	Kureinji	NSW
Garuagal	Worimi	NSW
Garumga	Dalla	Q
Garumgna	Dalla	Q
Garundji	Korindji	NT
Garundyih	Kareldi	Q
Gawambarai	Kawambarai	NSW
Geawagal	Geawegal	NSW
Geebera	Kokata	SA
Gee-en-yun	Keinjan	Q
Geelowng	Tjial	NT
Geimbio	Mangaridji and Gambalang	NT
Gendo	Minjungbal	NSW
Geographe Bay and Vasse tribe	Wardandi	WA
Geraldton tribe	Amangu	WA
Gerrah	Djiru	Q
Geugagi	Nawagi	Q
Ghummilarai	Kamilaroi	NSW
Giadjara	Keiadjara	WA
Giani-giani (Mathews, 1902 [Gr. 6487])	Not identified	
Gidabul	Kitabal	NSW
Gi:dj	Kitja	WA
Gidja	Kitja	WA
Gidjingali	Barara	NT
Gidjoobal	Kitabal	NSW
Gijadjara	Keiadjara	WA
Gijow	Mamu	Q
Gilbert River tribe	Kunggara	Q
Gillah	Djiru	Q
Gimbarlang	Gambalang	NT
Gingai	Worimi	NSW
Gingi	Ualarai	NSW
Ginmu	Kadjerong	NT
Ginniebal	Weraerai	NSW
Ginning-matong	Duduroa	V
Giramai	Keramai	Q
Giramay	Keramai	Q
Giramaygan	Keramai	Q
Girriwurru	Tjapwurong	V
Gitabal	Giabal	Q
Gnalla	Ngarla	WA
Gnallbagootchyourl	Wotjobaluk	V
Gnalluma	Ngaluma	WA
Gnalooma	Ngaluma	WA
Gnalouma	Ngaluma	WA
Gnameni	Ngameni	SA
Gnamo	Njamal	WA
Gnanji	Kotandji	NT
Gnaruk	Ngardok	NT
Gnoogee	Ngugi	Q
Gnoolongbara	Ngulungbara	Q
Gnoree	Nguri	Q
Gnornbur	Ngormbur	NT
Gnowoo	Nauo	SA
Gnuin	Ngewin	NT
Gnurellean	Ngurelban	V
Goa	Koa	Q
Goamalku	Koa	Q
Goamulgo	Koa	Q
Goara	Koara	WA
Go:ara	Koara	WA
Goarango	Kwarandji	NT
Gobaboingu	Duwala	NT
Gobabuingu	Duwala	NT
Gobabwingo	Duwala	NT
Gobabwingu	Duwala	NT
Gobagwingo	Duwala	NT
Godangee	Kotandji	NT
Goenpul	Koenpal	Q
Gogada	Kokatja	WA

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Gogada	Kokata	SA
Gogadja	Kokatja	WA
Gogadja	Kukatja	NT
Gogai	Barunggam	Q
Gogoda	Kokatja	WA
Gogo-yimidir	Kokoimudji	Q
Gogo-yimidjir	Kokoimudji	Q
Goinberai	Kawambarai	NSW
Golba	Nango	NT
Golbu	Nango	NT
Golpa	Nango	NT
Golumala	Dangu	NT
Gomaid	Duwala	NT
Gomaidj	Duwala	NT
Gomaingguru	Giabal	Q
Gomokudin	Nggamadi	Q
Gongaru	Wongkanguru	SA
Gónin	Miwa	WA
Gooar	Ngugi	Q
Googarburra	Ngaro	Q
Goomkoding	Ankamuti	Q
Goonamin	Kokopera	Q
Goonamon	Kokopera	Q
Goonanahinigah (Foelsche, 1895:191)	Not identified	NT
Goonanderry	Kunindiri	NT
Goonanin	Kokopera	Q
Goondarra	Kwantari	Q
Goonganjee	Kongkandji	Q
Goonganji	Kongkandji	Q
Goon-garree	Kunggari	Q
Goonien	Konejandi	WA
Goonine	Goeng	Q
Gooran	Kareldi	Q
Goorang-goorang	Korenggoreng	Q
Goore	Karuwali	Q
Gooreenggai	Worimi	NSW
Gooroogona	Wenambal and Jeidji	WA
Goothanto	Kareldi	Q
Goowar	Ngugi	Q
Goreenggai	Worimi	NSW
Gott	Winduwinda	Q
Gouia	Eora	NSW
Gouia-gul	Eora	NSW
Goulburn Islanders	Maung	NT
Gourenggai	Worimi	NSW
Gourmyanyuk	Wembawemba	NSW
Gournditch-mara	Gunditjmara	V
Gourrbaluk	Wotjobaluk	V
Gourrmjanyuk	Wembawemba	NSW
Gowar	Ngugi	Q
Gowrburra	Ngugi	Q
Grangema	Kureinji	NSW
Grawa	Karawa	NT
Gringai	Worimi	NSW

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Gromiluk	Wotjobaluk	V
Groote Eylandters	Ingura	NT
Guamu	Koamu	Q
Guar	Ngugi	Q
Guba	Duwala	NT
Gubabingu	Duwala	NT
Gububuinung	Duwala	NT
Gudang	Djagaraga	Q
Gudjalavia	Gadjalivia	NT
Gudjali	Kutjala	Q
Gudjaliba	Gadjalivia	NT
Gudjalibi	Gadjalivia	NT
Gudjandju (AIAS Report, 1966:12)	Not identified	
Guerno	Kula	NSW
Gugada	Kokata	SA
Gugada	Kukatja	NT
Gugadja	Kokatja	WA
Gugadja	Kukatja	NT
Gugadji	Kukatja	NT
Gugu-	Koko- (numerous tribes)	Q
Gugu-buyun	Kokobujundji	Q
Gugudja	Kokatja	WA
Gugujak	Taior	Q
Gugu-Jalandji	Kokojelandji	Q
Guguyak (AIAS Report, 1966)	Not identified but see Taior	Q
Gugu-Yalanyi	Kokojelandji	Q
Gugu-Yelanji	Kokojelandji	Q
Guidj	Kitja	WA
Guinbainggiri	Kumbainggiri	Q
Guinberai	Kawambarai	NSW
Guinbrai	Kawambarai	NSW
Guirindji	Korindji	NT
Gujani	Kujani	SA
Guji:ni	Jeidji and Wenambal	WA
Gujula	Duwal	NT
Gular	Ngarinjin	WA
Gulngay	Gulngai	Q
Gulnggai	Gulngai	Q
Gulunggor	Diakui	NT
Guluwarin	Arnga	WA
Gumadji	Duwala	NT
Gumaitj	Duwala	NT
Gumatj	Duwala	NT
Gumbadimaia	Niabali	WA
Gumbainggar	Kumbainggiri	NSW
Gumbanggar	Kumbainggiri	NSW
Gumilaroi	Kamilaroi	NSW
Gumilroi	Kamilaroi	NSW
Gummilray	Kamilaroi	NSW
Gummilroi	Kamilaroi	NSW
Gummilroy	Kamilaroi	NSW
Gumulgal (Capell, 1942)	Not identified	NT

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Guna	Karnai (comment in text)	V
Gunabidji	Gunavidji	NT
Gunadba	Barara	NT
Gunaidbe	Barara	NT
Gunalbingu	Djinba	NT
Gunan	Konejandi	WA
Gunan	Miwa	WA
Gunana	Lardiil	Q
Gunani	Kokopera	Q
Gunanni	Kokopera	Q
Gu:nanni	Kokopera	Q
Gunaviji	Gunavidji	NT
Gunawitji	Gunavidji	NT
Gunbainggar	Kumbainggiri	NSW
Gunbalang	Gambalang	NT
Gunbirr(dj)i	Nango	NT
Gunbowerooranditch	Jotijota	NSW
Gunbulan	Gambalang	NT
Gundanara	Jaitmathang	V
Gundangbon	Dangbon	NT
Gundanora	Gandangara	NSW
Gundanora	Jaitmathang	V
Gundeijame	Gunwinggu	NT
Gundjajeimi	Gunwinggu	NT
Gundjeibmi	Gunwinggu	NT
Gundjun	Ngundjan	Q
Gundudj	Not identified	NT
Gundungari	Gandangara	NSW
Gundungurra	Gandangara	NSW
Gunei	Not identified	NT
Gunerakan	Kungarakan	NT
Gungarawonu	Gungorogone	NT
Gungari	Kunggari	Q
Gunggala-dhang	Bidawal	V
Gunggara	Kunggara	Q
Gunggari	Kunggari	Q
Gunggay	Kongkandji	Q
Gungoro:lo:ngi	Gungorogone	NT
Gunian	Konejandi	WA
Gunjibidji	Gunavidji	NT
Gunmajerrumba	Larakia	NT
Gunmarang	Maung	NT
Gunn-el-ban	Ngurelban	V
Gunnilaroi	Kamilaroi	NSW
Guno	Kula	NSW
Gunu	Kula	NSW
Gu:nu	Kula	NSW
Gunungwillam	Wurundjeri	V
Gunwingo	Gunwinggu	NT
Gunwingu	Gunwinggu	NT
Gupapuyna	Duwala	NT
Gupapuyngu	Duwala	NT
Gupapuynyu	Duwala	NT
Guradjara (Berndt and Berndt, 1964:33)	Not identified	WA
Guragona	Wenambal	WA
Gurama	Kurama	WA
Guramal	Ngarigo	NSW
Gurang	Korenggoreng	Q
Gurang-gurang	Korenggoreng	Q
Gureng-gureng	Korenggoreng	Q
Guri:ndi	Nango	NT
Gurindji	Korindji and Kwarandji	NT
Gurindzi	Kwarandji	NT
Gurmal	Ngarigo	NSW
Gurnditschmara	Gunditjmara	V
Gurragunga	Gandangara	NSW
Gurryindi	Nango	NT
Gurungala	Ngunawal	NSW
Guttahn	Worimi	NSW
Guwa	Koa	Q
Guwamu	Koamu	Q
Guwara	Koara	WA
Guwidj	Kitja	WA
Guyamirrilili	Nango	NT
Gwamin	Ewamin	Q
Gweagal	Eora	NSW
Gwidji	Kitja	WA
Gwini	Jeidji and Wenambal	WA
Gwi:ni	Jeidji	WA
Gwiyula	Duwal	NT
Hainman	Ngarinman	NT
Hallurra	Alura	NT
Herbert River tribe	Warakamai	Q
Hermit Hill tribe	Madngela	NT
Herrinda	Aranda	NT
Hervey Bay people	Habikabi	Q
Heutbi	Oitbi	NT
Hidahida	Jitajita	NSW
Hileman	Tjapukai	Q
Hillary	Ngadjuri	SA
Hilleri	Ngadjuri, Wirangu, and Pangkala	SA
Himberrong	Dainggati	Q
Hongalla	Ngalakan	NT
Hopkins River tribe	Tjapwurong	V
Hucheon	Ngatjan	Q
Hyneman	Ngarinman	NT
Iabali	Niabali	WA
Iangkala	Janjula	NT
Iawung	Ngaiawang	SA
Ibarga	Njangamarda	WA
Ibarga	Njamal and Njangamarda	WA
Ibargo	Njangamarda	WA
Ibargo	Njamal and Njangamarda	WA

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Ibarrga	Njamal and Njangamarda	WA
I:baruga	Njangamarda	WA
Idi:	Idindji	Q
Idin	Idindji	Q
Idindgi	Idindji	Q
Idinji	Idindji	Q
Iirrawadarri	Wadjari	WA
Iiwanja	Djaui	WA
Iji	Wurango	NT
Ikala	Mirning	WA
Ikelbara	Warakamai	Q
Ikula	Mirning	WA
Ilaila	Maraura	NSW
I:lai:la	Maraura	NSW
Ilakuriwongi	Whadjuk	WA
Ilawara	Iliaura	NT
Ilbaridja	Kokatja and Nangatara	WA
Ilda	Ildawongga	WA
Iliama	Iliaura	NT
Iljauara	Iliaura	NT
Iljawara	Iliaura	NT
Illagona	Irukandji	Q
Illawarra	Wodiwodi	NSW
Il(l)iaura	Iliaura	NT
Illura	Iliaura	NT
Illyowra	Iliaura	NT
Ilma	Aranda	NT
I:lma	Aranda	NT
Ilngali	Jilngali	NT
Ilpara	Walpiri	NT
Ilpira	Walpiri	NT
Ilpir(r)a	Walpiri	NY
Ilpirra	Walpiri	NT
Ilpma	Aranda	NT
Ilta	Ildawongga	WA
Ilyauarra	Iliaura	NT
Ilyowra	Iliaura	NT
Iman	Jiman	Q
Imatjana	Atjinuri	Q
Imatjera	Anmatjera	NT
Imba	Djiru	Q
I:mba	Djiru	Q
I:nabadanggural	Nana	WA
In:abara	Undanbi	Q
Inawangga	Inawongga	WA
Inawonga	Inawongga	WA
Inchalachee	Indjilandji	NT
Inchalanchee	Indjilandji	NT
Indjiban	Indjibandi	WA
Indjibandje	Indjibandi	WA
Indjibandji	Indjibandi	WA
Indjilandi	Indjilandji	NT
Indjilindji	Indjilandji	NT
Indjurandji	Indjilandji	NT

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Indkilindji	Indjilandji	NT
Induyamo	Jathaikana	Q
Ingada	Inggarda	WA
Ingadi	Inggarda	WA
Ingara	Inggarda	WA
Ingarda	Inggarda	WA
Ingarinjindja	Ngarinjin	WA
Ingarra	Inggarda	WA
Ingarrah	Inggarda	WA
Inggadi	Inggarda	WA
Inggura	Ingura	NT
Ingibandi	Indjibandi	WA
Ingra	Inggarda	WA
Inikurdira	Jinigudira	WA
Injilinji	Indjilandji	NT
Innamouka [*sic*]	Jandruwanta	SA
Inparra	Inggarda	WA
Inteck	Ngintait	SA
Intjilatja	Indjilandji	NT
Inuwan	Anaiwan	NSW
Inuwon	Anaiwan	NSW
Iora	Eora	NSW
Iparuka	Njanjamarda	WA
Irakanji	Irukandji	Q
Irawadjari	Wadjari	WA
I:rawadjari	Wadjari	WA
Irendely	Jirandali	Q
"Island" blacks	Ngaro	Q
Ita Ita	Jitajita	NSW
Itchumundi	Wiljakali	NSW
Ithi-Ithi	Jitajita	NSW
Iti-iti	Jitajita	NSW
Itinadyana	Atjinuri	Q
Itinadyand	Atjinuri	Q
Itti	Idindji	Q
Ituarre	Pitjandjara	SA
Iukala	Jokula	Q
Iwaidji	Iwaidja	NT
Iwaija	Iwaidja	NT
Iwaiji	Iwaidja	NT
I:wanja	Djaui	WA
I:wat	Juat	WA
Iyattyalla	Wotjobaluk	V
Iyi	Iwaidja	NT
Jaakojaako	Danggali	NSW
Jaalo	Wurango	NT
Jaamba	Jetimarala	Q
Jabalajabala	Pangerang	V
Jabanwongi	Juat	WA
Jabiru Njamal	Njamal	WA
Jabu	Duwal	NT
Jabuda	Ajabatha	Q
Jabungadja	Ngadadjara	WA
Jabura (means north)	Pini	WA
Jabura	Wirdinja	WA

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Jaburarà-ngaluma	Jaburara	WA
Jaburarra-ngarluma	Jaburara	WA
Jaburu (means north)	Wiilman	WA
Jaburu	Wardandi	WA
Jaburu	Inggarda	WA
Jaburu	Widi	WA
Jaburu	Kalamaia	WA
Jaburu-jungara	Juat	WA
Jaburu Njamal	Njamal	WA
Jabururu	Kaneang	WA
Jackalbarap	Ngarkat	SA
Jackegilbrab	Ngarkat	SA
Jadjiba	Jaudjibaia	WA
Jadjibaia	Jaudjibaia	WA
Jael	Tjial	NT
Jaernungo	Nango	NT
Jagarabal	Jagara	Q
Jairunda	Aranda	NT.
Jaitjawar:a	Kaurna	SA
Jajaorong	Jaara	V
Jajowerang	Jaara	V
Jajowurong	Jaara	V
Jakalbarap	Ngarkat	SA
Jakel-baluk	Ngarkat	SA
Jakojako	Danggali	SA
Jakumban	Danggali	SA
Jalakuru	Djalakuru	NT
Jaljuwara	Iliaura	NT
Jalpiri	Ngalia	NT
Jalugal	Nango	NT
Jalukal	Nango	NT
Jamadji	Wadjari (also special note)	WA
Ja:mba	Jetimarala	Q
Jambajamba	Jupagalk	V
Jambarboingu	Duwal	NT
Jamindjal	Wunambal	WA
Jaminjang	Djamindjung	NT
Jaminjung	Djamindjung	NT
Jampal	Jambina and Jukambe	Q
Jampa:l	Jambina	Q
Jana	Niabali and Wadjari	WA
Ja:nanga	Nango	NT
Janango	Nango	NT
Jan:angu	Nango	NT
Jana:ri	Indjibandi and Kurama	WA
Janari	Indjibandi	WA
Janari	Niabali	WA
Jandai	Koenpal	Q
Jandangora	Jaitmathang	V
Jandjinung	Djinang	NT
Janduwalda	Jandruwanta	SA
Jang	Dainggati	NSW

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Jangala	Wenambal	WA
Jangara:l	Janggal	Q
Jangaral	Janggal	Q
Jangaralda	Janggal	Q
Janggundjara	Jangkundjara	SA
Janggura	Janggal	Q
Jangkonju	Kawadji and Pontunj	Q
Jangundjara	Jangkundjara	SA
Jangwundjara	Jangkundjara	SA
Jankundjadjara	Jangkundjara	SA
Jankundjindjara	Jangkundjara	SA
Jankuntjatara	Jangkundjara	SA
Jankuntjatjara	Jangkundjara	SA
Jankunzazara	Jangkundjara	SA
Janmadjara	Anmatjera	NT
Janmadjari	Anmatjera	NT
Janmatjiri	Anmatjera	NT
Janu	Wadjari	WA
Jaoro	Jawuru	WA
Jaralde	Jarildekald	SA
Jaraldi	Jarildekald	SA
Jaramarala	Wongkumara	Q
Jaran	Potaruwutj	SA
Jarawaint	Jardwa	V
Jarbu	Dalla	Q
Jarcoort	Kirrae	V
Ja:rewe	Jaadwa	V
Jarikuna	Pilatapa	SA
Jarildikald	Jarildekald	SA
Jarjowerong	Jaara	V
Jarmindjal	Wunambal	WA
Jarnangu	Nango	NT
Jaroo	Djaru	WA
Jarroo	Djaru	WA
Jarrou	Djaru	WA
Jarrunggarrung	Jaara	V
Jarumarda	Ngandangara	Q
Jarungura	Jinigudira	WA
Jaruo	Djaru	WA
Jaruru	Djaru	WA
Jata	Ngurlu	WA
Jau	Nanda	WA
Jauan	Kamilaroi	NSW
Jaudjibara	Jaudjibaia	WA
Jauor	Jawuru	WA
Jauro	Jawuru	WA
Jaurorka	Jauraworka	SA
Jawan	Kalamaia	WA
Jawhumjeri	Arakwal	NSW
Jawin	Djauan	NT
Jawunmala	Mardudunera and Noala	WA
Jawunmara	Kurama	WA
Jawutjubar	Jaudjibaia	WA
Jeelowng	Tjial	NT

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Jeenong-metong	Duduroa	V
Jeerite	Djerait	NT
Jeigir	Jiegera	NSW
Jeljujendi	Jeljendi	SA
Jendairwal	Koenpal	Q
Jendakarangu	Arabana	SA
Jendruwonta	Jandruwanta	SA
Jerejere	Jarijari	V
Jergarbal	Jagara	Q
Jeringin	Djiringanj	NSW
Jermangel	Djerimanga	NT
Jerongban	Jagara	Q
Jervis Bay tribe	Wandandian	NSW
Jetimarala	Barada and Kabalbara (comment)	Q
Jhongworong	Taungurong	V
Jibberin	Kurung	V
Jiduwa	Duwala	NT
Jikai	Diakui	NT
Jilbara	Wirangu	SA
Jimidir	Kokoimudji	Q
Jinba	Djinba	NT
Jindi	Maduwongga	WA
Jindjibanji	Indjibandi	WA
Jindjiparndi	Indjibandi	WA
Jindoobarrie	Undanbi	Q
Jing	Amangu	WA
Jinibara	Dalla	Q
Jinigudera	Jinigudira	WA
Jinigura	Jinigudira	WA
Jiniguri	Jinigudira	WA
Jintjingga	Barungguan	Q
Jirau	Erawirung	SA
Jirkala-mining	Mirning	WA
Jirkala-mirning	Mirning	WA
Jithuwa	Duwala	NT
Ji:tjam	Ngatjan	Q
Jivali	Djiwali	WA
Jiwadja	Iwaidja	NT
Ji:wadja	Iwaidja	NT
Jiwali	Djiwali	WA
Jokajoka	Danggali	NSW
Jokal	Jokula	Q
Jokala	Jokula	Q
Jokul	Jokula	Q
Jongman	Jangman	NT
Jooaduburrie	Undanbi	Q
Joongoonjee	Tjongkandji	Q
Joongoonjie	Tjongkandji	Q
Jouon	Kokojawa	Q
Juadjuk	Whadjuk	WA
Jualjai	Ualarai	NSW
Jugambeir	Jukambe	Q
Jugul	Jokula	Q
Jugula	Jokula	Q

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Jugulda	Jokula	Q
Juju	Erawirung	SA
Jukam	Jukambe	Q
Jukambil	Jukambal	NSW
Jukan	Djugun	WA
Jukannganga	Djugun	WA
Julanja	Julaolinja	Q
Ju:lanja	Julaolinja	Q
Julanji	Julaolinja	Q
Julbara	Mirning	WA
Julbari	Mirning	WA
Julbari-dja	Nangatara	WA
Julbaridja	Nangatara	WA
Julbaritja (southerners)	Kokatja	WA
Julbaritja	Maduwongga	WA
Julbaritja	Nangatara	WA
Julbre	Kokatja	WA
Jullanku	Kokopatun	Q
Juluridja	Kukatja	NT
Jumbandjie	Idindji	Q
Jumbapoingo	Duwal	NT
Jumudjara	Nana	WA
Jundai	Koenpal	Q
Jungaa	Kalamaia	WA
Jungai	Jiegera and Dainggati	NSW
Jungal	Kalamaia	WA
Jungeegatchere	Kureinji	NSW
Jungman	Jangman	NT
Jungulda	Jokula	Q
Jupa-galk-wournditch	Jupagalk	V
Jura	Wenambal	WA
Jura	Julaolinja	Q
Jurangka	Jaroinga	NT
Juungai	Dainggati and Jiegera	NSW
Juwadja	Iwaidja	NT
Juwalarai	Weraerai	NSW
Juwaljai	Ualarai	NSW
Juwibara	Juipera	Q
Juwula	Kokangol	Q
Kaabiri	Djaru	WA
Kaalbaranggara	Kaneang	WA
Kaameelarrai	Kamilaroi	NSW
Kaangooloo	Kangulu	Q
Kaariik	Iwaidja	NT
Kabai	Maduwongga	WA
Kabbi	Kabikabi	Q
Kabi	Kabikabi	Q
Kabikabi	Kabikabi and Wakabunga	Q
Kabul	Maduwongga	WA
Kadda-kie	Kaititja	NT

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Kadigal	Eora	NSW
Kadjalibi	Nakara	NT
Kadjarong	Kadjerong	NT
Kadjerawang	Kadjerong	NT
Kadjeroen	Kadjerong	NT
Kadjilaranda	Jangkundjara and Antakirinja	SA
Kadu	Nauo	SA
Kahbi	Kabikabi	Q
Kahmilaharoy	Kamilaroi	NSW
Kahwul	Arakwal	NSW
Kaia	Kaiabara	Q
Kaiadil	Kaiadilt	Q
Kaialiwongi	Koreng	WA
Kaianu	Miwa	WA
Kaibara	Kaiabara	Q
Kaiela	Barkindji	NSW
Kaierra	Kariara	WA
Kaija:dil	Kaiadilt	Q
Kaingbul	Karingbal	Q
Kaitidji	Kaititja	NT
Kaitije	Kaititja	NT
Kaitish	Kaititja	NT
Kaititj	Kaititja	NT
Kaititj(a)	Kaititja	NT
Kaititje	Kaititja	NT
Kaiyabora	Kaiabara	Q
Kakadju	Kakadu	NT
Ka:ka:dju	Kakadu	NT
Kakarakala	Inggarda	WA
Kakardi	Indjibandi	WA
Kakaringa	Kotandji	NT
Kakarrura	Kokata	SA
Kakata	Kakadu	NT
Kakatu	Kakadu	NT
Kakmilari	Kamilaroi	NSW
Kakudu-kakudu	Jawuru	WA
Kalamai	Kalamaia	WA
Kalamaya	Kalamaia	WA
Kalari	Wilawila	WA
Kalarko	Kalaako	WA
Ka:lbaranggara	Kaneang	WA
Kalde	Tanganekald	SA
Kaleap	Kaneang	WA
Kalgonei (general term)	Mandjindja, Nana, and Wenamba	WA
Kalgonei	Pintubi	NT
Kalgoneidjara (general term)	Keiadjara, Mandjindja, Nana, and Wenamba	WA
Kalgoneidjara	Pintubi	NT
Kalguni (general term)	Keiadjara, Nana, and Wenamba	WA
Kalguni	Pintubi	NT
Kalili	Kalali	Q
Kalkadoon	Kalkadungu	Q

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Kalkadoona	Kalkadungu	Q
Kalkadun	Kalkadungu	Q
Kalkaladoona	Kalkadungu	Q
Kalkatongo	Kalkadungu	Q
Kalkatunga	Kalkadungu	Q
Kallaua	Alawa	NT
Kalomonge	Gulngai	Q
Kalpu	Dangu	NT
Kaltalbudara	Potidjara	WA
Kaltalbudjara	Potidjara	WA
Kaltalbudjira	Potidjara	WA
Kaltjilandjara	Jangkundjara	SA
Kalumbura	Miwa	WA
Kamalarai	Kamilaroi	NSW
Kamangee	Kamor	NT
Kambera	Kambure	WA
Kamberange	Kambure	WA
Kambre	Kambure	WA
Kambumiri	Kambure	WA
Kamdheu	Kandju	Q
Kamdhue	Kandju	Q
Kameraigal	Eora	NSW
Kamil	Kamilaroi	NSW
Kamilarai	Kamilaroi	NSW
Kamilarai (Hale, 1846)	Geawegal	NSW
Kamilari	Kamilaroi	NSW
Kamilary	Kamilaroi	NSW
Kamileroi	Kamilaroi	NSW
Kamilroi	Kamilaroi	NSW
Kaminjung	Djamindjung	NT
Kamorrkir	Kamor	NT
Kamularoi	Kamilaroi	NSW
Kana	Iningai	Q
Kanalloo	Kanolu	Q
Kanapartu	Potidjara	WA
Kanaria	Wunambal	WA
Kanbira	Kitja	WA
Kanbre	Kambure	WA
Kandangora	Jaitmathang	V
Kandjalngari	Ngarinjin	WA
Kandjanan	Wilawila	WA
Kandjin	Bandjin	Q
Kandyu	Kandju	Q
Ka:ndyu	Kandju	Q
Kangalo	Kangulu	Q
Kangarabalak	Potaruwutj	SA
Kangarraga	Kungarakan	NT
Kangarranga	Kungarakan	NT
Kanggalcida	Jokula	Q
Kangoollo	Kangulu	Q
Kanguru	Wongkanguru	SA
Kanjai	Duulngari	WA
Kanjamata	Wailpi	SA
Kanjimata	Wailpi	SA
Kanju	Kandju	Q

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Kanoloo	Kanolu	Q
Kantju	Kandju	Q
Kanyu	Kandju	Q
Kaoambal	Kambuwal	Q
Kaoambul	Kambuwal	Q
Kapula	Waluwara	Q
Karabi	Kabikabi	Q
Karadhari	Karadjari	WA
Ka:radil(t)	Kaiadilt	Q
Karadjara	Karadjari	WA
Karadjee	Iwaidja	NT
Karadjeri	Karadjari	WA
Karakata	Whadjuk	WA
Karakoi	Kolakngat	V
Karakoo	Kolakngat	V
Karama	Keramai	Q
Karama	Kurama	WA
Karama	Murinbata	NT
Karaman	Murinbata	NT
Karamundi	Naualko	NSW
Karan	Walangama	Q
Karangura	Karanguru	SA
Karantee	Kareldi	Q
Kararngura	Karanguru	SA
Karawalla	Karuwali	Q
Karbery	Djaru	WA
Karbi	Kabikabi	Q
Karbungga	Mutumui	Q
Kardagur	Wardandi	WA
Kardudjara	Kartudjara	WA
Kareingi	Kureinji	NSW
Karengappa	Karenggapa	NSW
Karenya	Karanja	Q
Kariera	Kariara	WA
Kariimari	Wadjabangai	Q
Ka:ri:k	Iwaidja	NT
Karikari	Maljangapa	NSW
Karin	Kureinji	NSW
Karingbool	Karingbal	Q
Karingma	Kureinji	NSW
Karinma	Kureinji	NSW
Kariwa	Karawa	NT
Karkadoo	Kakadu	NT
Kar Kar	Njakinjaki	WA
Karkar (east)	Njakinjaki	WA
Karkar (east)	Wudjari	WA
Karmalangga	Nango	NT
Karmil	Kamilaroi	NSW
Karnathun	Krauatungalung	V
Karn-brickolenbola	Ngaiawang	SA
Karndheu	Kandju	Q
Karndukul	Barindji	NSW
Karnju	Kandju	Q
Karntju	Kandju	Q
Karnu	Kandju	Q
Karnuwarra	Kaurna	SA

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Karnyu	Kandju	Q
Karo	Ildawongga	WA
Karo:linga	Aranda	NT
Karorinje	Karuwali	NSW
Karowa	Lardiil	Q
Karraba	Baraparapa	NSW
Karrakatta	Whadjuk	WA
Karranbal	Karingbal	Q
Karrandee	Kareldi	Q
Karrandi	Kareldi	Q
Karrapath	Worimi	NSW
Karrawar	Karawa	NT
Karrengappa	Karenggapa	NSW
Karriara	Kariara	WA
Karriarra	Kariara	WA
Kartawongulta	Nauo	SA
Kartjilarandja	Jangundjara	SA
Karua	Karawa	NT
Karun	Kareldi	Q
Karundi	Kareldi	Q
Karunti	Kareldi	Q
Kaskcar [*sic*]	Wudjari	WA
Katang-Worimi	Worimi	NSW
Katatjara	Kartudjara	WA
Katitch-a	Kaititja	NT
Katitja	Kaititja	NT
Kattang	Worimi	NSW
Kat-titcha	Kaititja	NT
Kat-tit-ya	Kaititja	NT
Katubanuut	Wathaurung	V
Katudjara	Kartudjara	WA
Katungal	Thaua	NSW
Kauarind'arri	Jadira	WA
Kauarndhari	Jadira	WA
Kaura (misprint)	Kaurna	SA
Kauralaig	Kaurareg	Q
Kauralaigal	Kaurareg	Q
Kauraleg	Kaurareg	Q
Kaurarega	Kaurareg	Q
Kauwala	Totj	Q
Kawamparai	Kawambarai	NSW
Kawarandari	Jadira	WA
Kawarandjari	Jadira	WA
Kawarindjara	Jadira	WA
Kawarindjari	Jadira	WA
Keawaikal	Geawegal	NSW
Keawekal	Geawegal	NSW
Keiatara	Keiadjara	WA
Keibara	Kokata	SA
Keidnamutha	Wailpi	SA
Keha	Kitja	WA
Kekoseno	Djagaraga	Q
Kekosino	Djagaraga	Q
Kemendok	Kureinji	NSW
Kemmirai-gal	Eora	NSW
Kerama	Kurama	WA

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Keramin	Kureinji	NSW
Keredjara	Keiadjara	WA
Keribial-barap	Marditjali	V
Kerinma	Kureinji	NSW
Kerrami	Keramai	Q
Keydnjamarda	Wailpi	SA
Khangalu	Kangulu	Q
Khararya	Kairi	Q
Khungabula	Kongabula	Q
Kia	Gia	Q
Kiabara	Kaiabara	Q
Kiadjara	Keiadjara	WA
Kianigani	Kureinji	NSW
Kianu	Miwa	WA
Kidabal	Kitabal	NSW
Kidja	Kitja	WA
Kidjabal	Kitabal	NSW
Kikkar	Njakinjaki	WA
Kimera (Giglioli [1911], Lennard River)	Not identified	WA
Kimilari	Kamilaroi	NSW
Kinenekinene	Kureinji	NSW
Kingi (Smyth, 1878, 2:8)	Not identified	V
Kingki (Mathew [1880]; J. A. I. Lond. 9:313, Darling Downs)	Not identified	Q
Kiramai	Keramai	Q
Kirawirung	Kirrae	V
Kirraewuurong	Kirrae	V
Kirrama	Keramai	Q
Kirrami	Keramai	Q
Kirurndit	Gunditjmara	V
Kisah	Kitja	WA
Kisha	Kitja	WA
Kitabool	Kitabal	NSW
Kitapul	Kitabal	NSW
Kitba	Mamu	Q
Kittabool	Kitabal	NSW
Kityu	Kitja	WA
Knenknenwurrong	Jaadwa	V
Knenkorenworro	Jaadwa	V
Kneukneuwurro	Jaadwa	V
Knindowurong	Jaadwa and Tjapwurong	V
Knindowurrong	Jaadwa	V
Koang	Aranda	NT
Ko:anga	Aranda	NT
Koara	Waljen	WA
Koarnbut	Ngormbur	NT
Kodjangana	Djaru	WA
Kogai (general term)	Barunggam, Mandandanji, and Kunggari	Q

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Kogara	Murunitja	WA
Kogung	Arakwal	NSW
Kogurre	Kunggari	Q
Koi	Kwiambal	NSW
Koiabara	Kaiabara	Q
Koinbal	Koinjmal	Q
Koinbere	Kawambarai	NSW
Koinberi	Kawambarai	NSW
Koinberri	Kawambarai	NSW
Koinjmurbara	Koinjmal	Q
Kojonup and Stirling tribe	Koreng	WA
Koka Ai-ebadu	Ajabatha	Q
Kokahiabilo	Ajabatha	Q
Kokala	Wikampama	Q
Kokalungie	Kokojelandji	Q
Koka-mungin	Jirjoront	Q
Kokanodna	Muluridji	Q
Kokaoalamalma	Bakanambia	Q
Koka-ollgul	Olkolo	Q
Koka:r	Njakinjaki	WA
Kokar	Njakinjaki and Koreng	WA
Kokatabul	Kwantari	Q
Kokatha	Kokata	SA
Kokatja	Kokata and Kokatja	SA WA
Kokawangar	Kwantari	Q
Koka-yao	Pakadji	Q
Kokiali	Wikampama	Q
Kokiliga	Djagaraga	Q
Kokimoh	Mbeiwum	Q
Kokinno	Mbeiwum	Q
Kokit-ta	Kokata	SA
Kokkaiya	Kaurareg	Q
Kokkotaijari	Taior	Q
Kokleburra	Jagalingu	Q
Kok-Mbewam	Mbeiwum	Q
Koko Aiebadu	Ajabatha	Q
Koko-Almura	Kokonjekodi	Q
Koko-aungu	Jungkurara	Q
Kokobaldja	Wulpura	Q
Kokobera	Kokopera	Q
Kokobididyi	Kokobididji	Q
Kokobidinji	Kokobididji	Q
Kokobulanji	Kokobujundji	Q
Koko Daiyuri	Taior	Q
Kokodaua	Kwantari	Q
Kokodaue	Kwantari	Q
Kokodjilandji	Jungkurara	Q
Koko-Gol	Kokangol	Q
Koko Ialiu	Jungkurara	Q
Koko Ialunia	Jungkurara	Q
Kokojak	Taior	Q
Kokojalanja	Jungkurara	Q
Kokojan	Not identified	Q

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Kokojimidir	Kokoimudji	Q
Kokojimoji	Kokoimudji	Q
Kokojunkulu	Kokokulunggur	Q
Koko Katji	Kokowalandja	Q
Koko Kuntjan	Ngundjan	Q
Koko Laia	Laia	Q
Kokolamalama	Bakanambia	Q
Kokolango	Nango	NT
Kokolangomala	Nango	NT
Koko Mandjoen	Jirjoront	Q
Koko-Manjoen	Jirjoront	Q
Koko-mindjan	Jirjoront	Q
Koko Mindjin	Jirjoront	Q
Kokominjan	Jirjoront	Q
Koko Minjen	Jirjoront	Q
Koko-minni	Kokomini	Q
Koko-moloroiji	Muluridji	Q
Koko-moloroitji	Muluridji	Q
Kokomutju	Djankun	Q
Koko-negodi	Kokonjekodi	Q
Koko-njunkulu	Tjapukai	Q
Koko-nyungalo	Tjapukai	Q
Koko-olkol	Olkolo	Q
Koko Olkolo	Olkolo	Q
Koko Padun	Kokopatun	Q
Kokopapun	Kokopera	Q
Kokopapung	Kokopera	Q
Koko Piddaji	Kokobididji	Q
Kokorarmul	Kokojawa	Q
Koko-taiyari	Taior	Q
Koko-Taiyor	Taior	Q
Kokotjangun	Djankun	Q
Koko-tjumbundji	Tjapukai	Q
Koko-umpilo	Ombila	Q
Kokowaldja	Wulpura	Q
Koko Wanggara	Kwantari	Q
Koko Wansin	Ngundjan	Q
Kokowara	Laia and Kokowara	Q
Koko-wogura	Wakara	Q
Koko-yalung	Kokokulunggur	Q
Kokoyalunyu	Jungkurara	Q
Kokoyan	Ngundjan	Q
Koko-yao	Pakadji	Q
Koko Ya'ːo	Pakadji	Q
Kokoyellanji	Kokojelandji	Q
Koko Yerlandji	Kokojelandji	Q
Koko-yerlantchi	Kokojelandji	Q
Koko-yerlantji	Kokojelandji	Q
Kokoyimidir	Kokoimudji	Q
Kokoyungal	Kokobujundji	Q
Kolaegnat	Kolakngat	V
Kolae	Kolakngat	V
Kolaia	Arnga	WA
Kolaruma	Warwa	WA
Kolidjon	Kolakngat	V

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Kolijon	Kolakngat	V
Kolo	Ngardi	NT
Kolor	Tjapwurong	V
Kolorer	Tjapwurong	V
Kolpa	Nango	NT
Komaits	Duwala	NT
Kombaingheri	Kumbainggiri	NSW
Kombinegherry	Kumbainggiri	NSW
Kominroi	Kamilaroi	NSW
Komleroy	Kamilaroi	NSW
Komorrkir	Kamor	NT
Konajan	Konejandi	WA
Konan	Miwa	WA
Konanin	Kokopera	Q
Konean	Konejandi	WA
Konejanu	Konejandi	WA
Kongait	Wanjiwalku	NSW
Kongalu	Kangulu	Q
Konggada	Kukatja	Q
Konguli	Kangulu	Q
Kongulu	Kangulu	Q
Konin	Madoitja and Miwa	WA
Konindja	Koara	WA
Konindjara	Koara	WA
Konoug-willam	Kirrae	V
Konun	Miwa	WA
Kooapidna	Pangkala	SA
Kooapudna	Pangkala	SA
Koocatho	Kokata	SA
Koochulbura	Kutjala	Q
Koochulburra	Kutjal	Q
Koodangie	Kotandji	NT
Koodanjee	Kotandji	NT
Koogaminny	Kokomini	Q
Kooganji	Kongkandji	Q
Koogatho	Kokata	SA
Koogobatha	Kokomini	Q
Koogobathy	Kokomini	Q
Koogominny	Kokomini	Q
Koo-gun-ji	Kongkandji	Q
Koogurda	Kokata	SA
Kooinmerburra	Koinjmal	SA
Kooka-alanji	Kokojelandji	Q
Kookakolkoloa	Kokangol	Q
Kookaminnie	Kokomini	Q
Kookata	Kokata	SA
Kookatha	Kokata	SA
Kookawarra	Wakara, Kokomini, and Kokowara	Q
Kookeealla (Mathews, 1900: 131 [Gr. 6559])	Not identified	Q
Kookoowarra	Wakara and Koko-wara	Q
Kookoymma	Kokoimudji	Q
Kookoyuma	Kokoimudji	Q

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Koolaburra	Ngulungbara	Q
Kooloor	Tjapwurong	V
Koombainga	Kumbainggiri	NSW
Koombanggary	Kumbainggiri	NSW
Koombanggherry	Kumbainggiri	NSW
Koombokkaburra	Mian	Q
Koomilroi	Kamilaroi	NSW
Koomkoolenya	Kungkalenja	Q
Koonange	Miwa	WA
Koonarie	Dieri	SA
Koongangie	Kongkandji	Q
Koongerri	Kuungkari	Q
Koonjan	Ngundjan	Q
Koonkalinye	Kungkalenja	Q
Koonkallinga	Kungkalenja	Q
Koonkerri	Kuungkari	Q
Koonkoolenya	Kungkalenja	Q
Koonkurri	Kunggara	Q
Koonoo	Kula	NSW
Kooranga	Korenggoreng	Q
Koorangie	Korindji	NT
Kooringce	Kwarandji	NT
Koornawarra	Kaurna	SA
Koorrio	Gulngai	Q
Koorungo	Gunwinggu	NT
Kooteeunna	Kujani	SA
Kooyeeunna	Kujani	SA
Kooyiannie	Kujani	SA
Kopapaingo	Duwala	NT
Kopapoingo	Duwala	NT
Koparpingu	Duwala	NT
Korama	Kurama	WA
Korama	Keramai	Q
Korambelbara	Wulgurukaba	Q
Korariga	Kaurareg	Q
Koraulun	Warki	SA
Ko:rengi	Koreng	WA
Koreng-koreng	Korenggoreng	Q
Korerega	Kaurareg	Q
Kornoo	Barkindji and Kula	NSW
Korowalde	Warki	SA
Korowalle	Warki	SA
Korrawa	Karawa	NT
Kortabina	Pangkala	SA
Koru	Kula	NSW
Kotanda	Kareldi and Kalibamu	Q
Kowanatty (Mathews, 1900: 131 [Gr. 6559])	Not identified	Q
Kowanburra	Jagalingu	Q
Kowrarega	Kaurareg	Q
Krauatun-kurnai	Krauatungalung	V
Kroatungalung	Krauatungalung	V
Krowathun-koolong	Krauatungalung	V
Krow-ithun-Koolo	Krauatungalung	V

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Kuagi (Falkenberg, 1962:14)	Not identified	NT
Kuam	Koamu	Q
Kuamu	Koamu	Q
Kuantari	Kwantari	Q
Kudadji	Matuntara	NT
Kudandji	Kotandji	NT
Kudenji	Kotandji	NT
Kudjunguru	Kariara and Ngarla	WA
Kudnamietha	Wailpi	SA
Kugurda	Kokata	SA
Ku:gurda wongga	Kokata	SA
Kuini	Jeidji and Wenambal	WA
Kuinmurbura	Koinjmal	Q
Kuitj	Kitja	WA
Kujamirilili	Duwala	NT
Kujera	Kadjerong	NT
Kujini	Jeidji	WA
Kukaberra	Kokopera	Q
Kukacha	Kukatja	NT
Kukadja	Kukatja	NT
Kukata	Kokata	SA
Kukata	Kukatja	NT
Kukataja	Kokata	SA
Kukatha	Kokata	SA
'Kukatji	Kukatja	Q
Kukuruba	Kokatja	WA
Kukuruba	Ngardi	NT
Kukuruk	Wurundjeri	V
Kular	Wenambal	WA
Kulari	Miwa and Wenambal	WA
Kularrabulu	Djugun	WA
Kularupulu	Karadjari and Njangamarda	WA
Kulidyan	Kolakngat	V
Kulkadoon	Kalkadungu	Q
Kullalli	Kalali	Q
Kullally	Kalali	Q
Kulngai	Gulngai	Q
Kulunggulu	Wenambal	WA
Kulunglutchi	Gunwinggu	NT
Kulunglutji	Gunwinggu	NT
Kuluwara	Arnga	WA
Kuluwaran	Arnga	WA
Kumbaingeri	Kumbainggiri	NSW
Kumbainggeri	Kumbainggiri	NSW
Kumbaingir	Kumbainggiri	NSW
Kumbangerai	Kumbainggiri	NSW
Kumbulmara	Mitjamba	Q
Kumertuo	Djowei	NT
Kuna	Miwa	WA
Kunamba	Punaba	WA
Kunamildan	Wiradjuri	NSW

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Kunan	Konejandi	WA
Kunana	Lardiil	Q
Kunanda-buri	Karendala	Q
Kunandra	Kunindiri	NT
Kunange	Miwa	WA
Kunari	Dieri	SA
Kunatatchee	Kungadutji	Q
Kundal	Njangamarda	WA
Kundal Njangamarda	Njangamarda	WA
Kundara	Kwantari	Q
Ku:nditjmara	Gunditjmara	V
Kundjan	Ngundjan	Q
Kundjanan	Wilawila	WA
Kundjin	Ngundjan	Q
Kungaditji	Kungadutji	Q
KunGait	Wadjabangai and Iningai	Q
Kungalburra	Koinjmal	Q
Kungandji	Kongkandji	Q
Kungarditchi	Kungadutji	Q
Kungeri	Kunggari (Nebine Creek area)	Q
Kungeri	Kuungkari (Barcoo area)	Q
Kunggandji	Kongkandji	Q
Kunggandyi	Kongkandji	Q
Kungganji	Kongkandji	Q
Kunggari	Kuungkari and Kunggari	Q
Kunghari	Kuungkari	Q
Kungkara	Kokopera	Q
Kungmal	Koinjmal	Q
Kungri	Kunggari	Q
Kunian	Konejandi	WA
Kuniandi	Konejandi	WA
Kunin	Miwa	WA
Kunjin	Ngundjan	Q
Kunjung	Kaneang	WA
Kunkulenje	Kungkalenja	Q
Kunnana	Lardiil	Q
Kuno	Kula	NSW
Kunyin	Bandjin	Q
Kunyung	Kaneang	WA
Kupapuingu	Duwala	NT
Kuppapoingo	Duwala	NT
Kurandi	Kareldi	Q
Kurangooroo	Karanguru	SA
Kurara	Ngadadjara	WA
Ku:rara	Ngadadjara	WA
Kurduwonga	Wadjari	WA
Kurduwongga	Wadjari	WA
Kurengappa	Karenggapa	NSW
Kuri	Awabakal	NSW
Kurial-yuin	Wardandi	WA
Kuringgai	Awabakal	NSW

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Kuriny	Koreng	WA
Kuritja:l	Kutjal	Q
Kuritjari	Kunggara	Q
Kuriwalu	Karuwali	Q
Kuriwongi	Pindjarup	WA
Kurkamarnapia	Djinba	NT
Kurlki-gulli	Barindji	NSW
Kurmai	Karnai (comment in text)	V
Kurmmelak	Wotjobaluk	V
Kurnai	Karnai (comment in text)	V
Kurnanda-buri	Karendala	Q
Kurnu	Kula, Naualko, and Barkindji	NSW
Kurramo	Duulngari	WA
Kurrana	Karanja	Q
Kurranga	Korenggoreng	Q
Kurrawar	Karawa	NT
Kurrawulla	Karuwali	Q
Kurtjar	Kunggara	Q
Kuru	Ngurlu	WA
Kurudandi	Inggarda	WA
Kurumidlanta	Kaurna	SA
Kurungai	Gulngai	Q
Kurungjang-baluk	Kurung	V
Kurunjang	Kurung	V
Kurujulta	Pitjandjara	SA
Kurutjara	Ngurlu	WA
Kutabal	Kutjal	Q
Kutanda	Kareldi	Q
Kutandji	Kotandji	NT
Kutanjtji	Kotandji	NT
Kutchnamootha	Wailpi	SA
Kuthabal	Kutjal	Q
Kutji	Kitja	WA
Kutnalawaru	Kitja	WA
Kutthack	Worimi	NSW
Kutthung	Worimi	NSW
Kuttibal	Kitabal	NSW
Kuungkaai	Kuungkari	Q
Kuungkai	Kuungkari	Q
Kuurnkopannoot	Gunditjmara	V
Kuyani	Kujani	SA
Kuyanni	Kujani	SA
Kwai-dhang	Bidawal	V
Kwaitjman	Wudjari	WA
Kwaranjee	Kwarandji	NT
Kwearriburra	Kutjal	Q
Kweembul	Kwiambal	NSW
Kwiana	Kujani	SA
Kwiani	Kujani	SA
Kwokwa	Pitapita	Q
Kyanoo	Miwa	WA
Kymurra	Ngaluma	WA
Kyreara	Kariara	WA

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Laci Laci	Latjilatji	V
Ladil	Lardiil	Q
Lagerung	Barindji	NSW
Laiau	Wunambal	WA
Laierdila	Lardiil	Q
Laini-ngitti	Winduwinda	Q
Laitche	Latjilatji	V
Laitchi-Laitchi	Latjilatji	V
Laitu Laitu	Latjilatji	V
Lakalinyeri	Jarildekald	SA
Lake George tribe	Ngunawal	NSW
Lake Macquarie, Newcastle tribe	Awabakal	NSW
Lake Mundy (Mundi) tribe	Bunganditj	SA
Lake Wallace tribe	Marditjali	V
Lamadalpu	Ingura	NT
Lamalama (Koko-)	Bakanambia	Q
Lamami	Dangu	NT
Lamul-lamul	Bakanambia	Q
Lamumiri	Dangu	NT
Langgu	Kitja	WA
Laradjeri (misprint)	Karadjari	WA
Laragia	Larakia	NT
Larakeeyah	Larakia	NT
Larakiya	Karakia	NT
Lardil	Lardiil	Q
Larikia	Larakia	NT
Larragea	Larakia	NT
Larrakeah	Larakia	NT
Larrakeeha	Larakia	NT
Larrakeeyah	Larakia	NT
Larrakia	Larakia	NT
Larrakiha	Larakia	NT
Larrakiya	Larakia	NT
Larreekeeyah	Larakia	NT
Larrekiya	Larakia	NT
Larrikia	Larakia	NT
Larrikiya	Larakia	NT
Larriquia	Larakia	NT
Latamngit	Winduwinda	Q
Latjoo Latjoo	Latjilatji	V
Latyu-latyu	Latjilatji	V
Laura-Deighton tribe	Kokowara	Q
Leagulawulmirec	Nango	NT
Leanawa	Janjula	NT
Leealowa	Alawa	NT
Leeanuwa	Janjula	NT
Leearawa	Karawa	NT
Leeauuwa (misprint)	Janjula	NT
Leechunguloo	Tjingili	NT
Leecundundeerie	Kunindiri	NT
Leeillawarrie	Ngewin	NT
Leelalwarra	Mara	NT
Leenaranunga	Waramanga	NT
Leepitbinga	Binbinga	NT

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Lee-wakya	Wakaja	NT
Leewalloo	Walu	NT
Leewillungarra	Wilingura	NT
Leiagalawumir	Duwal	NT
Leiagawumir	Duwal	NT
Leigulawulmirec	Duwal	NT
Leitchy Leitchy	Latjilatji	V
Lemil	Norweilemil	NT
Leningit	Winduwinda	Q
Leningiti	Winduwinda	Q
Lewurru	Jaara	V
Lewuru	Jaara	V
Leyagalawumirr	Duwal	NT
Leyagawumirr	Duwal	NT
Liagajamir	Duwal	NT
Liagala-wumiri	Duwal	NT
Liagaomirr	Duwal	NT
Liagojomir	Duwal	NT
Liej	Kitja	WA
Limba Karadjee	Iwaidja and Wurango	NT
Limbakaraja	Iwaidja	NT
Limretti	Winduwinda	Q
Linngiti	Winduwinda	Q
Lismore tribe	Arakwal	NSW
Litchy-Litchy	Latjilatji	V
Loddon tribe	Jotijota	NSW
Longga	Kitja	WA
Loonga	Kitja	WA
Loorudgee	Kukatja	NT
Loorudgie	Kukatja	NT
Loritcha	Kukatja	NT
Loritja	Kukatja	NT
Lo-rit-ya	Kukatja	NT
Lumal-lumal	Bakanambia	Q
Lumma-Lumma	Bakanambia	Q
Lunga	Kitja	WA
Lungga	Kitja	WA
Lunggar	Kitja	WA
Lungu	Kitja	WA
Lunyingbirrwurrk-gooditch	Jaara	V
Luridja	Kukatja	NT
Luritja	Kukatja	NT
Lurritja	Kukatja	NT
Lurticha	Kukatja	NT
Lutchye Lutchye	Latjilatji	V
Maandi	Mandi	WA
Maap	Bidawal	V
Madai	Barara	NT
Madarpa	Duwala	NT
Madarrpa	Duwala	NT
Madbara	Mutpura	NT
Maderpa	Duwala	NT
Madhirdiri	Not identified	Q

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Madi-Madi	Muthimuthi	NSW
Madngella	Madngela	NT
Madodjara	Jangkundjara	SA
Madoitja	Jaburara and Madoitja	WA
Maduntara	Matuntara	NT
Madunun	Kaiadilt	Q
Madutara	Matuntara	NT
Madutara	Kokata	SA
Madutjara	Ngaiawongga	WA
Madutjara	Pini	WA
Maduwonga	Maduwongga	WA
Maduwonga	Kokata	SA
Madyay	Madjandji	Q
Ma:go	Jaako	NT
Maiadjara	Ildawongga	WA
Maiali	Maiawali	Q
Maiali	Rembarunga	NT
Majali	Rembarunga	NT
Maialli	Rembarunga	NT
Maialnga	Worora	WA
Maiangal	Worimi	NSW
Maiara	Idindji	Q
Maiawongi	Balardong	WA
Maiba	Kabikabi	Q
Maidhagudi	Maithakari	Q
Mai:djara	Ildawongga	WA
Maieli	Rembarunga	NT
Maielli	Rembarunga	NT
Maigudung	Maikudunu	Q
Maikolon	Maikulan	Q
Maikudun	Maikudunu	Q
Maikudung	Maikudunu	Q
Maikulung	Maikulan	Q
Mailpurlgu	Milpulo	NSW
Maimbi	Idindji	Q
Maitakudi	Maithakari	Q
Maithakuri	Maithakari	Q
Maiuladjara	Pitjandjara and Matuntara	NT
Maiulatara	Pitjandjara and Matuntara	NT
Majabi	Maijabi	Q
Majadhagudi	Maithakari	Q
Majanna	Maia	WA
Majawali	Maiawali	Q
Majuli	Maiawala	Q
Makadama	Pakadji	Q
Makarrwanhalmirri	Duwala	NT
Makarwanalmiri	Duwala	NT
Makulu	Maikulan	Q
Malack-malack	Ngolokwangga	NT
Malag	Duwal	NT
Malag-Malag	Ngolokwangga	NT
Malak-malak	Ngolokwangga	NT
Malanbara	Gulngai	Q

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Malarbardjuradj	Duwala	NT
Malarra	Nango	NT
Malba	Kalamaia	WA
Malba	Kalarko	WA
Malba	Ngadjunmaia	WA
Maldanunda	Kaiadilt	Q
Maldjana	Malgana	WA
Malgin	Malngin	WA
Maliara	Wadjari	WA
Maliar:a	Ngaiawongga	WA
Malikunditj	Wotjobaluk	V
Malja:pa	Maljangapa	NSW
Maljangaba	Maljangapa	NSW
Maljangara	Maljangapa	NSW
Malkaripangala	Pangkala	SA
Mallack-mallack	Ngolokwangga	NT
Mallak-mallak	Ngolokwangga	NT
Mallanpara	Gulngai	Q
Malleegunditch	Wotjobaluk	V
Mallenjerrick	Jupagalk	V
Malleyearra	Ngaiawongga	WA
Malmal	Juru	Q
Malngjin	Malngin	WA
Malnkanidja	Kawadji	Q
Mälnkänidji	Kawadji	Q
Malulaig	Kaurareg	Q
Malununda	Kaiadilt	Q
Malununde	Kaiadilt	Q
Malya-napa	Maljangapa	NSW
Mamangit	Windudinda	Q
Mamba	Milpulo and Barindji	NSW
Mambangura	Thereila	Q
Mambanyura	Thereila	Q
Mamburra	Koinjmal	Q
Mamngaid	Winduwinda	Q
Mamoo	Pitjandjara	SA
Mamu	Pitjandjara	SA
Mamwura	Thereila	Q
Manala	Mangala	WA
Manangari	Maung	NT
Manarrngu	Djinang	NT
Man:atja	Djangu	NT
Man:atja	Djangu	NT
Manda	Miwa	WA
Manda	Jaroinga	NT
Mandanjongo	Indjibandi and Pandjima	WA
Man(d)atja	Djangu	NT
Mande	Miwa	WA
Mandjildara	Mandjildjara	WA
Mandjiltjara	Mandjildjara	WA
Mandjindjara	Mandjindja	WA
Mandjindji	Mandjindja	WA
Mandjindjiwonga	Mandjindja	WA
Mandshundshi	Mandjindja	WA

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Mandubara	Mamu	Q
Mandu:wit	Iwaidja	NT
Mangai	Kokatja, Mangala, and Nangatara	WA
Mangal	Mangala	WA
Mangarei	Mangarai	NT
Mangaridji	Gunwinggu	NT
Mangawara	Wenamba	WA
Mangeri	Gunwinggu	NT
Manggai	Kokatja	WA
Manggai	Ngardi	NT
Manggalili	Duwala	NT
Manggarai	Mangarai	NT
Manggawara	Ildawongga	WA
Mangguldulkara	Bailgu	WA
Manggura	Diakui	NT
Manggurra	Diakui	NT
Mangi	Nangatara	WA
Mangikurungu	Nanggikorongo	NT
Mangkarupi	Ngarkat	SA
Mangula	Mandjindja	WA
Mangula	Mangala	WA
Mangulalgut	Jaako	NT
Mangundjara	Mandjindja	WA
Manitchie (East, 1889-10)	Not identified	NT
Manjarngi	Djinang	NT
Manjiljara	Mandjildjara	WA
Manjinjiwonga	Mandjindja	WA
Manmait	Kirrae	V
Manoo	Wandjira	NT
Mantjila	Mandjindja	WA
Mantjildjara	Mandjildjara	WA
Mantjiltjara	Mandjildjara	WA
Manu	Ngadjuri	SA
Manu	Wandjira	NT
Manuley	Ngadjuri	SA
Manunggu	Miwa	WA
Manungu	Miwa	WA
Manuri	Ngadjuri	SA
Manyarrngi	Djinang	NT
Mara	Murunitja	WA
Maradanggimiri	Duwal	NT
Maradungimi	Duwal	NT
Maragan	Pangerang	V
Marakulu	Duwal	NT
Maramanindji	Marimanindji	NT
Marangana	Ngarinjin	WA
Marangu	Duwal	NT
Maranunga	Marinunggo	NT
Maranunggo	Marinunggo	NT
Maranungo	Marinunggo	NT
Marapunda	Gulngai	Q
Mararba	Duwala	NT
Maratunia	Mardudunera	WA
Marawari	Morowari	NSW
Marawuraba	Barara	NT
Marbul	Ngarabal	NSW
Mardala	Wailpi	SA
Mardanjungu	Indjibandi	WA
Mardanung	Kaiadilt	Q
Maradathoni	Mardudunera	WA
Mardatuna	Mardudunera	WA
Mardatunera	Mardudunera	WA
Marditali	Ngarkat	SA
Marditali	Marditjali	V
Mardo	Wirdinja	WA
Mardudhoonera	Mardudunera	WA
Mardudhunera	Mardudunera	WA
Mardudhunira	Mardudunera	WA
Mardudjungara	Mardudunera	WA
Marduduna	Mardudunera	WA
Marduidji	Madoitja	WA
Mardula	Wailpi	SA
Mardunung	Kaiadilt	WA
Mardutunira	Mardudunera	WA
Mareaura	Maraura	NSW
Mareawura	Maraura	NSW
Marganj	Maraganji	Q
Margo	Jaako	NT
Margu	Jaako	NT
Margulitban	Gunwinggu	NT
Maridhiel	Marithiel	NT
Marigianbirik	Watta	NT
Marijadi	Marijedi	NT
Marimanindu	Marimanindji	NT
Marimejuna	Peramangk	SA
Maringa	Barara	NT
Marinyeri	Jarildekald	SA
Maritige	Magatige	NT
Maritjamiri	Marimanindji	NT
Mariung	Mariu	NT
Mariwada	Murinbata	NT
Mariwunda	Murinbata	NT
Mariwumiri	Nanggumiri	NT
Marlanunda	Kaiadilt	Q
Marlark	Duwal	NT
Marlgu	Jaako	NT
Marnganji	Maranganji	Q
Marokorei	Wenambal	WA
Maroonee	Goeng	Q
Maroura	Maraura	NSW
Marowera	Maraura	NSW
Marowra	Maraura	NSW
Marra	Mara	NT
Marraa' Warree'	Maraura	NSW
Marrago	Maijabi	Q
Marragulu	Duwal	NT
Marrakuli	Duwal	NT
Marrakulu	Duwal	NT
Marrala	Mitaka	Q
Marranada	Mitaka	Q

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Marrangu	Duwal	NT
Marranunga	Marinunggo	NT
Marrathanggimir	Duwal	NT
Marrawarra	Maraura	NSW
Marrgu	Jaako	NT
Marri	Larakia	NT
Maru	Ngawait	SA
Marukanji	Maranganji	Q
Marula	Marulta	Q
Marunga	Mitaka	Q
Marunganji	Maranganji	Q
Mataua	Muthimuthi	NSW
Matimati	Muthimuthi	NSW
Matjai:	Madjandji	Q
Matjandji	Madjandji	Q
Matju:nalatara	Pintubi	NT
Matjutu	Matuntara	NT
Matngelli	Madngela	NT
Matthee-matthee	Muthimuthi	NSW
Matutara	Matuntara	NT
Mau	Maung	NT
Maudalgo	Kangulu	Q
Maula	Waluwara	Q
Mauung	Maung	NT
Mayagoondoon	Maikudunu	Q
Mayatagoorri	Maithakari	Q
Mayoo	Mariu	NT
Mayu	Mariu	NT
Mbabaram	'Barbaram	Q
Mbalidjan	Winduwinda	Q
Mbatyana	Jupangati	Q
Mbenderinga	Aranda	NT
M-Berwum	Mbeiwum	Q
Mbe:wum	Mbeiwum	Q
Mbo:aru	Not identified	Q
Meananger	Minang	WA
Medaindi	Kaurna	SA
Meening	Mirning	WA
Meening (Njining)	Djaru	WA
Meenung	Minang	WA
Meeraman	Pibelmen	WA
Meern-anger	Minang	WA
Meeroni	Goeng	Q
Meerooni	Goeng	Q
Meintank	Meintangk	SA
Melbourne dialect	Wurundjeri	V
Melbourne tribe	Wurundjeri	V
Meljurna	Kaurna	SA
Mellool	Wembawemba	NSW
Melmenrura	Tanganekald	SA
Melville Islanders	Tunuvivi	NT
Menero tribe	Ngarigo	NSW
Merango	Duwal	NT
Mereldi	Peramangk and Kaurna	SA

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Merenji	Amangu	WA
Merildakald	Peramangk and Kaurna	SA
Merkani	Ngarkat	SA
Merkanie	Ngarkat	SA
Merri	Ngintait	SA
Merrikaba (Mathews 1900: 131 [Gr. 6559])	Not identified	Q
Meru (general term)	Ngaiawang, Ngawait, Nganguruku, and Erawirung	SA
Mettelittela Yerta	Maraura	NSW
Meyu	Kaurna	SA
Miah	Maia	WA
Mially	Maiawali	Q
Miappe	Maijabi	Q
Miappi	Maijabi	Q
Miarr-miarr	Nango	NT
Miccoolin	Maikulan	Q
Micoolan	Maikulan	Q
Midaga	Mitaka	Q
Midlanta	Kaurna	SA
Mikadoon	Maikudunu	Q
Mikkoolan	Maikulan	Q
Mikoodoono	Maikudunu	Q
Mikoolun	Maikudunu and Maikulan	Q
Milamada	Madoitja	WA
Milang dialect	Warki	SA
Milangburn	Jaadwa	V
Milingimbi	Djinang	NT
Milipitingara	Kaurna	SA
Millingimbi	Djinang	NT
Milmain-jericon	Tanganekald	SA
Milmendjuri	Tanganekald	SA
Milmendura	Tanganekald	SA
Milmenrura	Tanganekald	SA
Milparo	Barindji	NSW
Milpulko	Milpulo	NSW
Mimbara	Ngadjuri	SA
Minala	Mangala and Karadjari	WA
Minalnjunga	Whadjuk	WA
Minang	Balardong	WA
Minango	Widi	WA
Minangu	Widi	WA
Mingir	Mingin	Q
Minikin	Mingin	Q
Mining	Mirning	WA
Mininj [*sic*]	Mirning	WA
Minjangbal	Minjungbal	NSW
Minjiburu	Kariara	WA
Minjirbururu	Kariara	WA
Minjubururu	Kariara	WA
Minkabari	Bitjara	Q

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Minkin	Mingin	Q
Minnal Yungar (southern men)	Juat	WA
Minnal Yungar	Minang	WA
Minnal Yungar	Whadjuk	WA
Mininng (of Eucla)	Mirning	WA
Mininng (of Fraser Range)	Ngadjunmaia	WA
Minnitji	Puneitja	NT
Minung	Minang	WA
Minyambuta	Minjambuta	V
Minyowa	Minjungbal	NSW
Minyowa	Awabakal	NSW
Minyowie	Awabakal	NSW
Minyung	Minjungbal	NSW
Miorli	Maiawali	Q
Mirdiragoort	Warkawarka	V
Miriwong	Miriwung	WA
Miriwu	Miriwung	WA
Miriwun	Miriwung	WA
Mirkin	Kokomini	Q
Mirnong	Minang	WA
Mirong	Miriwung	WA
Mirung	Miriwung	WA
Mitagurdi	Maithakari	Q
Mit:aka	Mitaka	Q
Mitakoodi	Maithakari	Q
Mitakudi	Maithakari	Q
Mitro(o)-goordi	Maithakari	Q
Mit(t)agurdi	Maithakari	Q
Mittaka	Mitaka	Q
Mittakoodi	Maithakari	Q
Mittuka	Mitaka	Q
Miubbi	Maijabi	Q
Miulbi (misprint)	Maijabi	Q
Miwa	Jeidji and Kitja	WA
Miwadange	Jeidji	WA
Miwu	Jeidji	WA
Moama tribe	Jotijota	NSW
Mog-mbabarum	'Barbaram	Q
Mogullumbitch	Taungurong	V
Mogulum-buk	Taungurong	V
Moil	Maringar	NT
Moira	Jotijota	NSW
Moiraduban	Jotijota	NSW
Moitheriban	Jotijota	NSW
Mokaburra	Kuungkari	Q
Mole tribe	Kawambarai	NSW
Mollak-mollak	Ngolokwangga	NT
Molloroiji	Muluridji	Q
Molo	Worimi	NSW
Molonglo tribe	Ngunawal	NSW
Molyamidi	Arnga	WA
Momba	Danggali	SA
Mongup	Koreng	WA
Monkanu	Wikmunkan	Q

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Monnoo	Ngadjuri	SA
Monobar	Amarag	NT
Montgomery Islanders	Jaudjibaia	WA
Monulgundeech	Jaara	V
Moodburra	Mutpura	NT
Mooka	Madjandji	Q
Mooloola	Undanbi	Q
Moondjan	Nunukul	Q
Mooraboola	Karanja	Q
Mooran Mooran	Weraerai	NSW
Moorawarree	Morowari	NSW
Moorinnundjie	Narangga	SA
Moorloobulloo	Karanja	Q
Moorlooratchee	Muluridji	Q
Mooroon	Murunitja	WA
Mooroongga	Janango	NT
Moorta Moorta	Muthimuthi	NSW
Moorundee	Ngaiawang	SA
Moorundie	Ngaiawang	SA
Moorung-moobar	Kalibal	NSW
Mootaburra	Iningai	Q
Mootatunga	Meintangk	SA
Mootburra	Mutpura	NT
Moothaburra	Ilba	Q
Moothaburra	Iningai	Q
Mopor	Gunditjmara	V
Mordialloc tribe	Bunurong	V
Moreng	Miriwung	WA
Moreton Islanders	Ngugi	Q
Mornington Island tribe	Lardiil	Q
Mornington Islanders	Lardiil	Q
Morokorei	Jeidji	WA
Morrgu	Jaako	NT
Morruburra	Mamu	Q
Mortnoular	Wurundjeri	V
Morton Plains tribe	Jaadwa	V
Moruya tribe	Walbanga	NSW
Mount Barker tribe	Minang	WA
Mount Barker tribe	Peramangk	SA
Mount Emu tribe	Kurung	SA
Mount Gambier dialect	Bunganditj	SA
Mount Shadwell tribe	Kirrae	V
Mouralung-bula	Ngurelban	V
Moyl	Maringar	NT
Mudall	Wongaibon	NSW
Mudbara	Mutpura	NT
Mudbera	Mutpura	NT
Mudbra	Mutpura	NT
Mudbura	Mutpura	NT
Mudburra	Mutpura	NT
Muddhang	Jaitmathang	V
Mudia	Njakinjaki and Balardong	WA

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Mudila	Njakinjaki and Balardong	WA
Mudilja	Njakinjaki and Balardong	WA
Mudtnang	Jaitmathang	V
Mugargaralmiri	Duwala	NT
Muk-dhang	Bidawal and Krauatungalung	V
Mukinna	Bakanambia	Q
Mukja:dwen	Jaadwa	V
Mukjarawaint	Jaadwa	V
Muk-thang	Brabralung	V
Mularatara	Matuntara	NT
Mulari-ji	Muluridji	Q
Mularitchee	Muluridji	Q
Mulatara	Pitjandjara	SA
Mulgane	Wenambal	WA
Mulgrave River dialect	Idindji	Q
Muliara	Wadjari	WA
Muliarra	Wadjari	WA
Muljulpero-maru	Ngawait	SA
Mulkali	Kangulu	Q
Mullia-arpa	Maljangapa	NSW
Mullik-mullik	Ngolokwangga	NT
Mullinchi	Malintji	Q
Mullridgey	Muluridji	Q
Mulluk-mulluk	Ngolokwangga	NT
Mulngane	Wenambal	WA
Mulpira	Mutpura	NT
Mulukmuluk	Ngolokwangga	NT
Muluridyi	Muluridji	Q
Mulyanappa	Maljangapa	NSW
Mumandil (Davidson, 1938 map)	Not identified	WA
Mun-ba-rah	Wulgurukaba	Q
Mundaeinbura	Mandandanji	Q
Mundainbara	Mandandanji	Q
Munga	Ngardi	NT
Mungar	Wakawaka	Q
Mungarai	Mangarai	NT
Mungera	Ilba	Q
Mungerra	Ilba	Q
Mungerry	Mangarai	NT
Munggan	Wikmunkan	Q
Munggano	Wikmunkan	Q
Mungkibara	Ilba	Q
Minite	Minang	WA
Munkan	Wikmunkan	Q
Munkanj	Wikmunkan	Q
Munkanu	Wikmunkan	Q
Munkeeburra	Ilba	Q
Munkibura	Mian	Q
Mun-narngo	Djinang	NT
Muntaba	Kalkadungu	Q

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Munumbara	Wilawila	WA
Munumburu	Wilawila	WA
Muralag	Kaurareg	Q
Muralug	Kaurareg	Q
Murawari	Morowari	NSW
Murgoan	Maranganji	Q
Murgoin	Maranganji	Q
Murgura	Miwa	WA
Murijadi	Marijedi	NT
Murinandji	Narangga	SA
Murinbada	Murinbata	NT
Murindan	Maridan	NT
Murindjabin	Maridjabin	NT
Muringa	Maringar and Magatige	NT
Muringar	Maringar	NT
Muringata	Magatige	NT
Muringe	Magatige	NT
Murinkura	Murinbata and Muringura	NT
Murinmanindji	Marimanindji	NT
Murintjabin	Maridjabin	NT
Murintjameri	Marimanindji	NT
Murintjaran	Maridjabin	NT
Murinwumeri	Nanggumiri	NT
Murinyuwan	Djamindjung	NT
Murinyuwen	Djamindjung	NT
Murngain	Maranganji	Q
Murngin	Duwal and Duwala	NT
Murnidja	Murunitja	WA
Murragon	Maranganji	Q
Murra-Kamangee	Kamor	NT
Murram	Pibelmen	WA
Murra-murra-barap	Jaadwa	V
Murrawarri	Maiawali	Q
Murrawarri	Morowari	NSW
Murraygaro	Wandandian	NSW
Murrayman	Minang	WA
Murray People	Pindjarup	WA
Murray tribe	Pindjarup	WA
Murri	Bindal and Juru	Q
Murring	Ngarigo and Wandandian	NSW
Murrinjari	Ngunawal	NSW
Murrinnga	Maringar	NT
Murro	Barindji	NSW
Murrumgama	Barunggam	Q
Murrum-ningama	Barunggam	Q
Murrungama	Barunggam	Q
Murrungun	Nango	NT
Murueri	Morowari	NSW
Murundi	Ngaiawang	SA
Murungga	Nango	NT
Murunuta	Mitaka	Q
Muruworri	Morowari	NSW
Murwillumbah	Kalibal	NSW

Alternatives, etc.	Favored	
Mutabura	Iningai	Q
Mutimuti	Muthimuthi	NSW
Mutju	Djankun	Q
Muttaburra	Iningai	Q
Muttangulla	Madngela	NT
Mutte Mutte	Muthimuthi	NSW
Mutumi	Mutumui	Q
Mutyati	Mutjati	Q
Mwoirnewar	Dalla	Q
Myabi	Maijabi	Q
Myallee	Maiawali	Q
Myalli	Maiawali	Q
Myappe	Maijabi	Q
Myarah	Idindji	Q
Mycoolon	Maikulan	Q
Mygoodan	Maikudunu	Q
Mygoodano	Maikudunu	Q
Mygoolan	Maikulan	Q
Mykoolan	Maikulan	Q
Mykulau	Maikulan	Q
Myngeen	Mingin	Q
Myoli	Maiawali	Q
Mythaguddi	Maithakari	Q
Mythugadi	Maithakari	Q
Mythuggadi	Maithakari	Q
Nabijangkadjara	Kokatja	WA
Nabijangkundjara	Kokatja	WA
Nabiwangkadjara	Ildawongga	WA
Nadja	Karadjari	WA
Nadja-nadja	Karadjari	WA
Nagadja	Nokaan	WA
Nagaira	Nakara	NT
Nagara	Nakara	NT
Nagodja	Nokaan	WA
Nahwangan (Mathews, 1899 [Gr 6445])	Not identified	Q
Naiang	Arakwal	NSW
Naiawu	Ngaiawang	SA
Nakaku	Nakako	WA
Naka:ra	Nakara	NT
Naladaer	Duwal	NT
Nalagen	Ngalakan	NT
Nalakan	Ngalakan	NT
Nalanalagen	Ngalakan	NT
Nalawgi	Not identified	NT
Nalawonga	Ngalawongga	WA
Nalbo	Dalla	Q
Nalboo	Dalla	Q
Naljara	Wirangu	SA
Nallura	Alura	NT
Nalmadjeri	Walmadjari	WA
Naluma	Ngaluma	WA
Nalunghee	Ngarkat	SA
Nalyanapa	Maljangapa	NSW

Alternatives, etc.	Favored	
Namal	Njamal	WA
Nambila-nambila	Wongkadjera	Q
Nambuda	Ngalia	NT
Nambulatji	Kokatja	WA
Nambulatji	Walpiri and Ngalia	NT
Namel	Njamal	WA
Namula	Wenambal	WA
Nanait (misprint)	Ngawait	SA
Nanakari	Widi	WA
Nanakati	Widi	WA
Nanatjara	Nana	WA
Nan:atjara	Nana	WA
Nandatjali	Jaadwa	V
Nandi	Kotandji	NT
Nandi	Ngandi	NT
Nandu	Mandi	WA
Nangabuya	Nunggubuju	NT
Nangadjara	Nangatara	WA
Nangako	Nakako	WA
Nangakopitja	Nakako	WA
Nangamada	Njangamarda	WA
Nangamurda	Njangamarda	WA
Nangandjara	Nangatadjara and Nana	WA
Nangaridjara	Nana	WA
Nangaritjara	Pini	WA
Nangata	Nangatadjara	WA
Nangatadjara	Nangatadjara and Pitjandjara	SA
Nangga	Ngalea	SA
Nanggaranggu	Ngalea	SA
Nanggarangku	Ngalea	SA
Nanggarangku	Mandjindja	WA
Nanggatha	Nangatadjara	WA
Nanggiomeri	Nanggumiri	NT
Nanggiwumiri	Nanggumiri	NT
Nangi	Nangatara	WA
Nangiblerbi	Not identified	NT
Nangimera	Nanggumiri	NT
Nangimeri	Nanggumiri	NT
Nangiomeri	Nanggumiri	NT
Nangor	Murinbata	NT
Nangu	Murinbata	NT
Nangu	Nango	NT
Nangumarda	Njangamarda	WA
Nangumiri	Nanggumiri	NT
Nanidjara	Nangatara	WA
Nanidjara	Wanman	WA
Nanja	Danggali	SA
Nanjara	Danggali	SA
Nankundjara	Jangkundjara	SA
Nantuwara	Kaurna	SA
Nantuwaru	Kaurna	SA
Nanu	Wadjari	WA
Nanudu	Njangamarda	WA
Narboo Murre	Jambina	Q

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Narbul	Ngarabal	NSW
Narcha	Ngatjan	Q
Nargalundju	Not identified	Q
Nariman	Ngarinman	NT
Narranga	Narangga	SA
Narrangga	Narangga	SA
Narrang-gu	Narangga	SA
Narrang-u	Narangga	SA
Narrinyeri (general term)	Jarildekald, Ramindjeri, and text	SA
Narrinyind	Ngarinjin	WA
Narung	Tulua	Q
Narunga	Narangga	SA
Narwejung	Ngawait	SA
Narwijjerook	Ngawait	SA
Narwijjong	Ngawait	SA
Nata	Nguriu	WA
Natchin	Ngatjan	Q
Natingero	Kalamaia	WA
Natrakboolok	Taungurong	V
Natrakbulok	Taungurong	V
Naua	Nauo	SA
Nauait	Ngawait	SA
Naudu	Karadjari	WA
Naungaun	Ngaun	Q
Nawalko	Naualko	NSW
Nawo	Nauo	SA
Nawudu	Jawuru	WA
Nawudu	Karadjari	WA
Nawurungainj	Karadjari	WA
Ndorndorin	Winduwinda	Q
Ndraangit	Winduwinda	Q
Ndruangit	Winduwinda	Q
Ndwangit	Winduwinda	Q
Ndwongit	Winduwinda	Q
Nedgulada	Atjinuri	Q
Nee-inuwon	Anaiwan	NSW
Neening	Djaru	WA
Negunbah	Ngemba	NSW
Neinggu	Gunwinggu	NT
Neinngu	Gunwinggu	NT
Nemarang [*sic*]	Janggal	Q
Nenidjara	Wanman	WA
Nerboolok	Taungurong	V
Newcastle tribe	Awabakal	NSW
New Norcia tribe	Juat	WA
Ngaada	Ngadadjara	WA
Ngaadalwuli	Iwaidja	NT
Ngaadapitjardi	Nana	WA
Ngaadawuli	Iwaidja	NT
Ngachanji	Ngatjan	Q
Ngada	Ngadadjara	WA
Nga:da	Ngadadjara	WA
Ngadadara	Ngadadjara	WA
Ngadadjara	Ngadadjara	WA

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Ngadadjara	Jumu	NT
Ngadatwuli	Iwaidja	NT
Ngadarai (['ŋatari] = stranger)	Kartudjara and others	WA
Ngadatara	Ngadadjara	WA
Ngadatjara	Ngadadjara	WA
Ngadawongga	Ngadadjara and Ngaiawongga	WA
Ngadhawonga	Ngaiawongga	WA
Ngadi	Ngardi	WA
Ngadja	Nokaan	WA
Ngadjadjara	Mirning	WA
Ngadjatara	Ngadadjara	WA
Ngadjen	Ngatjan	Q
Ngadju:	Ngadjunmaia	WA
Ngadjudjara	Mirning	WA
Ngadjukura	Walmadjari	WA
Ngadjumaja	Ngadjunmaia	WA
Ngadjunma	Ngadjunmaia	WA
Ngadjunmaja	Ngadjunmaia	WA
Ngadjunpakara	Ngadjunmaia	WA
Ngadjunpukara	Ngadjunmaia	WA
Ngadjuwonga	Mirning	WA
Ngadluri	Ngadjuri	SA
Ngadok	Ngardok	NT
Ngadug	Ngardok	NT
Ngadyan	Ngatjan	Q
Ngaiamba	Ngemba	NSW
Ngaiangari	Ola	WA
Ngaiawung	Ngaiawang	SA
Ngaijawa	Ngaiawang	SA
Ngaikungo	Djankun	Q
Ngaikungo-i	Djankun	Q
Ngaikungu	Djankun	Q
Ngainan	Walmadjari	WA
Ngainman	Ngarinman	NT
Ngainmun	Ngarinman	NT
Ngaitjandji	Ngatjan	Q
Ngaiuwonga	Ngaiawongga	WA
Ngaiyau	Ngaiawang	SA
Ngaiyawa	Ngaiawang	SA
Ngajawonga	Ngaiawongga	WA
Ngajimil	Dangu	NT
Nga:la	Ngarla	WA
Ngalado	Duwal	NT
Ngaladharr	Duwal	NT
Ngalagan	Ngalakan	NT
Ngalama	Ngaluma	WA
Ngalana	Ngarla	WA
Ngalangari	Ola	WA
Ngalangi	Ngaro	Q
Ngalapita	Nangatadjara	WA
Ngalarkan	Ngalakan	NT
Ngalawonga	Ngarlawongga	WA
Ngalawongga	Ngarlawongga	WA
Ngalbagutja	Wotjobaluk	V

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Ngalbon	Ngandi	NT
Ngalea	Ngalia	NT
Ngalea	Ngalea	SA
Ngalgbun	Ngandi	NT
Ngali	Ngalia	NT
Ngalia	Ngalea	SA
Ngalia	Ngalia	NT
Ngalia wongga	Ngalea	SA
Ngaliwerun	Ngaliwuru	NT
Ngalkbon	Dalabon	NT
Ngallia	Ngalia	NT
Ngalundji	Ngarkat	SA
Ngaluri	Ngadjuri	SA
Ngamadi	Nggamadi	Q
Ngamatta	Nggamadi	Q
Ngambar	Ngamba	NSW
Ngamini	Ngameni	SA
Ngaminni	Ngameni	SA
Ngamiti	Nggamadi	Q
Ngammatti	Nggamadi	Q
Ngamurag	Amarak	NT
Ngamurak	Amarak	NT
Nga:mu:rak	Amarak	NT
Ngan:a	Nana	WA
Nganadjara	Nana	WA
Nganandjara	Nangatadjara	WA
Nganang	Walmadjari	WA
Nganawara	Kaurna	SA
Ngandada	Mirning	WA
Ngandangura	Thereila and Ngandangara	Q
Ngandanina	Ngurawola	Q
Nagandatha	Mirning	WA
Ngadjara	Wiknantjara	Q
Ngandji	Kotandji	NT
Ngadowul	Minjungbal	NSW
Ngalkbon	Dalabon	NT
Ngangi	Kotandji	NT
Nganitjiadia	Kokata	SA
Nganitjidi	Kujani and Kokata	SA
Nganitjini	Kokata	SA
Nganji	Kotandji	NT
Ngannityddi (misprint)	Kujani	SA
Ngannityiddi	Kujani and Kokata	SA
Nganudu	Njangamarda	WA
Nganya	Danggali	SA
Ngao	Nauo	SA
Ngaon	Ngaun	Q
Ngapakarna	Njangamarda	WA
Ngapakoreilitja	Njangamarda	WA
Ngapanga	Barara	NT
Ngara	Nakara	NT
Ngarabana	Arabana	SA
Ngarabul	Ngarabal	NSW
Ngarago	Ngarigo	NSW

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Ngaragri	Kunggari	Q
Ngaralt	Ngaralta	SA
Ngaraltu	Ngaralta	SA
Ngarangari	Ola	WA
Ngarangari	Ongkomi	WA
Ngardulk	Ngardok	NT
Ngardungardu	Njangamarda	WA
Ngarego	Ngarigo	NSW
Ngargaminjin	Nanggumiri	NT
Ngargawonga	Ngaiawongga	WA
Ngari	Ngardi	WA
Ngariba	Araba	Q
Ngarico	Ngarigo	NSW
Ngarigu	Ngarigo	NSW
Ngarilia	Ngalia	NT
Ngaring-ngyan	Ngarinjin	WA
Ngarkato	Ngarkat	SA
Ngarla (of Ashburton area)	Ngarlawongga	WA
Ngarla (of De Grey River)	Ngarla	WA
Ngarla-warngga	Ngarlawongga	WA
Ngarluma	Ngaluma	WA
Ngarra	Marrago	Q
Ngarrabul	Ngarabal	NSW
Ngarri-mouro	Joti-jota	NSW
Ngarrimowro	Jotijota	NSW
Ngarroogoo	Ngarigo	NSW
Ngarrugu	Ngarigo	NSW
Ngarukwillam	Wurundjeri	V
Ngaryo	Ngarigo	NSW
Ngatari (strangers)	Nana, Kartudjara and others	WA
Ngatatara (of Roheim)	Jumu (*not* the Ngadadjara of WA)	NT
Ngatatara (misprint)	Ngadadjara	WA
Ngatatjara (of Gould)	Ngadadjara	WA
Ngatja	Ngatjan	Q
Ngatjai	Ngatjan	Q
Ngatjuwalda	Wailpi	SA
Ngaunmardi	Ninanu	WA
Ngawaitjung	Ngawait	SA
Ngawangati	Winduwinda	Q
Ngawataingeti	Winduwinda	Q
Ngawijung	Ngawait	SA
Ngayimil	Dangu	NT
Ngeimil	Dangu	NT
Ngengenwuru	Jaadwa	V
Ngen-gomeri	Nanggumiri	NT
Ngenngenwurro	Jaadwa	V
Ngerget	Ngarkat	SA
Ngerikadi	Jupangati	Q
Ngerikudi	Jupangati	Q
Ngerla	Ngarla	WA
Ngerringun	Ngarinjin	WA
Ngeruketi	Ngarkat	SA

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Ngeumba	Ngemba	NSW
Ngeunba	Ngemba	NSW
Nggamiti	Nggamadi	Q
Nggauaiyo-wangko	Ngaiawang	SA
Nggerikudi	Jupangati	Q
Nggirikudi	Jupangati	Q
Nggot	Winduwinda	Q
Nghungar	Wardandi	WA
Ngiamba	Ngemba	NSW
Ngirla	Ngarla	WA
Ngirma (means language)	Djirubal	Q
-ngit (suffix)	Winduwinda	Q
Ngiumba	Weilwan	NSW
Ngkamadyi	Nggamadi	Q
Ngnaminni	Ngameni	SA
Ngoala	Noala	WA
Ngoboringi	Ngoborindi	Q
Ngoborundji	Ngoborindi	Q
Ngoera	Dalla	Q
Ngokanitjarda	Mangala	WA
Ngokgurring	Wudjari	WA
Ngowurring	Wudjari	WA
Ngoleiadjara	Wirangu	SA
Ngolok Wanggar	Ngolokwangga	NT
Ngombaru	Ngombal	WA
Ngonde	Antakarinja	SA
Ngondejana	Antakarinja	SA
Ngonde Jangkundja	Jangkundjara	SA
Ngonde Ngolajanu	Jangkundjara	SA
Ngondidjara	Potidjara	WA
Ngoonawal	Ngunawal	NSW
Ngooraialum	Ngurelban and Taungurong	V
Ngoorie	Nguri	Q
Ngorbur	Ngormbur	NT
Ngorgaminjin	Nanggumiri	NT
Ngormbal	Ngombal	WA
Ngorm-bur	Ngormbur	NT
Ngot	Winduwinda	Q
Ngrainmun	Ngarinman	NT
Ngulangulanji	Kulumali	Q
Ngulkpun	Ngalakan	NT
Ngulubulu	Karanja	Q
Nguludjara	Ngurlu	WA
Ngulugwongga	Ngolokwangga	NT
Ngulukwongga	Ngolokwangga	NT
Ngulutjara	Ngurlu	WA
Ngumbu	Ngormbur	NT
Ngundan	Nunukul	Q
N′ gundi	Ngandi	NT
N gundi	Ngandi	NSW
Ngundjan	Nunukul and Ngundjan	Q
Ngunhalgri	Naualko	NSW
Ngunhalgru	Naualko	NSW
Ngunuwal	Ngunawal	NSW
Nguraialum	Taungurong and Ngurelban	V
Nguramal	Ngarigo	NSW
Ngurʿand	Tjongkandji	Q
Ngurilim	Ngurelban	V
Ngurla	Ngarla	WA
Ngurlindjeri	Peramangk	SA
Nguro	Bunganditj	SA
(Ng)uthukuti	Ngathokudi	Q
Ngutuk	Kirrae and Gunditjmara	V
Ngutung	Kirrae	V
Ngwataingeti	Winduwinda	Q
Nhangu	Nango	NT
Niawoo	Ngaiawang	SA
Nickol Bay tribe	Ngaluma	WA
Nielyi-guli	Barindji	NSW
Nigena	Njikena	WA
Niggerikudi	Jupangati	Q
Night Islanders	Kawadji	Q
Nilcanconedeets	Gunditjmara	V
Nimalda	Wailpi	SA
Nimanboro	Nimanburu	WA
Nimanbur	Nimanburu	WA
Nimara	Tunuvivi	NT
Nimbalda	Wailpi	SA
Nimbaldi	Wailpi	SA
Nimboy	Kumbainggiri	NSW
Nimmi	Jiman	Q
Nimp-mam-wern	Tatitati	V
Ninaanu	Ninanu	WA
Ningburia	Nunggubuju	NT
Ningebal	Darambal	Q
Ninghi	Jagara	Q
Nining	Djaru	WA
Ninu	Wadjari	WA
Niol-niol	Njulnjul	WA
Nirababaluk	Taungurong	V
Nirabaluk	Taungurong	V
Niungacko	Ngaku	NSW
Njadamarda	Njangamarda	WA
Njagi	Njakinjaki	WA
Njagiman	Njakinjaki	WA
Njakali	Tjapukai	Q
Njalbo	Dalla	Q
Njalia	Ngalia	NT
Njalmal	Njamal	WA
Njamat	Njamal	WA
Njambulatji	Walpiri	NT
Njana	Wadjari	WA
Njangadjara	Nangatara	WA
Njangamada	Njangamarda	WA
Njangga	Janjula	NT
Njangga:l	Janggal	Q
Njangkala	Janjula	NT

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Njangomada	Njangamarda	WA
Njangumada	Njangamarda	WA
Njangumarda	Njangamarda	WA
Njangumata	Njangamarda	WA
Njanidjara	Wanman	WA
Njanjamarta	Njangamarda	WA
Njanu	Wadjari	WA
Njao	Nauo	SA
Njata	Ngurlu	WA
Njau	Nauo	SA
Njawatjurk	Ngawait	SA
Njiabali	Niabali	WA
Njigana	Njikena	WA
Njigena	Njikena	WA
Njigina	Njikena	WA
Njijabali	Niabali	WA
Njikini	Njikena	WA
Njindango	Kalamaia	WA
Njindingga	Barungguan	Q
Njingarinjanja	Ngarinjin	WA
Njingipalaru	Nangatadjara	WA
Njinin	Djaru	WA
Njining	Djaru	WA
Njirma	Djirubal	Q
Njol-njol	Njulnjul	WA
Njung	Arakwal	NSW
Njungar	Wudjari and Njunga	WA
Njungura	(Wudjari) and Njunga	WA
Njuntauntaya	Ringaringa	Q
Njuntundjara	Antakirinja	SA
Njanwiki	Danggali	SA
Nmatjera	Anmatjera	NT
Noalanji	Norweilemil	NT
Noanamaronga	Noala	WA
Noella	Noala	WA
Noga:n	Nokaan	WA
Nogan	Nokaan	WA
Nokunna	Nukunu	SA
Nokunno	Nukunu	SA
Nona	Nana	WA
Nonga	Wirangu	SA
Nonga	Wudjari	WA
Nonnia	Danggali	SA
Nooanamaronga	Noala	WA
Noocoona	Nukunu	SA
Noogoon	Koenpal	Q
Nookoona	Nukunu	SA
Noolulgo	Kula	NSW
Noonuccal	Nunukul	Q
Noonukul	Nunukul	Q
Noorillim	Ngurelban	V
Noowidal	Widjabal	NSW
Nordaniman	Nanggikorongo	NT
Nouralung-bula	Ngurelban	V
Nouun	Ngaun	Q
Nowan	Anaiwan	NSW
Nowgyjul	Widjabal	NSW
Nowo	Nauo	SA
Nuala	Noala	WA
Nugubuyu	Nunggubuju	NT
Nuguna	Nukunu	SA
Nugunu	Nukunu	SA
Nukuna	Nukunu	SA
Nukunna	Nukunu	SA
Nukunnu	Nukunu	SA
Nukunukubara	Wakawaka	Q
Nulit	Braiakaulung	V
Nulla	Arabana	SA
Nullakun	Ngalakan	NT
Nulla Nulla	Dainggati	NSW
Nullikan	Ngalakan	NT
Nulliker	Thaua	NSW
Nullikin	Ngalakan	NT
Nundatyalli	Jaadwa	V
Nundjulpi	Diakui	NT
Nunga	Wudjari (and Njunga)	WA
Nungabuya	Nunggubuju	NT
Nungabuyu	Nunggubuju	NT
Nungali	Jilngali	NT
Nungawal	Ngunawal	NSW
Nunggaboju	Nunggubuju	NT
Nunggubuiju	Nunggubuju	NT
Nunggubuyu	Nunggubuju	NT
Nunguboiyu	Nunggubuju	NT
Nungubuyu	Nunggubuju	NT
Nunkaberri	Noala	WA
Nunydjulpi	Diakui	NT
Nuralda	Wailpi	SA
Nutcha	Ngintait	SA
Nutcheyong	Tjapwurong	V
Nuthergalla	Wurundjeri	V
Nyakali	Tjapukai	Q
Nyamal	Njamal	Q
Nyamba	Ngemba	NSW
Nyamel	Njamal	WA
Nyangamada	Njangamarda	WA
Nyangumada	Njangamarda	WA
Nyangumata	Njangamarda	WA
Nyanjumata	Njangamarda	WA
Nyauaitj	Ngawait	SA
Nyawigi	Nawagi	Q
Nyerri-nyeri	Jarijari	V
Nyigina	Njikena	WA
Nyi-gini	Njikena	WA
Nyinin	Djaru	WA
Nyirme	Djirubal	Q
Nyolnyol	Njulnjul	WA
Nyul-nyul	Njulnjul	WA
Nyung	Arakwal	NSW

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Nyungar	Wudjari	WA
Nyuwathayi	Njuwathai	Q
Oamu	Koamu	Q
Obor-indi	Ngoborindi	Q
Oboroondi	Ngoborindi	Q
Obulgara	Duwala	NT
Oco-carnigal	Kokangol	Q
Ohalo	Mamu	Q
Oharra	Lotiga	Q
Oikand	Kwantari	Q
Oiljpma	Aranda	NT
Oitbo	Oitbi	NT
Oiyamkwi	Ankamuti	Q
O:kada	Umede	WA
Okara	Lotiga	Q
Okat	Umede	WA
O:ka:ta	Umede	WA
Oken	Umede	WA
Okenyika	Wakaman	Q
Okerkila	Walangama and Kungara	Q
Okerlika	Kunggara and Walangama	Q
Okerlila	Kunggara and, Walangama	Q
Oket	Umede	WA
Okundjain	Ngundjan	Q
Okuntjel	Kutjal	Q
Okwata	Umede	WA
O:kwata	Ongkarango	WA
Oladjau	Ngarinjin	WA
Oladjau	Ola	WA
Olcoola	Olkolo	Q
Olgolo	Olkolo	Q
Olkol	Olkolo	Q
Olongbura	Ngulungbara	Q
Ombalkari	Jeidji	WA
Ominee	Ngameni	SA
Ompeila	Ombila	Q
Ompela	Ombila	Q
Ompindamo (McConnel, 1939–1940:56)	Not identified	Q
Oncooburra	Mian	Q
Ondaima	Ankamuti	Q
Ongabula	Kongabula	Q
Ongarnjan	Ongkomi	WA
Ongkakaringa	Wagoman	NT
Ongkarang	Ongkarango	WA
Ong Komi	Ongkomi	WA
Ongkongura	Wongkanguru	SA
Ongwara	Mutumui	Q
Onyengadi	Unjadi	Q
Oolawunga	Wulwulam	NT
Ooloopooloo	Karanja	Q
Oolwunga	Wulwulam	NT
Oombarbarum	ʿBarbaram	Q
Oombilla	Ombila	Q
Oondumbi	Undanbi	Q
Oonoomurra	Wanamara	Q
Ooraialum	Ngurelban	V
Oorilim	Ngurelban	V
Oorm-bur	Ngormbur	NT
Oorongir	Wurundjeri	V
Orailku	Kartudjara and Ildawongga	WA
Orambul	Baiali	Q
Orangema	Kureinji	NSW
Orara	Kumbainggiri	NSW
O:tati	Otati	Q
Outjanbah	Djinba	NT
Owanburra	Jagalingu	Q
Owanguttha	Pangerang	V
Owari	See Catalog under Kaiabara	Q
Owinia	Kujani	SA
Owoilkulla (Mathews, 1899 [Gr. 6445])	Not identified	Q
Oyonggo	Unjadi	Q
Oyungo	Unjadi	Q
Paboinboolok	Ngurelban	V
Padimaia	Barimaia	WA
Padnayndie	Kaurna	SA
Padthaway tribe	Potaruwuti	SA
Pago	Miwa	WA
Paiamba	Giabal	Q
Paienbera	Thaua	NSW
Paienbra	Thaua	NSW
Paiendra	Thaua	NSW
Paikalyug	Badjalang	NSW
Paikalyung	Badjalang	NSW
Pailgo	Bailgu	WA
Pailgu	Bailgu	WA
Painbali	Meintangk	SA
Paintjunga	Meintangk	SA
Paiunggu	Baijungu	WA
Pakindji	Barkindji	NSW
Pakudjara	Not identified	WA
Pakulja	Jumu	NT
Pa:kulja	Jumu	NT
Palgu	Bailgu	WA
Paljari	Ngaluma	WA
Paljarri	Bailgu	WA
Paljarri	Kariara	WA
Paljarri	Kitja	WA
Pallaganmiddah	Pangerang	V
Pallidurgbarran	Katubanuut	V
Pama-Nyungan (not a tribal term but a linguist's artifact)		
Panara	Ngardi	NT

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Panara	Kokatja (also comment)	WA
Pand'ima	Pandjima	WA
Pandjanu	Pini	WA
Pangara	Waluwara	Q
Panggara	Waluwara	Q
Panggarang	Pangerang	V
Pangorang	Pangerang	V
Panika (error)	Pintubi	NT
Panjima	Pandjima	WA
Pankalla	Pangkala	SA
Pankarla	Pangkala	SA
Panpandoor	Ngurelban	V
Panyool	Ngurelban	V
Paodudjara	Potidjara	WA
Papagunu	Wongkumara	Q
Pardoak	Ngadjunmaia	WA
Pardoo	Kokatja	WA
Pardu	Potidjara	WA
Paridke	Danggali	SA
Parimaia	Barimaia	WA
Paringgara	Waluwara	Q
Paritke	Danggali	SA
Parkala	Pangkala	SA
Parkengee	Barkindji	NSW
Parkingee	Barkindji	NSW
Parkingees	Barkindji	NSW
Parkungi	Barkindji	NSW
Parnabal	Barna	Q
Parnkala	Pangkala	SA
Parnkalla	Pangkala	SA
Paroinge	Parundji	NSW
Parooinge	Parundji	NSW
Paroola	Aranda	NT
Parran-binye	Baranbinja	NSW
Parrungoom	Barunggam	Q
Partama	Wongkanguru	SA
Partutu	Pitjandjara	SA
Partutu	Potidjara	WA
Partutudjara	Potidjara	WA
Paruindi	Parundji	NSW
Paruindji	Parundji	NSW
Paruru	Ngaiawang and Ramindjeri	SA
Patimara	Barimaia	WA
Patudja	Potidiara	WA
Patudjara	Potidjara	WA
Patun	Kokopatun	Q
Patyala	Batjala	Q
Pawutudjara	Potidjara	WA
Peake tribe	Arabana	SA
Pedong	Kokatja	WA
Peechera	Pitjara	Q
Peechintarra	Pitjandjara	SA
Peedona	Buruna	WA
Peedona	Kokatja	WA

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Peedong	Kokatja	WA
Peeita	Ngaiawang	SA
Peejine	Pindjarup	WA
Peekumble	Bigambul	Q
Peekwhuurong	Gunditjmara	V
Pegulloburra	Mian	Q
Pela	Miwa	WA
Pelange	Miwa	WA
Peneitja	Puneitja	NT
Penjarra	Pindjarup	WA
Peopleman	Pibelmen	WA
Pepelman	Pibelmen	WA
Peramarma	Peramangk	SA
Perango	Nango	NT
Peremanggurei	Wunambal	WA
Perembba	Biria (Bowen River)	Q
Perenbba	Biria (Bowen River)	Q
Pernowie	Wanjiwalku	NSW
Pernowrie	Wanjiwalku	NSW
Perrakee (Mathews, 1900 [Gr. 6447])	Not identified	
Perth tribe	Whadjuk	WA
Pertobe	Kirrae	V
Piangil	Watiwati	V
Piarngongo	Wilawila	WA
Pibilum	Pibelmen	WA
Pibiri	Pitjandjara	SA
Piblemen	Pibelmen	WA
Pickimbul	Bigambul	Q
Picumbill	Bigambul	Q
Pidjain	Pindjarup	WA
Pidjandja	Pitjandjara	SA
Pidjandjara	Pitjandjara	SA
Pidlatapa	Pilatapa	SA
Pidong (of Murchison)	Wadjari	WA
Pidshandsha	Pitjandjara	SA
Pidung (general term)	Kokatja	WA
Pidunga (general term)	Kokatja	WA
Pindungu (general term)	Ngaiawongga	WA
Pieta	Ngaiawang	SA
Pijindarra	Pitjandjara	SA
Pijita	Ngaiawang	SA
Pikambal	Bigambul	Q
Pikkolatpan	Jeithi and Kwatkwat	NSW V
Piladapa	Pilatapa	SA
Pilladapa	Pilatapa	SA
Pilliapp	Pilatapa	SA
Pillitapa	Pilatapa	SA
Pimpandoor	Ngurelban	V
Pinbinga	Binbinga	NT

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Pinchunga	Meintangk	SA
Pindu	Pintubi	NT
Pindubi	Pintubi	NT
Pinegerine	Pangerang	V
Pinegorine	Pangerang	V
Pinegorong	Pangerang	V
Pincjunga	Meintangk	SA
Piniiri	Pini	WA
Pinikurra	Binigura	WA
Piniridjara	Pini	WA
Pinjarra	Pindjarup	WA
Pinpandoor	Nguralban	V
Pinpinga	Binbinga	NT
Pi:ntubi	Pintubi	NT
Pintubidjara	Pintubi	NT
Pintubina	Pintubi	NT
Pintubu	Pintubi	NT
Pintudjara	Pintubi	NT
Pintularapi	Pintubi	NT
Pintularapi	Wenamba	WA
Pintunala	Pintubi	NT
Pintupi	Pintubi	NT
Pintuyi	Pintubi	NT
Pintwa	Kureinji	NSW
Pinuri	Pini	WA
Piria	Bidia (Thomson River)	Q
Pirt-kopan-noot	Tjapwurong	V
Pirt-kopen-noot	Tjapwurong	V
Pitangu	Walmadjari	WA
Pitjandjadjara	Pitjandjara	SA
Pitjanjarra	Pitjandjara	SA
Pitjantjara	Pitjandjara	SA
Pitjantjatjara	Pitjandjara	SA
Pitjanzazara	Pitjandjara	SA
Pitjapitja	Aranda	NT
Pitjendadjara	Pitjandjara	SA
Pitjentara	Pitjandjara	SA
Pitjima	Aranda	NT
Pitjindjatjara	Pitjandjara	SA
Pitjinjara	Pitjandjara	SA
Pitjinjiara	Pitjandjara	SA
Pitjintara	Pitjandjara	SA
Pitjintjitjira	Pitjandjara	SA
Pitta	Ngaiawang	SA
Pittapitta	Pitapita	Q
Pitteroo	Bitjara	Q
Pituari	Pitjandjara	SA
Plinara	Bilingara	NT
Poidgerry	Badjiri	Q
Pokai	Duulngari	WA
Polinjunga	Potaruwutj	SA
Pomp-malkie	Erawirung	SA
Pomunda	Portaulun	SA
Pongo-pongo	Pongaponga	NT
Pono	Wanjiwalku	NSW

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Poomunda	Portaulun	SA
Poordoona	Buruna	WA
Pooroga	Jirandali	Q
Poroko	Potidjara	WA
Portbulluc	Jaadwa	V
Port Fairy tribe	Gunditjamara	V
Port Stephens tribe	Worimi	NSW
Port Stevens [*sic*] tribe	Worimi	NSW
Potangola	Potaruwutj	SA
Potitjara	Potidjara	WA
Preagalgh	Bigambul	Q
Prince of Wales Islanders	Kaurareg	Q
Pukunna	Nukunu	SA
Pulanja	Jaroinga	NT
Pularli	Barindji	NSW
Pulgoe	Bailgu	WA
Pulladapa	Pilatapa	SA
Punaka (MS)	Puneitja	NT
Punamba	Punaba	WA
Pundju Njamal	Njamal	WA
Pund'u N'amal	Njamal	WA
Pundur	Walmadjari	WA
Pungandaitj	Bunganditj	SA
Pungandik	Bunganditj	SA
Pungantitj	Bunganditj	SA
Pungatitj	Bunganditj	SA
Punjuru	Antakirinja	SA
Punkalla	Pangkala	SA
Punkirla	Pangkala	SA
Punoinjon	Tjapwurong	V
Punuatch	Njakinjaki	WA
Punuurlu	Puneitja	NT
Punwatch	Njakinjaki	WA
Purditara	Potidjara	WA
Purduna	Buruna	WA
Purkaburra	Jangaa	Q
Purteet-chally	Tjapwurong	V
Puruga	Maiawali	Q
Puruna	Buruna	WA
Purungari	Kambure	WA
Puruwantung	Ngardi	NT
Putitjara	Potidjara	WA
Putjin	Portaulun	SA
Putmaroo	Bunurong	V
Putnaroo	Bunurong	V
Quailup	Kaneang	WA
Qualcup	Kaneang	WA
Qualluana	Ngaluma	WA
Qualup	Kaneang	WA
Quartquart	Kwatkwat	V
Queenbulla	Kwiambal	NSW
Quieumble	Kwiambal	NSW
Quippen-burra	Wanamara	Q

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Raakudi	Jupangati	Q
Rabuna	Arabana	SA
Rainbarngo	Rembarunga	NT
Rakudi	Jupangati	Q
Ramindjerar	Ramindjeri	SA
Ramingara	Ramindjeri	SA
Ramingaries	Ramindjeri	SA
Raminjeri	Ramindjeri	SA
Raminyeri	Ramindjeri	SA
Ramong	Ramindjeri	SA
Ranjbarngo	Rembarunga	NT
Rankbirit	Erawirung	SA
Ratarapa	Ngarkat	SA
Reinbaranga	Rembarunga	NT
Rembaranga	Rembarunga	NT
Rembarnga	Rembarunga	NT
Rembarrna	Rembarunga	NT
Rembarrnga	Rembarunga	NT
Rembranga	Rembarunga	NT
Rereri	Beriguruk	NT
Reveri	Beriguruk	NT
Ridarngo	Diakui	NT
Ringaringaroo	Ringaringa	Q
Ringarungawah	Rungarungawa	Q
Ringoringo	Ringaringa	Q
Ringuringu	Ringaringa	Q
Riraidjango	Dangu	NT
Riratjingu	Dangu	NT
Rirratjinga	Dangu	NT
Rirratjingu	Dangu	NT
Ritaringo	Diakui	NT
Ritarngo	Diakui	NT
Ritarngu	Diakui	NT
Ritarungo	Diakui	NT
Ritharingau	Diakui	NT
Rittarungo	Diakui	NT
Rockhampton dialect	Darambal	Q
Roongkari	Kalkadungu	Q
Roper tribe	Mara	NT
Rormear	Ramindjeri	SA
Ruby Creek tribe	Djaru	WA
Rukkia	Rakkaia	Q
Rumudjara	Ngadadjara	WA
Runda	Ngurunta	SA
Runga-rungawah	Rungarungawa	Q
Rungkari	Kalkadungu	Q
Rungo rungo	Rungarungawa	Q
Runta	Ngurunta	SA
Russell River dialect	Ngatjan	Q
Scherits	Djerait	NT
Scotia Blacks	Danggali	SA
Shanganburra	Djankun	Q
Sherait	Djerait	NT
Sitchy Sitchy (a misreading)	Latjilatji	V
Smoky River tribe	Bunganditj	SA
Southern Loritja (C. Strehlow)	Matuntara	NT
Southern Pand'ima	Ngarlawongga	WA
Southwest tribe	Pindjarup	WA
Spring Creek tribe	Gunditjmara	V
Stradbroke Islanders	Koenpal and Nunukul	Q
Sunday Islanders	Djaui	WA
Sydney tribe	Eora	NSW
Taa-tatty	Tatitati	V
Ta-ga-ry	Tharawal	NSW
Taguniorung	Taungurong	V
Taguwura	Taungurong	V
Tai	Daii	NT
Taib	Wilawila	WA
Taibange	Wilawila	WA
Taii	Daii	NT
Tainikudi	Winduwinda	Q
Taiol	Taior	Q
Taiyari	Taior	Q
Takadok	Ngintait	SA
Takalak	Tagalag	Q
Takalako	Kalamaia	WA
Talaindji	Talandji	WA
Talainji	Talandji	WA
Talandi	Talandji	WA
Talanjee	Talandji	WA
Talanji	Talandji	WA
Talkumara	Tjalkadjara	WA
Tallainga	Talandji	WA
Tallainji	Talandji	WA
Tamala	Nanda	WA
Tananalun	Tanganekald	SA
Tangalun	Tanganekald	SA
Tanganalun	Tanganekald	SA
Tanganarin	Tanganckald	SA
Tangane	Tanganekald	SA
Tangani	Tanganekald	SA
Tanganikald	Tanganekald	SA
Tangara	Antakirinja and Ngalea	SA
Tangetti	Dainggati	NSW
Tanikuit	Winduwinda	Q
Tani-kutti	Winduwinda	Q
Tannagootee	Winduwinda	Q
Tantgort	Kirrae	V
Taoungurong	Taungurong	V
Tap:anmai	Balardong	WA
Tapelcay	Tjapukai	Q
Tarambol	Darambal	Q
Tarawalla	Kuungkari	Q
Tarbanawalun	Ramindjeri	SA
Tardarik (coined term)	(Southwestern Australian tribes)	

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Targalag	Tagalag	Q
Targoodi	Keiadjara	WA
Targudi	Keiadjara	WA
Targunwurung	Taungurong	V
Targurt	Kirrae	V
Tarkalag	Tagalag	Q
Tarkari	Targari	WA
Tarkarri	Targari	WA
Tarlgarri	Targari	WA
Tarmbal	Darambal	Q
Taroombul	Darambal	Q
Tarra	Jaara	V
Tarrang	Jaara	V
Tarrawarrachal	Bratauolung	V
Tarrawarracka	Bratauolung	V
Tarrawatta	Peramangk	SA
Tarribelung	Taribelang	Q
Tar-tarthee	Tatitati	V
Tarugari	Targari	WA
Taruin-bura	Jetimarala	Q
Tarula	Iwaidja	NT
Tarumbal	Darambal	Q
Tarumbul	Darambal	Q
Tatatha	Tatitati	V
Ta-Ta-thi	Tatitati	V
Tataty	Tatitati	V
Tateburra	Iningai	Q
Tatiara	Potaruwutj	SA
Tatiara	Wotjobaluk	V
Tatiari	Ngarkat	SA
Tatiarra	Potaruwutj	SA
Tatiarra	Wotjobaluk	V
Tatoongalong	Tatungalung	V
Tattayarra	Potaruwutj	SA
Tatung	Tatungalung	V
Tatunga	Tatungalung	V
Tatungolung	Tatungalung	V
Taua	Thaua	NSW
Tauonyirong	Taungurong	V
Tayore	Taior	Q
Tcabogai-tjandji	Tjapukai	Q
Tchambarupi	Duwal	NT
Tchandi	Koenpal	Q
Tchikai	Diakui	NT
Tchingalee	Tjingili	NT
Teen	Tenma	WA
Teepani	Tepiti	Q
Teitudjara	Ngadadjara and Pintubi	WA NT
Te:n	Tenma	WA
Tenggi	Tanganekald	SA
Tenkinyra	Tanganekald	SA
Tepithiki	Tepiti	Q
Teppathiggi	Tepiti	Q
Terabul	Jagara	Q
Terari	Tirari	SA
Terraburra	Iningai	Q
Terutong	Jaako	NT
Tewinbol	Djauan	NT
Teyepathiggi	Tepiti	Q
Thaayorre	Taior	Q
Thagunworung	Taungurong	V
Thanguwuru	Taungurong	V
Thangatti	Dainggati	NSW
Thangatty	Dainggati	NSW
Thangguai	Krauatungalung	V
Thangkwai	Krauatungalung	V
Thang quai	Krauatungalung	V
Tharamattay	Jaitmathang	V
Thara-mirttong	Dudoroa	V
Tharamittong	Duduroa	V
Thar-ar-ra-burra	Barada	Q
Tharawal	Thaua and Tharawal	NSW
Tharumba	Wandandian	NSW
Thatiari	Potaruwutj and Ngarkat	SA
Thauaira	Thaua	NSW
Thawa	Thaua	NSW
Theddora	Duduroa	V
Theddora-mittung	Duduroa	V
Thiralla	Thereila	Q
Thoorga	Walbanga and Thaua	NSW
Thoorgine	Batjala	Q
T(h)unga	Tanganekald	SA
Thungah	Tanganekald	SA
Thurawal	Tharawal	NSW
Thurga	Walbanga	NSW
Thurrawal	Tharawal	NSW
Thurung	Bunurong	V
Tiari	Dieri	SA
Ti:ari	Dieri	SA
Tidni	Wirangu	SA
Tidnie	Wirangu	SA
Tingaree	Irukandji	Q
Tinkatinki	Pitapita	Q
Tirarop	Juat	WA
Tirtalawakani	Tatungalung	V
Tirthung	Tatungalung	V
Titnie	Wirangu	SA
Tivali	Djiwali	WA
Tiwi	Tunuvivi	NT
Tjaba	Njikena	WA
Tjabartjabara	Djaberadjabera	WA
Tjabiratjabir	Djaberadjabera	WA
Tjabirtjabira	Djaberadjabera	WA
Tjabogaijanji	Tjapukai	Q
Tjabogai-tjandji	Tjapukai	Q
Tjabogai-tjanji	Tjapukai	Q
Tjake	Kamilaroi	NSW
Tjakulprap	Ngarkat	SA

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Tjalgandi	Tjalkadjara	WA
Tjalkakari	Nangatadjara and Tjalkadjara	WA
Tjalkam	Tjalkadjara	WA
Tjalkandjara	Tjalkadjara	WA
Tjambarpoing	Duwal	NT
Tjambarupingu	Duwal	NT
Tjameri	Marimanindji	NT
Tjamindjung	Djamindjung	NT
Tjaminjun	Djamindjung	NT
Tjapatja	Wakaman	Q
Tja:pukanja	Tjapukai	Q
Tjapu	Duwal	NT
Tjapukandji	Tjapukai	Q
Tjarak	Kitja	WA
Tjargudi	Keiadjara	WA
Tjatijala	Wotjobaluk	V
Tjatjala	Wotjobaluk	V
Tjauen	Djauan	NT
Tjepera	Jukambe	Q
Tjerait	Djerait	NT
Tjilakurukuru	Ngolibardu	WA
Tjingale	Tjingili	NT
Tjingali	Tjingili	NT
Tjingalli	Tjingili	NT
Tjingilli	Tjingili	NT
Tjingilu	Tjingili	NT
Tjingkai Njamal	Njamal	WA
Tjipara	Jukambe	Q
Tjiras	Djerait	NT
Tjirbal	Djirubal	Q
Tjitijamba	Wardal	WA
Tjitjiadjara	Pitjandjara	SA
Tjiwali	Walmadjari (Fitzroy River area)	WA
Tjiwali	Djiwali (Ashburton area)	WA
Tjiwalindja	Walmadjari	WA
Tjiwaling	Walmadjari	WA
Tjoki	Tedei	WA
Tjongangi	Tjongkandji	Q
Tjororo	Tjuroro	WA
Tjubun	Pini	WA
Tjugan	Djugun	WA
Tjugun	Djugun	WA
Tjukun	Djugun	WA
Tjulngai	Gulngai	Q
Tjungundji	Tjongkandji	Q
Tjunung	Djugun	WA
Tjuop	Jitajita	NSW
Tjuor	Jitajita	NSW
Tjurti	Wenamba	WA
Tjururo	Tjuroro	WA
Toabogai-tjani (typ. error)	Tjapukai	Q
Togeman	Tagoman	NT

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Togiman	Tagoman	NT
Tohau-i	Djaui	WA
Tohawi	Djaui	WA
Tongaranka	Wanjiwalku	NSW
Tongworonga	Taungurong	V
Toode-nunjer	Balardong	WA
Tooinbal (Mathews, 1900 [Gr. 6575])	Not identified	NT
Toolginburra	Barada	Q
Toolooa	Tulua	Q
Torbul	Jagara and Undanbi	Q
Torraburri	Kuungkari	Q
Toturin	Bunurong	V
Tourahonong	Gunditjmara	V
Towanninny	Jupagalk	V
Tude-nunjer	Balardong	WA
Tuffelcey [*sic*]	Tjapukai	Q
Tulkubara	Mamu	Q
Tully blacks	Gulngai	Q
Tumut tribe	Walgalu	NSW
Tunberri	Karuwali	Q
Tungarlee	Danggali	SA
Tunggut	Tatitati	V
Tura	Nukunu	SA
Turawal	Tharawal	NSW
Turibul	Jagara	Q
Turra	Narangga	ZA
Turrbal	Jagara	Q
Turrubal	Jagara and Undanbi	Q
Turrubul	Jagara	Q
Turrubul horde	Tharawal	NSW
Turubul language	Jagara and Undanbi	Q
Turuwal	Tharawal	NSW
Turuwull	Tharawal	NSW
Tutudjara	Potidjara	WA
Tyake	Kamilaroi	NSW
Tyapwurru	Tjapwurong	V
Tyattyala	Wotjobaluk	V
Tyattyalla	Wotjobaluk	V
Tyatyalli	Potaruwutj	SA
Tyeddyuwurru	Jaara	V
Tyeddyuwurru	Potaruwutj	SA
Tyongandyi	Tjongkandji	Q
Tyura	Nukunu	SA
Ucumble	Jukambal	NSW
Uduc, Harvey tribe	Kaneang	WA
Ugumba	Ngemba	NSW
Ug'windjila	Not identified	Q
Ukkia	Wakaja	NT
Ukumbil	Jukambal	NSW
Ulalinya	Julaolinja	Q

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
U-la-linya	Julaolinja	Q
Ulanggu	Miwa	WA
Ulangu	Miwa	WA
Ulaolinja	Julaolinja	Q
Ulaolinya	Julaolinja	Q
Ulapula (not native =	"other fellow") See comment in text	
U-lay-linye	Julaolinja	Q
Ulkulu	Olkolo	Q
Ullaki	Djinang	NT
Ullumbuloo	Wilawila	WA
Ulperra	Walpiri	NT
Ulpma	Aranda	NT
Uluonga	Julaolinja	Q
Uluritdja	Kukatja	NT
Ulwadjana	Atjinuri	Q
Ulwauwutjana	Atjinuri	Q
Ulwawadjana	Atjinuri	Q
Umari	Miwa	WA
Umbaia	Wambaia	NT
Umbalgari	Jeidji	WA
(Um) Barbarem	Barbaram	Q
Umberatana	Wailipi	SA
Umbertana	Wailpi	SA
Umbia	Wambaia	NT
Umbindhamu	Barungguan	Q
Umbuigamu	Barungguan	Q
Umeda	Umede	WA
Umi:da	Umede	WA
Umidi	Umede	WA
Uminnie	Ngameni	SA
Umoreo	Amarag	NT
Umoriu	Amarag	NT
Umpila	Ombila	Q
Umpilo	Ombila	Q
Umtardee	Unjadi	Q
Unalla	Iwaidja	NT
Unalla	Janjula	NT
Unamara	Wanamara	Q
Unambal	Wunambal	WA
Unambalnge	Wunambal	WA
Undagnoora	Ngandangara	Q
Undekerebina	Andakerebina	NT
Undooyamo	Djagaraga	Q
Unduamo	Djagaraga	Q
Undumbi	Undanbi	Q
Unelgo	Naualko	NSW
Ungami	Ongkomi	WA
Unganoora	Wongkanguru	SA
Ungarinjen	Ngarinjin	WA
Ungarinjin	Ngarinjin	WA
Ungarinyin	Ngarinjin	WA
Ungauwangati	Winduwinda	Q
Unggarangi	Ongkarongo	WA
Unggari	Kunggari	Q
Unggri	Kunggari	Q

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Unggumi	Ongkomi	WA
Unghi	Kunggari	Q
Ungnakan	Kungarakan	NT
Ungorri	Kunggara and Kunggari	Q
Ungumi	Ongkomi	WA
Unigangk	Gunwinggu	NT
Unmatjera	Anmatjera	NT
Unngarinjin	Ngarinjin	WA
Untergerrie	Antakirinja	SA
Unterrgerrie	Antakirinja	SA
Unyadi	Unjadi	Q
Unyamootha	Wailpi	SA
Uolarai	Ualarai	NSW
Urabuna	Arabana	SA
Urabunna	Arabana	SA
Uradig	Bandjin	Q
Urambal	Baiali	Q
Urapuna	Arabana	SA
Uriat	Not identified	WA
Uriminga	Waramanga	NT
Urmitchee	Anmatjera	NT
Urnigangg	Gunwinggu	NT
Urorlul	Dangu	NT
Urrandi	Aranda	NT
Urroban	Arabana	SA
Urrominna	Dieri	SA
Urrundie	Aranda	NT
Uruku	Wurango	NT
U:ru:ku	Wurango	NT
Uru:mbula	Kujani	SA
Urundjeri	Wurundjeri	V
Uthukuti	Ngathokudi	Q
Uwaidja	Iwaidja	NT
Valli-valli	Ngolokwangga	NT
Vanderlin Islanders	Walu	NT
Villiers tribe	Gunditjmara	V
Waa	Wakawaka	Q
Waabar	Kaiabara	Q
Waabar (collective term)	Darling River area	Q
Waadal	Barimaia	WA
Waagai	Wakaja	NT
Waagi	Wakaja	NT
Waak	Djerimanga	NT
Waal	Kaneang	WA
Waalang	Gambalang	NT
Waal-won	Weilwan	NSW
Waamba	Wembawemba	NSW
Waambi-waambi	Wembawemba	NSW
Waangyee	Wangi	NT
Waarengbadawa	Wurundjeri	V
Wackar	Wakawaka	Q

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Wada	Watta	NT
Wadaja	Wirngir	WA
Wadaman	Wardaman	NT
Wa:dandi	Wardandi	WA
Wad'ari	Wadjari	WA
Wadarndee	Wardandi	WA
Waddarndi	Wardandi	WA
Wadderman	Wardaman	NT
Wadeawulu	Konejandi	WA
Waderi	Wadere	NT
Wadgaree	Wadjari	WA
Wadiabulu	Nimanburu	WA
Wadigali	Wadikali	SA
Wadiri	Wadere	NT
Wadjainggo	Wadja	Q
Wadjandi	Wardandi	WA
Wadjawuru	Wathaurung	V
Wadjeri	Wadjari	WA
Wadjug	Whadjuk	WA
Wadjuk	Whadjuk	WA
Wadjup	Whadjuk	WA
Wadla	Wailpi	SA
Wadthaurung	Wathaurung	V
Waduman	Wardaman	NT
Wagai	Wakaja	NT
Wagaiau	Wakaja	NT
Wagaidj	Wogait	NT
Wagait	Wogait	NT
Wagaja	Wakaja	NT
Wagaman	Wagoman	NT
Wagaman	Wakaman	Q
Wagatsch	Wogait	NT
Wagełag	Diakui	NT
Wagga tribe	Wiradjuri	NSW
Waggabonnyah	Wakabunga	Q
Waggabundi	Wakabunga	Q
Waggaia	Wakaja	NT
Waggait	Wogait	NT
Waggite	Wogait	NT
Waggote	Wogait	NT
Waggute	Wogait	NT
Wagilak	Diakui	NT
Wagite	Wogait	NT
Wahlongman	Walangama	Q
Waholari	Weraerai	NSW
Wahoon	Weilwan	NSW
Waiabara	Weilwan	NSW
Waiangadi	Ngardi	NT
Waiangara	Ngardi	NT
Waiangari	Ngardi	NT
Waianwonga	Wadjari	WA
Waibra	Widjabal	NSW
Waigur	Not identified	Q
Waiky Waiky	Warkawarka	V
Wailbi	Wailpi	SA
Wailbri	Walpiri	NT
Wailo	See chap. 2 discussion	
Wailoolo	Ewamin	Q
Wailwan	Weilwan	NSW
Wailwun	Weilwan	NSW
Waimbio	Maraura	NSW
Waimbiwaimbi	Wembawemba	NSW
Wainawonga	Madoitja	WA
Wainggo	Wadja	Q
Wainjago	Wadja	Q
Wainjigo	Wadja	Q
Wainworra	Wurundjeri	V
Wairwaioo	Wairwaioo	V
Waitjinga	Aranda	NT
Waitowrung	Wathaurung	V
Wajari	Wadjari	WA
Wajeri	Wadjari	WA
Wajjari	Wadjari	WA
Wajlpi	Wailpi	SA
Waka	Wakawaka	Q
Wakanuwan	Kaurna	SA
Wakanuwan	Ngaiawang and Nganguruku	SA
Wakar	Wakawaka	Q
Wakelbara	Jagalingu	Q
Wakend	Warki	SA
Waker-di (Durack, 1959)	Not identified	Q
Wakeruk	Brabralung	V
Wakka	Wakawaka	Q
Wakkamon	Wakaman	Q
Wakkar	Wakawaka	Q
Wakka-wakka	Wakawaka	Q
Wakobungo	Wakabunga	Q
Wakoora	Wakara	Q
Wakura	Wakara	Q
Wakuwuka	Wakawaka	Q
Waladjangari	Ola	WA
Walamangu	Nango	NT
Walambi	Miwa	WA
Walamin	Ewamin	Q
Walandjari	Ola	WA
Walang	Gambalang	NT
Walar	Miwa and Wirngir	WA
Walarai	Weraerai	NSW
Walarangunja	Antakirinja	SA
Walarenunja	Jangkundjara	SA
Walari	Weraerai	NSW
Walaringonda	Jangkundjara	SA
Walbiri	Walpiri	NT
Walbrai	Walpiri	NT
Walbri	Walpiri	NT
Waldja	Wulpura	Q
Walgadu	Walgalu	NSW
Walgra	Waluwara	Q

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Wali	Weilwan	NSW
Walinganba	Gulngai	Q
Waliwara	Waluwara	Q
Waljbiri	Walpiri	NT
Walịpiri	Walpiri	NT
Waljuk	Balardong	WA
Waljuli Njangamarda	Njangamarda	WA
Walịwan	Weilwan	NSW
Walkalde	Ngaiawang	SA
Walkandwani	Latjilatji	V
Walki	Kitja	WA
Walkonda	Mara	NT
Wallamungo	Nango	NT
Wallankammer	Walangama	Q
Wallaroi	Ualarai	NSW
Wallaroo tribe	Narangga	SA
Wallawarra	Waluwara	Q
Wallawe	Ngaiawongga	WA
Wallerri	Ualarai	NSW
Walloo	Walu	NT
Wallwan	Weilwan	NSW
Walmade'ri	Walmadjari	WA
Walmadjeri	Walmadjari	WA
Walmaharri	Walmadjari	WA
Walmaharry	Walmadjari	WA
Walmajai	Walmadjari	WA
Walmajari	Walmadjari	WA
Walmala (general term)	Kartudjara	WA
Walmala (general term)	Walpiri and Ngardi	NT
Walmanba	Walpiri	NT
Walmbar	Walmbaria	Q
Walmbarddha [*sic*]	Not identified; perhaps Walmbaria	Q
Walmidi	Ngarinjin	WA
Walming	Ewamin	Q
Walooka	Mangarai	NT
Waloo-kera	Waluwara	Q
Walpari	Walpiri	NT
Walpoll	Wulpura	Q
Walugara	Waluwara	Q
Walukara	Waluwara	Q
Walwallie	Andakerebina	NT
Wamba	Wembawemba	NSW
Wambaja	Wambaia	NT
Wamba-wamba	Wembawemba	NSW
Wamin	Ewamin	Q
Wampaja	Wambaia	NT
Wampandji	Naualko	NSW
Wampangee	Naualko	NSW
Wanaeka (general term)	Walpiri	NT
Wanaeka	Kokatja	WA
Wanaeka	Walmadjari	WA
Wanajaka	Walpiri	NT
Wanajeka	Walpiri	NT
Wanakald	Ngaralta	SA
Wanambal	Wunambal	WA
Wanari-wanari	Ildawongga	WA
Wanar:wanari	Ildawongga	WA
Wanaulun	Ngaralta	SA
Wanayaga	Ngardi	NT
Wanbara	Bakanambia	Q
Wanbarda	Njamal	WA
Wanbiri	Wirangu	SA
Wanbiri	Mirning	WA
Wanbirijurari	Pangkala	SA
Wandaran	Wandarang	NT
Wandarung	Wandarang	NT
Wanderang	Wandarang	NT
Wandshera	Wandjira	NT
Wanee	Wanji	NT
Waneiga	Walmadjari	WA
Waneiga	Ngalia and Walpiri	NT
Wangara	Kwantari	Q
Wangarabana	Arabana	SA
Wangarbunna	Arabana	SA
Wangarainbula	Peramangk	SA
Wangarinjinu	Ngarinjin	WA
Wangarong	Wandarang	NT
Wangata	Nangatadjara	WA
Wangatjunga	Kokatja	WA
Wangatunga	Kokatja	WA
Wanggada	Pindiini	WA
Wanggagi	Pindiini	WA
Wanggamana	Lanima	Q
Wanggamanha	Lanima	Q
Wangganguru	Wongkanguru	SA
Wanggara	Kwantari	Q
Wanggara	Njadjunmaia	WA
Wanggumara	Wongkumara	Q
Wangiri	Wirangu	SA
Wangkahicho	Pitapita	Q
Wangkanguru	Wongkanguru	SA
Wangkatjunga	Kokatja	WA
Wangkatunga	Kokatja	WA
Wangkumara	Wongkumara	Q
Wangon	Wirangu	SA
Wangu	Kokatja	WA
Wanguri	Dangu	NT
Wangurri	Dangu	NT
Wanindiljaugwa	Ingura	NT
Wanindilyaugwa	Ingura	NT
Waningotbun	Pangerang	V
Wanjakalde	Ngaralta	SA
Wanji	Njikena and Wanji	WA NT
Wanjur	Wanjuru	Q
Wankadjungga	Kokatja	WA
Wankawinan	Pintubi	NT

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Wankawinan	Wenamba	WA
Wankutjunga	Kokatja	WA
Wanmadjari	Walmadjari	WA
Wanmanba	Wanman	WA
Wanmaraing	Mirning	WA
Wanmin	Wanman	WA
Wannerawa	Wonnarua	NSW
Wannungine	Worimi	NSW
Wan:udjara	Ngadadjara	WA
Wanudjara	Nakako	WA
Wanudjara	Pitjandjara	SA
Wanudjara	Wenamba	WA
Wanujara	Nakako and Wenamba	WA
Wanumbaal	Wenambal	WA
Wanuwangul	Eora	NSW
Wanyabaku	Wanjiwalku	NSW
Wanyakalde	Ngaralta	SA
Wanyee	Wanji	NT
Wanyi	Wanji	NT
Wanyur	Wanjuru	Q
Wa(o)gatsch	Wogait	NT
Wapa	Wakawaka	Q
Warabal	Darambal	Q
Waradgeri	Wiradjuri	NSW
Waragamai	Warakamai	Q
Warai	Awarai	NT
Warameri	Djangu	NT
Waramiri	Djangu	NT
Waramunga	Waramanga	NT
Warangari	Ngardi	NT
Warangu	Koreng	WA
Warara	Ngadadjara	WA
Warawalde	Jarildekald	SA
Wardai	Duulngari	WA
Wardaia	Duulngari	WA
Wardal	Barimaia, Wardal and Wadjari	WA
Wardana	Wunambal	WA
Wardandee	Wardandi	WA
Wardandie	Wardandi	WA
Wardia (Leopold Range area)	Ola	WA
Wardia (Knob Hill area)	Duulngari	WA
Wardibara	Mamu	WA
Warduman	Wardaman	NT
Wardy-yalluck	Wathaurung	V
Warei	Awarai	NT
Wa:reidbug	Wurango	NT
Wareidbug	Wurango	NT
Warerong	Wurundjeri	V
Wargad	Wogait	NT
Wargamay	Warakamai	Q
Wargamaygan	Warakamai	Q
Warianga	Wariangga	WA

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Waribara	Mamu	Q
Warienga	Wariangga	WA
Wariengga	Wariangga	WA
Warimunga	Waramanga	NT
Waringara	Ngardi	NT
Waringari	Kitja, Ola, and Walmadjari	WA
Waringari	Walpiri and Ngardi	NT
Waringari-pundur	Walmadjari	WA
Waringnari	Jeidji and Wenambal	WA
Wariwari	Not identified	NSW
Wari-wonga	Wariangga	WA
Warkaia	Wakaja	NT
Warkamai	Warakamai	Q
Warkaman	Wakaman	Q
Warkamin	Wakaman	Q
Warkeeman	Wakaman	Q
Warkeemon	Wakaman	Q
Warkend	Warki	SA
Warkya	Wakaja	NT
Warlang	Gambalang	NT
Warlarai	Weraerai	NSW
Warluwara	Waluwara	Q
Warmala	Njangamarda	WA
Warmala	Walmadjari	WA
Warmarar	Not identified	WA
Warnabinnie	Mirning	WA
Warnabirrie	Mirning	WA
Warnarinjin	Ngarinjin	WA
Warniaka	Ngalia	NT
Warntalliin	Kirrae	V
Warnunger	Kungarakan	NT
Warooko	Wurango	NT
Warorong	Wurundjeri	V
Warra	Kaurna	SA
Warra	Nukunu	SA
Warra	Wathaurung	V
Warrabal	Darambal	Q
Warrabri	Walpiri	NT
Warradjerrie	Wiradjuri	NSW
Warrah	Kaurna	SA
Warrai	Awarai	NT
Warramie	Worimi	NSW
Warramiri	Djangu	NT
Warramirri	Djangu	NT
Warramonga	Waramanga	NT
Warramunga	Waramanga	NT
Warrangari	Kitja	WA
Warrananooka (a place name; Oldfield, 1865:249, 288)	Not traced*	WA
Warranger	Koreng and Balardong	WA
Warrangle	Balardong and Koreng	WA

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Warrangoo	Koreng	WA
Warrangul	Balardong	WA
Warrawarra	Mamu	Q
Warrialgona	Warungu	Q
Warrijangga	Wariangga	WA
Warrimee	Worimi	NSW
Warriwonga	Wariangga	WA
Warrmunga	Waramanga	NT
Warrwai	Warwa	WA
Warryboora	Djiru	Q
Wartabanggala	Pangkala	SA
Warta-kujani	Kujani	SA
Wartaman	Wardaman	NT
Warumala (general term)	Wanman	WA
Warumeri	Djangu	NT
Warupuju	Ngadadjara	WA
Waruwa	Warwa	WA
Warwai	Warwa	WA
Warwaroo	Wurundjeri	V
Wataman	Wakaman	Q
Watchandi	Nanda	WA
Watchandie	Nanda	WA
Watchee	Badjalang and Widjabal	NSW
Wathai-yunu	Kaurareg	Q
Watipuruna	Buruna	WA
Watjandi	Nanda	WA
Watjari	Wardal	WA
Watji	Widjabal	NSW
Wattatonga	Tanganekald	SA
Wattewatte	Watiwati	V
Watthung	Worimi	NSW
Wattiwatti	Watiwati	V
Wattung	Worimi	NSW
Waukaboonia	Wakabunga	Q
Waula (general term)	Waljen, Madoitja, Wardal, and Ngaiawongga	WA
Waumin	Ewamin	Q
Waurilak	Diakui	NT
Wavoorong	Wurundjeri	V
Wawilak	Diakui	NT
Wawilja	Ngalia	NT
Wawmin	Ewamin	Q
Wawoorong	Wurundjeri	V
Wawpa	Keinjan	NSW
Wawurong	Wurundjeri	V
Waw-wyper	Birpai	NSW
Wayradgee	Wiradjuri	NSW
Weal	Wiilman	WA
We-arr-ung	Kwarandji	NT
Weedokarry	Njamal	WA
Weel	Wiilman	WA
Weelko	Pitapita	Q
Wee-n'gul-la-m'bul	Bigambul	Q
Weera	Ngadjuri	SA
Weerarthery	Wiradjuri	NSW
Weeritch-weeritch	Gunditjmara	V
Weil	Wiilman	WA
Weilwun	Weilwan	NSW
Weki Weki	Warkawarka	V
Welindjeri	Portaulun	SA
Welinyeri	Portaulun	SA
Wellington tribe	Portaulun	SA
Wem:ara	Ngawait	SA
Wembria	Wenambal	WA
Wemrade	Wenambal	WA
Wenanba	Wenamba	WA
Wengei	Gunwinggu	NT
Wengenmarongeitch	Warkawarka	V
Wengi	Gunwinggu	NT
Weogery	Wiradjuri	NSW
Wepulprap	Potaruwutj and Meintangk	SA
Weradjerie	Wiradjuri	NSW
Weratjanja	Not identified	WA
Wereka	Potaruwutj	SA
Werekarait	Potaruwutj	SA
Wereka-tyalli	Potaruwutj	SA
Werkawerka	Warkawarka	W
Werreka	Potaruwutj	SA
Wessel Islanders	Golba	NT
Western Loritja (C. Strehlow)	Kukatja	NT
West Mining	Ngadjunmaia	WA
Weumba	Wembawemba	NSW
Weyneubulkoo	Wanjiwalku	NSW
Whajook	Whadjuk	WA
Wheelman	Wiilman	WA
Whitsunday Islanders	Ngaro	Q
Wiatunga (Davidson, 1938)	Not identified	SA
Wichintunga	Marditjali	V
Widagaree	Njamal	WA
Widagari	Njamal	WA
Widanda	Wenamba	WA
Wide Bay tribe (Palmer)	Goeng	Q
Widi	Wiri	Q
Widjara	Wudjari	WA
Widje	Badjalang	NSW
Widjilg	Not identified	NT
Widninga	Kaurna	SA
Wierdi	Wiri	Q
Wigal-Wollumbul	Bigambul	Q
Wiimbaia	Maraura	NSW
Wiiradthuri	Wiradjuri	NSW
Wiiradurei	Wiradjuri	NSW
Wiiradyuri	Wiradjuri	NSW
Wiiratheri	Wiradjuri	NSW

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Wiirtjapakandu	Pitjandjara	SA
Wik Alkan	Wik-kalkan	Q
Wik-Eppa	Wikepa	Q
Wikianyi	Wikianji	Q
Wik-Iyena	Wikianji	Q
Wik-Kalkin	Wik-kalkan	Q
Wik Mongkan	Wikmunkan	Q
Wik-Mongken	Wikmunkan	Q
Wik Monkan	Wikmunkan	Q
Wikmumin	Wikampana	Q
Wik-Mungkan	Wikmunkan	Q
Wikmungken	Wikmunkan	Q
Wik-Natan	Wiknatanja	Q
Wik-natära	Wik-kalkan	Q
Wik-Natjerra	Wiknantjara	Q
Wik-Ngartona	Wiknatanja	Q
Wikngatara	Wik-kalkan	Q
Wik-ngatona	Wiknatanja	Q
Wik-Ngencherra	Wiknantjara	Q
Wik-Tinda	Wikatinda	Q
Wik-waija	Winduwinda	W
Wilawun	Weilwan	NSW
Wile Wan	Weilwan	NSW
Wilili	Wulili	Q
Wililililee	Wulili	Q
Wilinggura	Wilingura	NT
Wiljagali	Wiljakali	NSW
Wiljali	Wiljakali	NSW
Wiljaru	Nauo	SA
Will	Wiilman	WA
Willangan	Wilingura	NT
Willara (means "west")	Pangkala and others	SA
Willeuroo	Pangkala and Wirangu	SA
Williams tribe	Wiilman	WA
Willillee	Wulili	Q
Willi-Willi	Andakerebina	NT
Willongera	Wilingura	NT
Willoo	Erawirung	SA
Willoo	Wiljakali	NSW
Willoorara	Ngalea	SA
Willuro (means "west")	Nauo	SA
Wiludjanu	Nokaan	WA
Wilungwara	Wilingura	NT
Wilya	Bitjara	Q
Wilyakali	Wiljakali	NSW
Wimanja	Ewamin	Q
Wimaranga	Jupangati	Q
Wimarangga	Jupangati	Q
Wimarango	Jupangati	Q
Wimbaja	Barkindji and Maraura	NSW
Wimmarango	Jupangati	Q
Wimmera tribe	Wotjobaluk	V

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Windakan	Ngalea and Wirangu	SA
Windawinda	Winduwinda	Q
Wingkungira	Wongkanguru	SA
Winjai	Wunambal	WA
Winnaynie	Kaurna	SA
Wintjabarap	Marditjali	V
Wipie	Wailpi	SA
Wiradhari	Wiradjuri	NSW
Wiradhuri	Wiradjuri	NSW
Wiradjeri	Wiradjuri	NSW
Wiradjuri	Wiradjuri	NSW
Wiradthery	Wiradjuri	NSW
Wiradurei	Wiradjuri	NSW
Wiradyuri	Wiradjuri	NSW
Wiragere	Wiradjuri	NSW
Wiraiari	Weraerai	NSW
Wiraiaroi	Weraerai	NSW
Wiraijuri	Wiradjuri	NSW
Wiramaya	Ngadjuri	SA
Wiramayo	Ngadjuri	SA
Wirameju	Ngadjuri	SA
Wirameyu	Ngadjuri	SA
Wirangga	Wirangu	SA
Wiranggu	Wirangu	SA
Wirashurri	Wiradjuri	NSW
Wirat	Ngarinjin	WA
Wiratheri	Wiradjuri	NSW
Wiraturai	Wiradjuri	NSW
Wirdakarri	Njamal	WA
Wirdinya	Wirdinja	WA
Wiri	Widi	WA
Wirigirek	Potaruwutj	SA
Wirra	Ngadjuri	SA
Wirrach-arree	Wiradjuri	NSW
Wirraddury	Wiradjuri	NSW
Wirradgerry	Wiradjuri	NSW
Wirradhari	Wiradjuri	NSW
Wirradjery	Wiradjuri	NSW
Wirra-dthoor-ree	Wiradjuri	NSW
Wirraiarai	Weraerai	NSW
Wirraidurhai	Wiradjuri	NSW
Wirraidyuri	Wiradjuri	NSW
Wirraijuri	Wiradjuri	NSW
Wirraiyarrai	Wiradjuri	NSW
Wirrajerre	Wiradjuri	NSW
Wir-ra-jer-ree	Wiradjuri	NSW
Wirramaya	Ngadjuri	SA
Wirramayo	Ngadjuri	SA
Wirramayu	Ngadjuri	SA
Wirramu-mejo	Ramindjeri	SA
Wirrega	Potaruwutj	SA
Wirriri	Kawambarai	NSW
Wirri wirri	Weraerai and Kawambarai	NSW
Wirrongu	Wirangu	SA

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Wirrung	Wirangu	SA
Wirrunga	Wirangu	SA
Wirtjandja	Ngadadjara	WA
Wirtjapakandja	Pitjandjara	SA
Wirteo	Warkwarka	V
Wirtu	Warkawarka	V
Withaija	Watiwati	V
Witjandja	Ngadadjara	WA
Witjari	Whadjuk	WA
Witja:ri	Whadjuk	WA
Witji	Gunavidji	NT
Witjintanga	Marditjali	V
Witoura	Wathaurung	V
Witowro	Wathaurung	V
Witowurung	Wathaurung	V
Wittyawhuurong	Wathaurung	V
Woani	Watiwati	V
Wobulgara	Duwala	NT
Wobulgarra	Duwala	NT
Wobulkara	Duwala	NT
Woddi Woddi	Wodiwodi	NSW
Woddowro	Wathaurung	V
Woddowrong	Wathaurung	V
Woeworung	Wurundjeri	V
Woga	Wakawaka	Q
Wogaia	Wakaja	NT
Wogeman	Wagoman	NT
Wogee	Ngugi	Q
Wogga	Wakawaka	Q
Woggil	Mamu	Q
Wogite	Wogait	NT
Wohdi Wohdi	Wati Wati	V
Woitubullar	Watjobaluk	V
Woiworung	Wurundjeri	V
Woiwurong	Wurundjeri	V
Woiwurru	Wurundjeri	V
Woiwurrung	Wurundjeri	V
Woiwuru	Wurundjeri	V
Wokelburra	Jagalingu and Mian	Q
Wokka	Wakawaka	Q
Wokkari	Taribelang	Q
Wokkelburra	Mian	Q
Wokkulburra	Jagalingu and Mian	Q
Wo:la	Ola	WA
Wola	Ola	WA
Wola	Wirngir	WA
Woladjangari	Ola	WA
Wolamangu	Nango	NT
Wolaroi	Weraerai	NSW
Wolaroo	Weraerai	NSW
Wolga	Waluwara	Q
Wolgah	Walgalu	NSW
Wolgal	Walgalu	NSW
Wolgara	Duwala	NT

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Woljamidi	Arnga	WA
Woljamiri	Arnga	WA
Wollangama	Walangama	Q
Wollaroi	Weraerai	NSW
Wollegarra	Waluwara	Q
Wolleri	Ualarai	NSW
Wolleroi	Ualarai and Weraerai	NSW
Wollithiga	Jotijota	NSW
Wollogorang	Karawa	NT
Wollongurmee	Walangama	Q
Wollowurong	Wathaurung	V
Wolmadjari	Walmadjari	WA
Wolmaharry	Walmadjari	WA
Wolmaijari	Walmadjari	WA
Wolmardai	Ola	WA
Wolmera	Walmadjari	WA
Wolmeri	Walmadjari	WA
Wolna	Djerimanga	NT
Wolpa	Wulpura	Q
Wolperi	Walpiri	NT
Wolpirra	Walpiri	NT
Wolroi	Weraerai	NSW
Wolwanga	Wulwulam	NT
Wolyamiri	Arnga	WA
Wombaia	Wambaia	NT
Wombelbara	Keramai	Q
Wombungee	Naualko	NSW
Wombya	Wambaia	NT
Wom-by-a	Wambaia	NT
Wommana	Ngardi	NT
Wommin	Ewamin	Q
Wompungee	Naualko	NSW
Wonambul	Wunambal	WA
Wonarua	Wonnarua	NSW
Wonbaia	Wambaia	NT
Wonbil	Mirning	WA
Wonburi	Mirning	WA
Woneiga	Ngardi	NT
Wongaak	Tunuvivi	NT
Wongaibun	Wongaibon	NSW
Wongaidja	Nukunu	SA
Wongaidya	Nukunu	SA
Wongaii	Pindiini	WA
Wongak	Tunuvivi	NT
Wongapitcha	Pitjandjara	SA
Wongapitjira	Pitjandjara	SA
Wonga:ran	Iwaidja	NT
Wonggai	Pindiini	WA
Wonggaii	Pindiini	WA
Wonggai-jungara	Waljen	WA
Wonggapitja	Pitjandjara	SA
Wonggaranda	Aranda	NT
Wonghi	Wongaibon	NSW
Wonghibon	Wongaibon	NSW
Wonghibone	Wongaibon	NSW

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Wongkadieri	Dieri	SA
Wongkakaringa	Wagoman	NT
Wongkaooroo	Wongkanguru	SA
Wongkatjeri	Aranda (southern)	NT
Wongkomi	Ongkomi	WA
Wongkongaru	Wongkanguru	SA
Wongkonguru	Wongkanguru	SA
Wongkurapuna	Arabana	SA
Wongonooroo	Wongkanguru	SA
Wongulli	Irukandji	Q
Wonguri	Dangu	NT
Wonipalku	Wanjiwalku	NSW
Wonjibone	Wongaibon	NSW
Wonjimalku	Wanjiwalku	NSW
Wonkadieri	Dieri	SA
Wonkai	Pindiini	WA
Wonkajara	Wongkadjera	Q
Wonkamala	Wongkamala	NT
Wonkamara	Wongkumara	Q
Wonka-marra	Wongkumara	Q
Wonkamudla	Wongkamala	NT
Wonkamura	Wongkumara	Q
Wonkamurra	Wongkumara	Q
Wonkagnurra	Wongkanguru	SA
Wonka-murra	Wongkumara	Q
Wonkanguru	Wongkanguru	SA
Wonkanooroo	Wongkanguru	SA
Wonkaoora	Wongkanguru	SA
Wonkatyeri	Wongkadjera	Q
Wonkatyeri	Aranda (southern)	NT
Wonkgongaru	Wongkanguru	SA
Wonkodjunga	Kokatja	WA
Wonkomarra	Wongkumara	Q
Wonkongaru	Wongkanguru	SA
Wonkonguru	Wongkanguru	SA
Wonkongnuru	Wongkanguru	SA
Wonkoyara	Wongkadjera	Q
Wonkubara	Wongkumara	Q
Wonkurabana	Arabana	SA
Wonnah-Kuah	Wonnarua	NSW
Wonnawal	Ngunawal	NSW
Wonnin dialect	Tjapwurong	V
Wonnuaruah	Wonnarua	NSW
Wonoka	Jadliaura	SA
Wonunda-meening	Mirning	WA
Wonunda-minung	Mirning	WA
Wonunda-mirning	Mirning	WA
Wonyee	Wanji	NT
Wooeewoorong	Wurundjeri	V
Woolaja	Ola	WA
Woolangama	Walangama	Q
Woolathara	Jotijota	NSW
Woolgoolga	Kumbainggiri	NSW
Woolna	Djerimanga	NT
Woolnah	Djerimanga	NT
Woolner	Djerimanga	NT
Woolooami	Alawa	NT
Woolwonga	Wulwulam	NT
Wool-yaa-lee	Wiljakali	NSW
Woomargo	Badjalang	NSW
Woombarbarram	Barbaram	Q
Woombarmbarra	Barbaram	Q
Woonamurra	Wanamara	Q
Woonomurra	Wanamara	Q
Woonyi	Watiwati	V
Woora	Wulpura	Q
Wooradgery	Wiradjuri	NSW
Woorallim	Ngurelban	V
Wooratheri	Wiradjuri	NSW
Wooratherie	Wiradjuri	NSW
Woordinya	Wirdinja	WA
Woorenga	Wariangga	WA
Woorienga	Wariangga	WA
Woorinya	Wirdinja	WA
Woorkia	Wakaja	NT
Woorkii	Wakaja	NT
Woradgera	Wiradjuri	NSW
Woradgery	Wiradjuri	NSW
Woralul	Dangu	NT
Worangarait	Marditjali	V
Worangarit	Marditjali	V
Woranguwe	Tunuvivi	NT
Worara	Worora	WA
Wordako	Tjalkadjara and Pini	WA
Wordaman	Wardaman	NT
Woreidbug	Wurango	NT
Wo:reidbug	Wurango	NT
Worgai	Wakaja	NT
Worgaia	Wakaja	NT
Worgaidj	Wogait	NT
Worgait	Wogait	NT
Worgite	Wogait	NT
Workabunga	Wakabunga	Q
Workia	Wakaja	NT
Workii	Wakaja	NT
Workoboongo	Wakabunga	Q
Wororra	Worora	WA
Worrara	Worora	WA
Worrora	Worora	WA
Worunguwe	Tunuvivi	NT
Wotadi	Otati	Q
Wotati	Otati	Q
Wothowurong	Wathaurung	V
Wotjo-ba-laiuruk	Wotjobaluk	V
Wotti wotti	Watiwati	V
Wowerong	Wurundjeri	V
Wowulkarra	Duwala	NT
Woyaibun	Wongaibon	NSW
Woychibirik	Potaruwutj	SA
Woychibirik	Wotjobaluk	V
Wozai (i.e., Wongai)	Wongaibon	NSW

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Wragarite	Potaruwutj	SA
Wragarite	Marditjali	V
Wra-gar-ite	Potaruwutj	SA
Wuda:	Wudjari	WA
Wuddyawurra	Wathaurung	V
Wudja	Wudjari	WA
Wudjadi	Otati	Q
Wudjari:ma	Wudjari	WA
Wudjarima	Wudjari	WA
Wudjawuru	Wathaurung	V
Wudthaurung	Wathaurung	V
Wuka-wuka	Wakawaka	Q
Wula	Ola	WA
Wulagi	Djinang	NT
Wulaki	Djinang	NT
Wulamba	Duwal and Duwala	NT
Wulanggur	Miwa	WA
Wulangu	Miwa	WA
Wular	Wirngir	WA
Wular:	Wilawila	WA
Wularuki	Ngarkat	SA
Wulbudji'bur	Not identified	Q
Wulbur-ara	Wulpura	Q
Wulgulu	Olkolo	Q
Wulkara	Duwala	NT
Wulläkki	Djinang	NT
Wulmala	Ngardi	NT
Wulna	Djerimanga	NT
Wulnar	Djerimanga	NT
Wulpurara	Wulpura	Q
Wulu	Wilawila	WA
Wulumarai	Walmadjari	WA
Wulumari	Walmadjari	WA
Wulungwara	Karawa	NT
Wulurara	Wulpura	Q
Wulwanga	Wulwulam	NT
Wulwangga	Wulwulam	NT
Wulwonga	Wulwulam	NT
Wulwongga	Wulwulam	NT
Wulwullam	Wulwulam	NT
Wumbabaram	Barbaram	Q
Wumeri	Nanggumiri	NT
Wumnabal [*sic*]	Wunambal	WA
Wunamara	Wanamara	Q
Wunambullu	Wunambal	WA
Wunambulu	Wunambal	WA
Wundjur	Unjadi	Q
Wungarinjinu	Ngarinjin	WA
Wunjurika	Wakara	Q
Wunuk	Tunuvivi	NT
Wunyakalde	Ngaralta	SA
Wunyurika	Wakara	Q
Wuradjeri	Wiradjuri	NSW
Wurangung	Jeteneru	Q
Wurara	Worora	WA

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Wurdy-yullock	Wathaurung	V
Wurkuldi	Ithu	Q
Wurmega	Waramanga	NT
Wurra	Worora	WA
Wurrago	Wurango	NT
Wurruga	Wurango	NT
Wuru:Ku	Wurango	NT
Warrulul	Dangu	NT
Wurrundyirra-baluk	Wurundjeri	V
Wurrungguku	Duwal	NT
Wurrunjeri	Wurundjeri	V
Wurungugu	Duwal	NT
Wurunjeri	Wurundjeri	V
Wurunjerri	Wurundjeri	V
Wurunjerri-baluk	Wurundjeri	V
Wutati	Otati	Q
Wuttyabullak	Wotjobaluk	V
Wuttyuballeak	Wotjobaluk	V
Wuzai [i.e., Wungai]	Wongaibon	NSW
Wychinga	Aranda	NT
Yaako	Jaako	NT
Yaak-Yaako	Danggali	SA
Yaalo	Wurango	NT
Yaamba	Jetimarala	Q
Yabala	Pangerang	V
Yabaroo	Wardandi	WA
Yaberoo	Pindjarup	WA
Yabola	Jaara	V
Yabro (Jaburu)	Kalamaia	WA
Yabulla Yabula	Pangerang	V
Yacambal	Jukambal	NSW
Yackarabul	Jagara	Q
Yadaigan	Jathaikana	Q
Yadaneru	Jeteneru	Q
Yadliaura	Jadliaura	SA
Yadlikowera	Jadliaura	SA
Yaernungo	Nango	NT
Yagara	Jagara	Q
Yaggara	Jagara	Q
Yaghanin	Maringar	NT
Yagulle	Djagaraga	Q
Yairy Yairy	Jarijari	V
Yaitmathang	Jaitmathang	V
Yajeri	Wadjari	WA
Yakayok	Danggali	SA
Yakkumban	Danggali	SA
Yakumban	Danggali	SA
Yalawarre	Jarildekald	SA
Yaldaigan	Jathaikana	Q
Yaldikowera	Jadliaura	SA
Yallaway	Eora	NSW
Yallingarra	Kokata	SA
Yalnga-bara	Walmbaria	Q
Yalukal	Nango	NT
Yalyuwara	Iliaura	NT

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Yamaidyi	Wadjari (see note in text)	WA
Yamandil Davidson, 1938 map)	Not identified, perhaps Arnga	WA
Yamba	Jupagalk	V
Yambayamba	Jupagalk	V
Yambeena	Jambina	Q
Yamma	Goeng	Q
Yanango	Nango	NT
Yanari	Indjibandi	WA
Yanda	Janda	Q
Yandairunga	Antakirinja	SA
Yanderawantha	Jandruwanta	SA
Yandigan	Jathaikana	Q
Yandjinang	Djinang	NT
Yandjinung	Djinang	NT
Yandra Wandra	Jandruwanta	SA
Yandrawontha	Jandruwanta	SA
Yandruwunta	Jandruwanta	SA
Yanduwulda	Jandruwanta	SA
Yang	Jaara	V
Yangala	Janjula	NT
Yangarella	Jokula	Q
Yangarilla	Jokula	Q
Yangeeberra	Kuungkari	Q
Yangman	Jangman	NT
Yangundjadjara	Jangkundjara	SA
Yanindo	Andakerebina	NT
Yankibura	Kuungkari	Q
Yankonya	Pontunj	Q
Yankonyu	Kawadji and Pontunj	Q
Yankunjarra	Jangkundjara	SA
Yanmadjari	Anmatjera	NT
Yanmatjari	Anmatjera	NT
Yann(h)angu	Nango	NT
Yantowannta	Jandruwanta	SA
Yantruwunta	Jandruwanta	SA
Yanula	Janjula	NT
Yanular	Janjula	NT
Yanyu	Jungkurara	Q
Yao	Pakadji	Q
Yau	Nanda	WA
Yaoro	Jawuru	WA
Yaraidyana	Jathaikana	Q
Yäraidyana	Jathaikana	Q
Yaraikana	Jathaikana	Q
Yaraikanna	Jathaikana	Q
Yaraikkanna	Jathaikana	Q
Yarakino	Jathaikana	Q
Yaralde	Jarildekald	SA
Yaran	Potaruwutj	SA
Yarawain	Jaadwa	V
Yarawuarka	Jauraworka	SA
Yardaikan	Jathaikana	Q
Yardwa-tyalli	Jaadwa	V
Yarenango	Nango	NT
Yarilde	Jarildekald	SA
Yarildewallin	Jarildekalde	SA
Yariki-luk	Jarijari	V
Yari Yari	Jarijari	V
Yarleeyandee	Jeljendi	SA
Yarlo	Wurango	NT
Yaroinga	Jaroinga	NT
Yaroro	Jawuru	WA
Yarow-wair	Jarowair	Q
Yarr	Ngunawal	NSW
Yarra	Wurundjeri	V
Yarra harpny	Ngaku	NSW
Yarrawaurka	Jauraworka	SA
Yarrawurka	Jauraworka	SA
Yarra yarra	Wurundjeri	V
Yarrayarra Coolies	Wurundjeri	V
Yarree Yarree	Jarijari	V
Yarre Yarre	Jarijari	V
Yarrikuna	Pilatapa	SA
Yarrildie	Jarildekald	SA
Yarroinga	Jaroinga	NT
Yarrowair	Jarowair	Q
Yarrowin	Jaroinga	NT
Yarroworka	Jauraworka	SA
Yarrow-wair	Jarowair	Q
Yartwur	Jardwa	V
Yarudolaiga	Jathaikana	Q
Yass tribe	Ngunawal	NSW
Yathaikeno	Jathaikana	Q
Yau	Nanda	WA
Yauan	Kamilaroi	NSW
Yauarawaka	Jauraworka	SA
Yaudjibaia	Jaudjibaia	WA
Yauera	Jawuru	WA
Yaujibaia	Jaudjibaia	WA
Yauor	Jawuru	WA
Yauro	Jawuru	WA
Yauroka	Jauraworka	SA
Yaurorka	Jauraworka	SA
Yauroworka	Jauraworka	SA
Yawai	Taribelang	Q
Yawangillam	Taungurong	V
Yawkum-yere	Arakwal	NSW
Yawur	Jawuru	WA
Yeeda (place name)	Njikena	WA
Yeemwoom	Jinwum	Q
Yegera	Jiegera	NSW
Yeidji	Jeidji	WA
Yeidthee	Jeithi	NSW
Yeithi	Jeidji	WA
Yeithi	Jeithi	NSW
Yeldivo (Mathews, 1900:131 [Gr. 6559])	Not identified	Q

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Yelina	Jalanga	Q
Yellingie	Idindji	Q
Yellunga	Jalanga	Q
Yelyuyendi	Jeljendi	SA
Yendakarangu	Arabana	SA
Yenniwon	Anaiwan	NSW
Yerawaka	Jauraworka	SA
Yerkla-mining	Mirning	WA
Yerongban	Jagara	Q
Yeronghan	Jagara	Q
Yerongpan	Jagara	Q
Yerraleroi	Ualarai	NSW
Yerraruck	Erawirung	SA
Yerre-yerre	Jarijari	V
Yerrkie	Irukandji	Q
Yerrundulli	Jirandali	Q
Yerrunthully	Jirandali	Q
Yerry-yerry	Jarijari	V
Yetho	Jitajita	NSW
Yetti-maralla	Jetimarala	Q
Yettingie	Idindji	Q
Yettkie	Irukuandji	Q
Yiarick (Foelsche, 1895:191)	Not identified	NT
Yidin	Idindji	Q
Yidindji	Idindji	Q
Yiegera	Jiegera	NSW
Yikil	Jukul	NT
Yikul	Jukul	NT
Yilrea	Ngadjuri, Pangkala, and Wirangu	SA
Yindi	Maduwongga	WA
Ying	Amangu	WA
Yingiebandie	Indjibandi	WA
Yintjingga	Barungguan	Q
Yinwum	Jinwum	Q
Yiran	Erawirung	SA
Yirau	Erawirung	SA
Yirgala	Dangu	NT
Yirgandyi	Irukandji	Q
Yirgay	Irukandji	Q
Yirkala-Mining	Mirning	WA
Yirkandji	Irukandji	Q
Yirkanji	Irukandji	Q
Yirkla	Mirning	WA
Yir-yiront	Jirjoront	Q
Yir Yoront	Jirjoront	Q
Yitsa	Jitajita	NSW
Yit-tha	Jitajita	NSW
Yobberore	Kaneang	WA
Yōgum	Jukambe	Q
Yokarra	Jungkurara	Q
Yokka Yokka	Danggali	SA
Yooadda	Whadjuk	WA
Yooard	Whadjuk	WA
Yoocomble	Jukambal	NSW
Yoocum	Jukambe	Q
Yoocumbah	Jukambe	Q
Yoocumbill	Jukambal	NSW
Yookala	Jokula	Q
Yookala	Jukul	NT
Yookil	Jukul	NT
Yookull	Jukul	NT
Yookumbul	Jukambal	NSW
Yoolanlanya	Julaolinja	Q
Yoolbareecha (comments in text)	Julbaritja	
Yoolbarie (comments in text)	(not a valid tribal term)	
Yoorta	Pangerang	V
Yoorta	Jotijota	NSW
Yopngadi	Jupangati	Q
Yora	Eora	NSW
Yorrawinga	Jaroinga	NT
Yorta	Jotijota	NSW
Yotayota	Jotijota	NSW
Youahlayi	Ualarai	NSW
Youallerie	Ualarai	NSW
Youngai	Jiegera	NSW
Youngal	Kalamaia	WA
Youngar	Kalamaia	WA
Youngye	Ngadjuri	SA
Yourilri	Ualarai	NSW
Youyou	Erawirung	SA
Yowaleri	Ualarai	NSW
Yowangillam	Taungurong	V
Yowerawarrika	Jauraworka	SA
Yowerawoolka	Jauraworka	SA
Yowewnillurn	Jupagalk	V
Yualai	Ualarai	NSW
Yualarai	Ualarai	NSW
Yualari	Ualarai	NSW
Yualeai	Ualarai	NSW
Yualloroi	Ualarai	NSW
Yuckaburra	Ilba	Q
Yuckamurri	Janjula	NT
Yued	Juat	WA
Yugambir	Jukambe	Q
Yuggamurra	Janjula	NT
Yuggara	Jagara	Q
Yugg-ari	Jagara	Q
Yuggum	Jukambe	Q
Yugumbir	Jukambe	Q
Yuin	Djiringanj and Thaua	NSW
Yuipera	Juipera	Q
Yukambal	Jukambal	NSW
Yukkaburra	Ilba	Q
Yukul	Jukul	NT
Yukula	Jokula	Q
Yukum	Jukambe	Q
Yukumba	Kwiambal	NSW

Alternatives, etc.	*Favored*	
Yukumbil	Jukambal	NSW
Yukumbul	Kwiambal	NSW
Yulbari-dja	Nangatara	WA
Yulbaridja (general term, comments in text)	Julbaritja	
Yumakundji	Ankamuti	Q
Yumpia	Wambaia	NT
Yumu	Jumu	NT
Yunda	Janda	Q
Yung	Dainggati	NSW
Yunga	Wudjari	WA
Yungar	Wudjari	WA
Yungar	Kalamaia	WA
Yunggai	Dainggati	NSW
Yunggor	Junggor	NT
Yungkarara	Jungkurara	Q
Yungkono	Goeng	Q
Yung-kurara	Jungkurara	Q
Yungman	Jangman	NT
Yungmanni	Jangman	NT
Yungmun	Jangman	NT
Yungmunee	Jangman	NT
Yungmunnee	Jangman	NT
Yungmunni	Jangman	NT
Yungurara	Jungkurara	Q
Yunnalinka	Waluwara	Q
Yuntauntaya	Ringaringa	Q
Yuolary	Ualarai	NSW
Yupangati	Jupangati	Q
Yupngit	Jupangati	Q
Yuppila	Jupagalk	V
Yupungati	Jupangati	Q
Yupungatti	Jupangati	Q
Yurimbil	Jukambal	NSW
Yurta	Pangerang	V
Yuungai	Dainggati	NSW
Yuupngati	Jupangati	Q
Yuwalyai	Ualarai	NSW
Yuyu	Ngarkat	SA

APPENDIX

TASMANIAN TRIBES

by RHYS JONES

Department of Prehistory,
Australian National University

Foreword

The aborigines of Tasmania became extinct in the nineteenth century. The last male died at Hobart in March 1869, and the last woman living in Tasmania died in 1876. Of several aged fullblooded women who survived on Kangaroo Island, the last died there unnoticed about 1888 (Tindale, 1937). Mixed blood descendants have been studied on Cape Barren Island and in Tasmania (Birdsell, 1949; Tindale, 1953). No significant field information could be gathered about the former tribal structure of these people. It was not my original intention to summarize the literature and discuss the Tasmanian band organization as it might have been. The base map finally selected for the map I would prepare, however, had the island of Tasmania included, making it desirable that it should not be left unused.

It is therefore fortunate that at a very late stage Rhys Jones has furnished the results of his preliminary work on an analysis of the Tasmanian data. As the leading worker in the field of archaeology, he has had useful opportunities to examine the whole spectrum of the subject.

This appendix therefore is his independent work, the results of which have been summarized on the map. It is his intention at a later date to extend the study and, if he can, link our names to the native nomenclature.

N. B. T.

Tasmanian Tribes

PART I
INTRODUCTION

Before we can attempt any analysis of Tasmanian culture, we must first be aware of the restricted nature of the primary sources and of the limitation this places on the scope of our investigations. Though the island was visited by Europeans in 1642, the first face to face contact with the aborigines was made by Marion Du Fresne in 1772. In the thirty years that followed, Tasmania was visited by about a dozen expeditions, some scientific and others commercial. The records of most of these contain some descriptions of the aborigines, those of the French expeditions being particularly useful. The British founded their settlements at Risdon Cove near Hobart and at Port Dalrymple in 1803–1804 and, almost immediately, friction and conflict arose between them and the neighboring aborigines. With the spread of settlement through the Midland valley, the establishment of sealers in the Bass Strait, and the depredations of escaped convicts and isolated stock keepers, relations between the two races deteriorated rapidly into a state of open warfare. Under this onslaught, together with the effects of pulmonary diseases, the aboriginal population collapsed until by 1830 there were only about 300 of them still living (Jones, 1971). From 1829 to 1834 a policy of reconciliation was carried out by G. A. Robinson, and the remnants of the aborigines were persuaded to leave the bush and join a government settlement on Flinders Island in the Bass Strait. Their population declined so that by 1847 only 45 were still living. These elderly survivors were moved to Oyster Cove near Hobart and in 1876, Trugernanna, the last official fullblood Tasmanian died (H. Ling Roth, 1899:6; Jones, 1971). Small hybrid populations were built up on some of the Bass Strait islands and on Kangaroo Island, and these survive today.

It can be seen that the Tasmanians had ceased to live freely in their own country by about 1830 and that even twenty years previously, their culture had been seriously disrupted throughout most of eastern Tasmania.

It was only after the 1850s that there developed a slow realization that the Tasmanians were different in many crucial ways from the mainland aborigines, and that this unique culture was about to become extinct. The infant science of anthropology was beginning its systematic inquiry as to the origin and relationships of races, and the work of Huxley, Lubbock, Tylor, and others in the 1860s and later, pointed out that a knowledge of the the culture and history of the Tasmanians was crucial to our understanding of the history of man on the Australian continent. It is ironic that this realization coincided with the death of the last Tasmanian, but the two events did serve to stimulate an academic interest in studies toward the end of the last century which, although it was a little late, did systematize and preserve a corpus of information that otherwise would have been lost. Important in these regards are the works of Milligan, Bonwick, Calder, Brough-Smyth, J. Backhouse Walker, Westlake, and Noetling, culminating in Roth's influential *Aborigines of Tasmania*, the second edition of which was published in 1899.

Sources

Against this brief historical background let us now examine in more detail the specific sources on Tasmanian tribal organization. To make any sense of this material one has to collect data under a series of headings, the most important of which are the following: size and composition of local groups seen in the bush, territoriality and ownership of land, seasonal movements, alliances and fights, linguistic variations, tribal and other names, location of roads and specialized resources, and the distribution of culture traits.

The sources themselves may be divided into four major categories.

1772–1802: Journals of maritime explorers

By far the most important of these are the journals of Labillardière (1800), and Péron (1807–1816). There is good information on the size and composition of local groups particularly from the coast of southeastern Tasmania. This early material was personally gathered by trained scientific observers and often internal checking is possible because separate journals were kept by various expedition members. The society they were observing was intact and as these are the only accounts we have of the aborigines before they became disrupted by European settlement, they are extremely important. The major drawbacks to these accounts are that the scientists were based on their ships, stayed only a short time in any

one place, and could not speak the language. The presence of the ships themselves may also have altered the behavior of the aborigines to a certain extent.

1803–1834: Early colonial accounts and official records

These vary enormously in kind and quality, including government and police records, official inquiries, newspaper accounts, journals of settlers, land explorers and learned visitors, general historical accounts, and reminiscences. Strictly speaking, the journals of Robinson ought to come into this category, but as these were only rediscovered and published recently, I am treating them separately. Robinson's official reports and verbal communications to his contemporaries, however, ought to be included here.

From this category of sources, there is some information on most of the topics outlined above. The authorities and society at large were interested in the composition and movement of tribal units, as this aided military and other measures to be directed against them. We find in the literature for the first time the names of tribes, especially from the eastern half of Tasmania. These names are English ones referring to the core territory of the various groups, for example "Big River" and "Stony Creek," and where they have been enshrined in the literature, I have followed the same convention in this report.

The major criticisms that can be leveled at this category of sources are that they were often based on little personal experience. There was prejudice against the aborigines, some of the observers were uneducated men relating events that had occurred years before they were written down, and so on. There is such a large corpus of data, however, that often internal checking is possible, and if due care is taken, a coherent though limited picture of Tasmanian tribal organization at the most general level does emerge.

The aborigines themselves were greatly disrupted throughout this period and in many cases had probably drastically altered their behavior from their traditional way of life.

1834–1876: Accounts of aborigines on the government settlements

After the aborigines had been settled, some additional information was obtained from them about their traditional life. We have accounts from various officers at the settlements and from educated visitors such as J. Backhouse, G. W. Walker, R. H. Davis. The most useful data are linguistic. Both to educate and to convert the aborigines, attempts were made to learn, or at least to record their various languages. The best work was that of J. Milligan who was a superintendent for several years. His and other linguistic work have been assessed by Schmidt (1952:20–21). Milligan (1890) organized his data into the various languages that he recognized and he related these to their tribal affiliations. He was able to collect his data over a long period of time, checking his vocabularies with the same informants at an interval of about two or three years.

1966: G. A. Robinson's field journals (1829–1834)

Between 1829 and 1834, Robinson carried out seven expeditions to contact aborigines still living in the bush and to persuade them to enter government settlements. He was accompanied by friendly aborigines from various parts of Tasmania, and eventually visited most regions of the island including the then unexplored southwest. It was a stupendous feat, rendered more so by the fact that he wrote a voluminous journal during his travels. This was not published during his lifetime, and it was thought to have been lost. It was rediscovered in England just before the Second World War, and an edition of these papers that are now in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, was published in 1966 by N. J. B. Plomley. The impact of Robinson's work belongs therefore to the latter part of the twentieth century rather than to a period 130 years previously, when it was written.[1]

For practical as well as for intellectual reasons, Robinson was interested in the social organization and group affiliations of the aborigines. By knowing the names, sizes, and locations of these groups, and by knowing who belonged to them, he was better able to plan his expeditions and to be sure of contacting all the people within a particular region. Accordingly, he constantly questioned both his own aboriginal companions and the natives whom he met in the bush. In Robinson's own words, "I have become acquainted with the habits, manners, language, country and political relationship of each nation" (5 September 1830:209). The information he gathered is scattered throughout his journals and notebooks, most of the entries for which are written up at the time the events occurred. The structures of some groups are described in detail with the names, sex, ages, and relationships of the people within them. Particularly important were the observations on the aborigines of the west coast, a region of Tasmania for which we have little other data.

It is mostly from Robinson's work that we are now able to build up a picture of Tasmanian society from families up to the major tribal and linguistic units. As he passed through country that no longer had aboriginal people

[1] References to Robinson are given both under the date of the journal entry and to the pagination in Plomley's edition.

living in it, he questioned his informants as to the names and territorial boundaries of its previous inhabitants. We must be careful, however, to remember that the society that Robinson observed had been seriously dislocated and was probably on the verge of collapse even on the west coast. There was a significant sex imbalance due to the depredations of sealers, and the population was an aging one with few children. Robinson was working before either anthropology or linguistics had become a science, and much of his questioning was probably extremely naïve if judged by modern standards. With care, and without being too ambitious, however, the journals enable us to advance considerably beyond the level believed possible only a few years ago, and work to this end has only just begun.

Archaeological and ecological work

Apart from ethnohistorical sources, the other main area of inquiry since the death of the Tasmanians has been in archaeological research. Distributional studies on stone implements and the materials from which they were made—quarries, ochres, and other minerals—have been used to give information on geographical distribution of the population, regional variations in the exploitation of raw materials, and trade or other contact. Rock art sites have been found with a distribution so far limited to the west coast and these supplement ethnographic information on other forms of art that were related to tribal affiliation. The same may be true of stone arrangements, burial practices, and so on. Aboriginal roads and major routes of travel can be detected in many parts of Tasmania, not only by the present road pattern which was often superimposed onto the old one but also by studies of the forest succession that has been significantly altered by the aboriginal use of fire in keeping certain routes open (Jackson, 1965; Jones, 1968:205-210).

In its physiography, climate, and vegetation, Tasmania is extremely varied, and the boundaries between zones are often sharp. No study of Tasmanian tribal organization makes sense unless full attention is paid to these geographical factors, and if possible the society and the land related to each other.

Early Research 1843–1952

In the earlier literature we find the Tasmanian groups referred to variously and often indiscriminately as "nations," "tribes," "subtribes," "mobs," and "hordes" (West, 1852, 2:20, 81). Some brief general accounts were written. Backhouse (1843:104) saw Tasmania divided into four major tribes with the addition of a few smaller sections, that "called by the settlers the Ben Lomond tribe occupying the northeast portion of Van Diemen's Land; that called the Oyster Bay tribe, the southeast; the Stony Creek, the middle portion of the country; and the Western tribe, the west coast." West (1852, 2:20) with customary insight said that "Native topography is indeed, limited; but it is exact. Every mountain, valley and river is distinguished and named. The tribes took up their periodical stations, and moved with intervals so regular, that their migrations were anticipated, as well as the season of their return."

The first published attempt to make sense of this material and to propose a classification of Tasmanian tribes was made by Milligan (1859, reprinted in 1890). He assumed that originally there were 20 tribes and subtribes in Tasmania, and that if each of these consisted of between 50 and 250 individuals, the total aboriginal population was of the order of 2,000 people. He was able to isolate three languages of which he gave extensive vocabularies (1890:16–52), and these he associated with three groups of tribes; (1) "Tribes from Oyster Bay to Pittwater"; (2) "Tribes about Mount Royal, Brune Island, Recherche Bay and the South of Tasmania"; and (3) "North-west and Western Tribes."

In 1898 J. Backhouse Walker produced a synthesis that has been the main base for later work. Walker recognized the problems raised by laxity in definition of the term "tribe," and suggested that it was used indiscriminately to refer to two distinct social units that were in a hierarchical relationship to each other (1898:178–179). Thus it sometimes referred to "a small sub-tribe, living in one community—e.g., the Macquarie Harbour tribe, numbering 30 souls only," and at other times to "a whole group—e.g., the Oyster Bay and Big River tribes, which included several sub-tribes and a considerable population." This confusion meant among other things that it was difficult to estimate the original aboriginal population, though in general terms, Walker agreed with Milligan's estimate.

Walker argued that we ought to restrict the term "tribe" to the larger unit, so that "these 'mobs' or 'sub-tribes' group themselves into several broad divisions, more properly deserving the name of tribes" (1898:179). He suggested that in these larger divisions separate languages or dialects were spoken, the "vocabularies of which were widely different as appears from Milligan's vocabulary." Based partly on Robinson's testimony that he had to learn to speak four languages to make himself understood to all of the aborigines, and partly on other ethnohistorical evidence, Walker argued that there were four main languages spoken in Tasmania, adding the

language of the northeast people to Milligan's three. Around this structure there were probably numerous minor variations in dialects, possibly as many as eight or ten according to the statement of Robert Clark, the catechist at Flinders Island.

Walker proposed eight tribes for Tasmania, divided off into these four major languages. They were:

1. The "Southern tribes" equivalent to Milligan's no. 2;
2. The "Western tribes" equivalent to Milligan's no. 3;
3. The "Central tribes" equivalent to Milligan's no. 1; comprising two tribes,
   a) the "Oyster Bay tribe," and
   b) the "Big River tribe"
4. The "Northern and north-eastern tribes"; comprising
   a) the "Stony Creek tribe"
   b) the "Port Dalrymple tribe"
   c) the "Ben Lomond tribe"
   d) "North-east coast tribes."

The boundaries and the broad pattern of the seasonal movements of these tribes were also indicated. We see that Walker's tribes did not always coincide with his language groups, but that linguistic affiliation was the major base of his classification. Unfortunately, as tended to be common in those days, Walker did not give references to all of his source materials, so it is difficult to assess some aspects of his synthesis. In the names of the tribes, their movement, and general affiliation to one another, he was synthesizing the collective experience and knowledge that the settlers had accumulated about the aborigines, together with published explorers' reports and the testimony of Robinson and other government officers. Many of Walker's contemporaries had seen and spoken with the last surviving Tasmanians, and by what reading I have done of newspaper accounts and other records, I feel sure that most of Walker's statements could be substantiated though it would be a tedious job. Walker's paper was reprinted in full in the second edition of Roth's book (1899:165–171) together with a map, showing the locations of the tribes, aboriginal names for various features, and other geographic information.

Radcliffe-Brown (1930), basing himself on Walker, felt that in Tasmania there had been four tribes with four distinct languages, which were divided into subtribes with different dialects. These subtribes were then divided into hordes. From this he calculated that the total population had been between 2,000 and 3,000 giving a population density for the island of 1 person per 10.5 square miles (1 per 27 sq.km.).

The use of the terms "tribe" and "subtribe" stemmed directly from his definitions on page 688, but he could not have justified the use of the term "horde" as defined specifically in his paper (p. 688) for the Tasmanian evidence then available, though on the evidence that we now have, it was an interesting guess.

In 1952 W. Schmidt published his exhaustive *Die Tasmanischen Sprachen*, the result of half a century of study. Schmidt did not have the benefit of Robinson's journals, for having delayed publication for over thirty years in order to make sure of no more manuscript material coming to light, the work was committed to press at about the same time that the whereabouts and scope of Robinson's work was revealed. Though this must have seemed like a cruel trick of fate to Schmidt, it does have some scholarly advantages, in that his sources were mostly independent from the new information and an analysis of Robinson's data can give us an independent check on the validity of Schmidt's hypotheses. This is particularly so in the area dealing with linguistic and tribal variation throughout the island, as Robinson was particularly interested in the problem.

Schmidt divided Tasmanian languages into two groups, namely the Eastern and Western Languages. The Eastern group he divided into three languages, namely the North Eastern Language, the Mid Eastern Language, and the South Eastern Language. Among these, the separation between the first two was greater than that between the last two. There were two languages within the western group, namely, the Western Language and the Northern Language. These languages Schmidt related to Walker's tribal divisions, with the addition of the Northern Language which he placed on the north coast somewhere between Circular Head and Port Sorell (1952:57–59).

Schmidt's work brought to fruition almost a century of scholarship on difficult salvage ethnographic and historical sources. From this Walker/Schmidt pattern we have a picture of Tasmanian society divided into two main language and possibly cultural groups; into five languages or dialects; and into nine major tribes or subtribes. There is also a hint of a substructure of smaller units. Were it not for Robinson's journals the matter would probably have closed at that point.

Modern Research 1966–1971

Linguistic

Although the new linguistic data from Robinson's journals are fragmentary, consisting mostly of word lists,

they are important from our point of view because they are usually related to tribal affiliation. Two examples will suffice. Various names for a thylacine (hyena) (*Thylacinus cynocephalus*) were recorded in what Robinson (31 August 1833:786) called the languages of: (1) the east coast (north of Oyster Bay); (2) Cape Grim (northwest coast); (3) north coast; (4) Cape Portland (northeast); (5) Bruny Island (southeast); and (6) Oyster Bay (central east).

Names for the wombat (*Vombatus ursinus*) are given in several places including 2 July 1831:369 and 12 May 1833:719, from: (1) Bruny or south Tasmania; (2) Cape Portland; (3) Oyster Bay; (4) east Tasmania; (5) the west coast; and (6) northern Tasmania. Obviously such data will have to be subjected to modern linguistic techniques, but as a first step, N. J. B. Plomley is at present collating and documenting all Tasmanian vocabularies (*Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies Newsletter*, 1970, *2* [12]:5), which will be most useful.

At least three linguists, Capell, O'Grady, and Wurm have worked recently on Tasmanian languages. Capell's paper (1968) is mostly concerned with grammatical structure, but he gives general support to Schmidt's classification of languages at least into an eastern and a western group. He also underlines the difficulty of assessing the precise nature of Schmidt's five languages as opposed to dialects, given the paucity of the sources and the lack of living speakers (Capell, 1968:7).

O'Grady carried out a new analysis on Tasmanian sources including a "corpus . . . deposited in recent years at Sydney University" (O'Grady et al., 1966:18), which I presume are from Robinson via Plomley to Capell (1968:1). O'Grady sees Tasmanian as a phylum separate from Australian languages. He divides the island languages into two rather than five related languages: Language 1 consisting of Schmidt's Northern Language and Language 2 consisting of four dialects, corresponding to Schmidt's other languages (O'Grady et al., 1966:19). Following Wurm (1972) we may call O'Grady's languages Northern Tasmanian and Southern Tasmanian respectively. Unfortunately, O'Grady has never published any details of his analysis nor of the reasons for his classification, so it is impossible to assess his work (for a brief review of the methods used see Tryon, 1971:350–351). Of particular interest to the present discussion would be to know to what extent Robinson's information has been used, and whether or not conclusions based on linguistic analysis have been checked against what Robinson and other observers said about mutual intelligibility between speakers from various parts of the island.

Wurm (1972) has reviewed Tasmanian languages and their relation to Australian ones, stating that Tasmanian languages are more likely to have been unrelated, rather than distantly related to the Australian ones. On the question of internal languages and dialects, Wurm summarizes the positions held by Schmidt–Capell and O'Grady, without adding any new discussion or choosing between them.

To summarize the modern linguistic position as far as published work goes, there is a consensus that within Tasmania there were at least five related languages or dialects. One school favors five languages separated into an eastern and a western group; and the other favors two languages, one of which contained four dialects. The configuration of these latter dialects was in the shape of a horseshoe around southern Tasmania, the two horns in the northeast and northwest respectively, separated from each other by the Northern Language (see Wurm [1972]). The possibility of further minor dialects or local vocabularies has not been reinvestigated recently, and may indeed be beyond the scope of the surviving evidence (see G. W. Walker, 1898:170–172). Clearly, the last word on Tasmanian linguistic geography has not yet been heard, but Capell gives us hope that "this remains still for the future" (1968:7).

Ethnographic

Scattered throughout Robinson's journals is a vast amount of material dealing with tribes. Two workers namely Plomley (1966:968–976) and myself (Jones, 1971), have discussed Tasmanian tribes using this new material. Although Robinson was not always consistent throughout his journals, it is clear that most of the time where he mentioned "tribes" or "nations" he was referring to social groups of a totally different order of size to Walker's tribes. Plomley is aware of this, but sticks to the term "tribe" in his discussion (1966:968). To try and avoid any confusion between the two, I introduced the terms "Robinson tribe" and "Walker tribe" to describe the two different social units (Jones, 1971:274). Although these are unambiguous terms and served the purpose of my argument, they are clumsy. In the present paper I shall use the simpler terms "band" for "Robinson tribe" and "tribe" for "Walker tribe." These I shall describe and define below. I am aware that the terms have a wide use in the literature of hunter gatherers, and should they be found to be inapplicable to the Tasmanian situation, I will then retreat to my previous particularist terminology.

We may now proceed to a summary of the characteristics of Tasmanian social units, taking in turn the family, band, and tribe.

PART II
FAMILY

Tasmanians were almost invariably monogamous, only two well-authenticated cases of polygamy being recorded and both have unusual circumstances. In one instance from Bruny Island a man married a second time in the belief that his first wife was dead. She had been ill and, according to Tasmanian custom, had been left behind in the bush to meet her fate, but had recovered. In the second instance, two women were married to a "chief" of the Port Davey band, who was so old that he was no longer able to fight, but had great prestige as an "augur or sage." There is a brief mention of a woman from northeastern Tasmania who apparently had two husbands. Elsewhere, Robinson specifically states that these were the only cases of polygamy that he had come across (27 April 1829:57, 25 March 1830:137, 22 November 1830:281, 27 August 1832:644, 17 June 1833:742). Roth (1899:112–113) quotes the usually reliable Milligan and Calder as reaching conclusions similar to Robinson's: that the Tasmanians were either totally monogamous at least at any one time, or that polygamy was extremely rare.[2] He also mentions Labillardière's observations of two men apparently with two wives each. Lloyd's comment about the Oyster Bay tribe that "plurality of wives was the universal law amongst them" (Roth, 1899:112), cannot be accepted on its own, as Lloyd was an unreliable observer (see also Plomley, 1969:76).

Both men and women married when they reached maturity, and in many cases it appears that husband and wife were of comparable ages (Robinson, 21 September 1829:75, 28 September 1829:79, 28 February 1834:853). People remarried quickly on the death of a spouse (Robinson, 21 September 1829:75, 14 October 1829:83), the new partners assuming responsibility for the children of previous unions (Plomley, 1966:1003 n. g). There was a marked division of labor in Tasmania, the women gathering shellfish and vegetable food, hunting possums and other small animals, as well as carrying out a wide range of household chores; the men manufacturing weapons, hunting, and fighting (Robinson, 28 September 1829:79, 26 November 1831:531; Hiatt 1968:214). Robinson several times stresses the economic interdependence of the two partners: "An aborigine of this Colony without a female partner is a poor dejected being . . ." (28 September 1829:79, 6 April 1830:145).

The rules of marriage are obscure, other than that bands were usually exogamous, but some analysis can probably be done on the west coast bands. The process of courtship is described several times, including parental authority, prohibitions and punishment for "wrong" marriages, and so forth, and further research is possible (Robinson, 14 October 1829:83, 19 and 20 November 1830:280, 20 December 1831:560, 15 July 1833:758, 21 June 1834:888). Adultery occurred (Robinson, 4 November 1830:268, 19 August 1833:782) and according to Milligan (in Roth, 1899:112) divorce was possible (see also Plomley, 1966:1004 n. o). Infidelity, jealousy, and raids for women were the chief causes for fights in Tasmania and often resulted in the death of some of the principal parties (Robinson, 30 September 1829:80, 11 July 1830:187, 24 November 1831:529, 19 June 1834:887). There was no circumcision in ethnographically recorded Tasmanian society, and although both sexes had cicatrices, the designs being related to tribal or band affiliation, there is no evidence that this was done at certain points in the individual's life cycle (but see Davies in Roth, 1899:115).

Although the evidence is slim, it can be seen that in several important respects Tasmanian marriage customs were significantly different from some of those practiced on the mainland. In particular there is a strong contrast to the gerontocratic polygamous systems of the northern part of the continent (Rose, 1960).[3]

The unit that camped and cooked around a single fire can be called a hearth group. Its core was a single family consisting of man, wife, children, aged relatives, and sometimes friends or other relatives; it ranged in size from two to about seven or eight people, and we have many descriptions of such hearth groups (Labillardière, 1800:303, 308–309; Robinson, 3 September 1832:649; Backhouse, 1843:104). They were the domestic and possibly foraging unit, and they often corresponded to the group occupying a single hut, particularly in the west coast camps (Jones, 1971:278).

BAND

The basic social unit in Tasmania was the band.[4] This consisted of a group of people who called themselves by a particular name and were known by that or other names to other people. The band owned a territory the core of which was often a prominent geographical location and foraging zone such as West Point, Port Davey, or the

[2] Judging from the activities of the Bass Strait sealers, the Tasmanians themselves would have been forgiven for believing that polygamy and bartering of wives were common marriage customs among the Europeans (Kelly in Bowden, 1964:37; Robinson, 7 April 1843:875).

[3] Rose (1960) may wish to revise his statement on Tasmanian marriage.

[4] In my discussion there is probably some confusion between land *owning* and land *using* local groups, but until the limited historical data are subjected to a rigorous linguistic and sociological analysis, I do not feel that a more sophisticated exposition is warranted at this stage.

Little Swanport estuary. We have information from the east coast which shows that boundaries could coincide with well-marked geographical features such as rivers and lagoons (Robinson, 8–15 January 1831:310). Aborigines divided the landscape into these band territories each of which was named as the "country" of the band it belonged to. Such ownership was formal, for although a band based its residence in the vicinity of its country and could often be found there, it also foraged widely on the territories of other bands. Whether or not this was sanctioned or regarded as trespass was a function of the tribal affiliation of the bands concerned, as will be discussed in the next section. Stanner's differentiation between the "estate" and "range" of Australian territorial groups (1965:2), also aids in understanding the Tasmanian situation.

Along the coasts, the bands were apparently fairly regularly spaced, each one occupying some 15 to 20 miles (25 to 35 km.) of coast, with shorter distances in the rich northwestern corner of Tasmania and longer ones along the extreme southwest coast (Plomley, 1966:969; Jones, 1971:277). Judging from areas where we have the most complete evidence, it appears that where coast and inland areas were combined, each band territory occupied about 200 to 300 square miles (500 to 800 sq.km.) (table 1).

Most bands seem to have had at least two names, possibly the name they gave to themselves and those given to them by various other bands. A linguistic analysis of such names would be interesting, for it is obvious that there are certain repeated patterns within them that could be isolated. From within Robinson's journals and notes, Plomley (1966:970–975) has counted 97 different names (excluding possible and certain spelling variants). These he thinks belonged to at least 46 different bands and, as Robinson usually gave their location or it can somehow be worked out from textual analysis, Plomley has mapped them (1966:971). I used this map as part of my figure 19:2 (Jones, 1971:275).

Plomley's is a basic work, but unfortunately he has never documented his sources, so that in order to check or refine his classification or to go back from it to Robinson's text, one is forced to repeat much of the original work. This I have done so far as the published edition goes and agree with most of Plomley's list. A few names have escaped his net, some of which may be alternative spellings, and there are also one or two minor errors in his list. The information pertaining to these are found in Robinson, 25 July 1830:190, 26 July 1830:233 n. 117, 25 October 1830:257, 15 July 1831:379, 1 September 1831:418, 15 December 1831:554, 24 January 1834:837. It is almost certain as Plomley suggests in part (1966:976) that his groups, numbers 13, 7, 29, 26, refer to at least 11 different bands instead of 4; and a few other bands such as the *Pe.ter.nid.ic* ought to be given independent status (Robinson, 22 June 1834:889). Some of these changes have been discussed in the detailed tribal descriptions below and have been indicated on figure 1, the distribution of bands being based on Plomley (1966:971).

Within Tasmania we have good evidence for the existence of at least 53 to 55 different bands. There is reasonably detailed and complete coverage from the central east, northeast, and west coasts; medium coverage from the southeast and central plateau, but almost no information from the Midlands and other areas colonized early by the Europeans, but known once to have supported large aboriginal populations (Jones, 1971: 274–276). Plomley estimates that as little as half of the original bands have been recorded, and previously, I proposed to increase the number by 50 percent to 70 as a conservative estimate (Jones, 1971:274). In this paper my opinion is that there were originally 70 to 85 bands in Tasmania.

To estimate the size of these bands we have three sources of information:

1. The accounts of maritime explorers and colonial observers from the earliest years of settlement.
2. Robinson's journals.
3. Archaeological evidence.

The first give the best idea of the size and composition of bands and are particularly important as they pertain to a period before the destruction of aboriginal society. Robinson gave detailed sex and age composition of west coast bands, but even these had been affected by disease and raids of sealers, and there is a serious dearth of infants and children compared with the early accounts. Robinson and other observers also described villages and groups of huts, giving direct counts of the number of people per hut, or estimates of the same (Lourandos, 1970; Jones, 1971). What are believed to be the traces of such huts are found on large isolated shell middens on the west coast, and their numbers correspond well to the ethnographic accounts of camps that were the local residences of a band. From all these data, I estimated that the original size of Tasmanian bands ranged from 30 to 80 people, the majority lying between 40 and 70 people, including children (Jones, 1971:277–279). In this study I am working on the assumption that the average band consisted of about 40 to 50 people. This gives a conservative estimate of the total Tasmanian population of between 3,000 and 4,000 people.

APPENDIX TABLE 1

Tribe	*Possible subtribes (?)*	*Area; sq. m.*	*Coastline including offshore islands; miles*	*Number of bands*		*Population*	*Density; sq. m. per person*	*Coastal density; miles of coast per person*	*Extreme range of seasonal movements; miles*	*Reliability of evidence A–C*
				Minimum see fig. 1	*Estimate of original number*					
North West	a North west b Central west	1,300	340	(8)	9–10	400–500	2.4–2.9	0.7–0.8	250	A
South West	c South west	1,100	280	(4)	6 *	200–350	3.0–5.2	0.8–1.4	250	A
South East		1,200	340	(7)	9	400–500*	2.3–2.9	0.7–0.9	100	B
Oyster Bay	East coast north of Oyster Bay Oyster Bay	3,300	320	(10)	15 *	600–800	4.1–5.5	0.4–0.5	100	A
Big River		3,000	*(lake shores) 150	(5)	7–8	300–400	7.5–10.0	*(0.4–0.5)	300	A
North		1,800	*70	(4)	5–6	200–300	6.0–9.0	*0.2–0.4	180	A
North Midlands	Stony Creek Port Dalrymple	2,600	*100	(4)	10?	400–500?	5.2–6.5	0.2–0.3	190	B
Ben Lomond		1,000		(2)	4?	150–200	5.0–6.7	?	?	C
North East		2,200	160	(8)	10	400–500	4.2–5.3	0.3–0.4	?	B
Total occupied land		17,500†	1,500	52	75–78	3,000–4,000	4.4–5.8	0.4–0.5		
Tasmanian Total		26,000	1,500	52	70–80	3,000–5,000	5.2–8.5	0.3–0.5		

* Seasonal access to coast through territories of other tribes.
† Unoccupied land—8,500 square miles.

Ideally the bands were exogamous, Robinson stating this several times; for example, "As they do not marry in the same tribe . . ." and "The people when they want a wife go to the other natives for them" (11 January 1831:312, 21 June 1834:888). Milligan (Roth, 1899:112) says the same "It was rarely the custom amongst them to select wives from their own tribes, but rather to take them furtively, or by force from neighbouring clans." Analysis of the west coast bands shows that this was usually the case, though Plomley (1966:977 n. e) says that marriages could occur within tribes (bands) also. The wife usually moved to her husband's band claiming it as her own, though occasionally the reverse happened, especially if there had been a quarrel (Robinson, 21 June 1834:888).

Bands were led by prominent men invariably called in the literature "chiefs." These were all mature or old men and were formidable hunters and fighters. Apparently, they had considerable temporal powers, though whether by legal sanction or through force of personality and martial prowess is not known (Robinson, 25 October 1830:257, 27 August 1832:644, 22 July 1833:764; Backhouse, 1843:104; G. W. Walker, 1832 [pub. 1898]:163–164). They played a main role in the confrontations and battles that Robinson described, and some of the best known were Mannalargenna, Umarrah, Montpeliatter, Heedeek, Wymurrick, and Towterer. One woman, Walyer, played a similar role in the band that she led in northwestern Tasmania (Robinson, 21 June 1830:182, 11 July 1830:186–187).

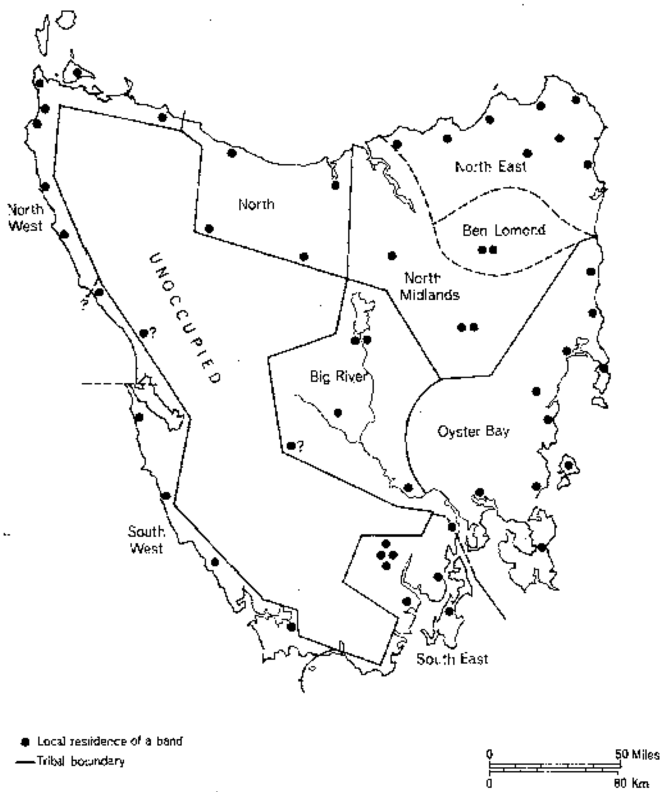


Fig. 1. Location of tribes and bands.

"Chiefs" were mature men who were referred to as belonging to the country owned by the band that they were with. I think that they formed the cores of such bands, which were added to by their wives and by other younger or less dominant men and women, not all of whom hailed from the band in question. Clearly, on the ground, there was considerable fluidity in local group composition, but there was often no doubt as to the "country" of origin of a person, though he may have been attached to another band at the time. This contrast between formal and empirical local group affiliation has been the cause of some controversy with mainland groups (Hiatt, 1962, 1966; Stanner, 1965; Birdsell, 1970), but a satisfactory solution of the problem in Tasmania may be beyond the scope of the surviving evidence.

The band was the basic warmaking unit, but sometimes men from several related bands cooperated to make war against a common enemy (Robinson, 25 October 1830:257, 19–20 June 1832:618). The combats usually took the form of ambushes or personal fights.

TRIBE

Tasmanian bands were organized into larger units that merit the appellation "tribes." In using this term I am implying no characteristics other than can be distilled from the Tasmanian ethnographic corpus. I am aware, however, that no matter how one tries to isolate it, the term has connotations defined elsewhere, and derived from a level of empirical analysis alas unattainable in Tasmania (see Berndt, 1959). But as these neither violate nor unduly twist the Tasmanian evidence, rather they give it substance in its more shadowy parts, I am content that they should remain.

Unfortunately, it is not easy to give a concise and totally consistent definition of a Tasmanian tribe, but we can begin by outlining some of its characteristics. The tribe consisted of a number of bands that had their territories contiguous to one another. There was no

centralized organization nor authority, thus when we speak of the characteristics of a tribe, we are really describing the sum of the characteristics of its constituent bands. The members of every band could speak the same language. Can we then move to a simple definition of the tribe as that group of bands that uniquely spoke the same language? Unfortunately not, for although in some instances the tribe and the speakers of a single language coincided, in others a single language was apparently spoken by two or possibly even three tribes. Sharing the same language was thus a necessary but not a sufficient condition for belonging to the same tribe.

At this point it is worth remembering the fragmentary nature of the linguistic evidence that has survived, and because of this, probably only the major units have been isolated. The original situation may have been more complex, and indeed given the lack of any linguistic information whatsoever for many parts of the island, it is quite possible that even several dialects have been missed. This does not only pertain to the isolated fastnesses of the island such as the upper Huon Valley or the northeastern rain forest country, but even to some of the major tribes. What direct information have we about the language spoken by the North Midlands tribe for example, or even the Big River tribe? G. Washington Walker said in 1832 (1898:170–171) that there were some objects "for which every tribe, or 'mob' has a different name" and in 1833 (1898:172) that "every tribe speaks a different language, and even among the individuals of the same tribe a great difference is perceptible." Unfortunately, we may never know, but I think it is possible that originally each tribe was distinguished from its neighbors by some differences in speech. Where the evidence has survived, we can show that in at least some cases these differences could be great enough to classify the speech units involved into separate dialects or even languages.

The bands within a tribe tended to exchange women with one another in marriage, though some women entered a tribe as a result of raids on foreign bands (Robinson, 25 October 1830:257; 15 December 1831:554). Unfortunately it is impossible to calculate the degree of genetic isolation within a tribe, though one day physical anthropologists may be able to tell us whether or not there were any genetic variations across the island as some have suggested (Wunderly, 1938; but also see Macintosh and Barker, 1964:39; Birdsell, 1949:119). Within a tribe, there was considerable cooperation between bands in economic and military matters. Most of the fights and ambushes recorded are between individuals or bands of different tribes. The usual causes for hostility were quarrels over women, breakage of trading agreements, and trespass. During certain times of the year many, or most of, the bands of a tribe congregated together to exploit seasonally abundant food, and each tribe had a different and distinctive pattern of seasonal movement.

Definition

We are now in a position to attempt a definition of the term "tribe" in Tasmania. A tribe was that agglomeration of bands that lived in contiguous regions, spoke the same language or dialect, shared the same cultural traits, usually intermarried, had a similar pattern of seasonal movement, habitually met together for economic and other reasons, the pattern of whose peaceful relations were within the agglomeration, and of whose enmities and military adventures were directed outside it. Such a tribe had a territory, consisting of the sum of the land owned by its constituent bands. Movements outside this territory, and of alien bands into it, were carefully sanctioned and had reciprocal economic advantages to the bands concerned. Trespass was usually a challenge to or punished by war. The borders of a territory ranged from a sharp, well-defined line associated with a prominent geographical feature to a broad transition zone usually found between two friendly tribes. Extraterritorial movement often took place along well-marked "roads" that, in their configuration relative to the shape of the country and to other tribal territories, tended to give maximum access with minimum trespass.

In the major section of this work, I attempt to analyze and reconstruct for each tribe the extent of its territory, the number of bands constituting it and hence its population, together with the range of seasonal movements of its bands. These are all documented later, but for a general analysis of the demography and size of Tasmanian tribes, I have abstracted this information on table 1.

There were nine tribes in Tasmania. Some of these may in future be further subdivided into subtribes, or in the reverse process possibly be combined themselves as constituent parts of supertribes. This will rest largely on definition and on further research. I am confident, however, that the basic configuration of Tasmanian tribes is already known.

If we exclude the Ben Lomond tribe from these calculations because of the lack of reliable information about it, the number of bands within a tribe ranged from 5 or 6 up to 15 with an average number of 9. This gives a mean population per tribe of between about 350 and 470 people, and taking the median estimates of the populations of the smallest and largest tribes a range of between 250 and 700 people. Thus for the whole of Tasmania we

have a population of between 3,000 and 4,000 people. The upper limit of this range is less than my previous estimate (Jones, 1971:280), where I gave a range of between 3,000 and 5,000 people. In my present detailed calculations, taking each tribe in turn, I have deliberately erred on the conservative side. Given this and the gaps in our knowledge, I still feel that 3,000 to 5,000 is the most reasonable estimate for the original population.

Tribal territories ranged in area from slightly over 1,000 square miles to 3,300 square miles (2,500–8,000 sq. km.). Their coastlines ranged from nil to 340 miles, if we include the numerous offshore islands known to have been visited by the aborigines. To calculate the population densities we have two resource zones to consider, namely the land itself and the seashore. Taking the land first, the density of occupation ranged from 9 or 10 square miles (20 sq. km.) to support one person for the Big River and North tribes, down to about 2.5 square miles (6 sq. km.) per person for the coastal northwestern and southeastern tribes. Conversely, the length of coast to support one person ranged from 0.8 to 1.4 miles (1.3–2.5 km.) for the coastal western and southern tribes down to 0.3 miles or less (0.5 km.) for the predominantly inland tribes. What is happening here of course is that we can divide Tasmanian tribes ecologically into three categories. The maritime tribes with long seaboards and limited hinterlands—namely, the North West, South West, and South East—lived largely off the coast, giving relatively lower coastal densities and much higher densities on the ground. The second group—Oyster Bay, North East, and possibly North tribes—had both a seashore and an extensive hinterland giving median values for both coastal and land densities. The last group—the Big River, North Midlands, and Ben Lomond—consisted of tribes owning little or no coastlines, thus the population was largely supported by the land with a consequent lower density. These tribes managed to gain seasonal access to the coast by agreement with the coastal tribes. Within Tasmania, there was no tribe nor group of bands that lived totally inland and did not at some time of the year forage on the seashore. Clearly, to calculate some meaningful index of population density and hence carrying capacity of various zones in Tasmania, we need some formula to combine coastal and inland increments.

I estimate that one third of Tasmania's land area was not used nor even occupied by the aborigines (Jones, 1968:207–209, 1971:276). To calculate population densities we can either take the whole island or consider the inhabited regions only. For the inhabited region, the population density was 4–5 to 6 square miles (10–15 sq. km.) per person, and for the whole of the island, 5 to 8.5 square miles (12–20 sq. km.) per person.

Either by virtue of its geographic location or by arrangement with other tribes, each Tasmanian tribe oriented itself so as to take advantage of the maximum range of ecological zones. In particular, resources of the seashore and of the inland plains and mountains were combined wherever possible. Specialized resources, such as seasonally abundant foods and ochre, played a decisive role in the geography and politics of Tasmanian tribes.

Their ecological range was extended by a complex pattern of seasonal movements. To give some idea of the scale of these movements, I have calculated the distance between the two points farthest away from each other on the seasonal round of people from each tribe. This distance I am calling the maximum range, and it is calculated according to the route known to have been taken by the aborigines. Tasmania is about 200 miles (320 km.) from east to west and 250 miles (400 km.) from north to south. The maximum range of seasonal movements for most tribes varied from between 100 miles and 300 miles (160–500 km.), showing great mobility in an island with so many rich and varied resources. The most mobile tribes were those on the west coast and the Northern and Big River tribes.

Culture Traits

Many culture traits were specifically related to tribal and in some cases even to band affiliation. They were: hair and beard styles for both men and women, use of body ochre and charcoal, cicatrice patterns, dances, songs, "sacred trees" (see Robinson, 2 July 1831:369, 19 December 1831:559; G. W. Walker, 1898:161), myths, astronomical explanations, different "devils" or spirits, charms and amulets, manicure of dogs, food prohibitions, butchering methods. Other culture traits were common to two or more neighboring tribes but not distributed throughout the island. These were bark catamarans, hut types, types of camps, roads, burial customs, mourning customs, style of salutation, rock art, art inside huts, hunting methods, cooking methods, ochre mines, raw material for manufacture of stone tools, and from modern surface collections—types of stone tools. Some of these culture traits have a material manifestation—for example, art, burial, huts, diet, ochre and stone quarries, stone tools—and can thus potentially be translated into archaeological terms. In another paper I hope to demonstrate that in Tasmania the tribe is the minimum cultural unit that can be isolated in the archaeological record.

In the archaeology of hunters, it may be that where a mature synthesis has been achieved, that is where the basic sequences, typologies, and ecological adaptations have been worked out; the social group that lies behind

the smallest irreducible archaeological "culture" is the tribe or some social unit equivalent to it. This archaeological situation has probably been achieved with some of the late Pleistocene assemblages of Western Europe where we are facing a regional diversity of a similar order of size and complexity to that of ethnographically recorded Tasmania. It will be one of the aims of archaeological work in Tasmania to try and take the ethnographically documented tribal geography back into the past, and thus analyze the course and causes of its history. To establish a mature archaeology in Tasmania may, however, take the work of many decades, and to judge from European experience even a century or more.

SUMMARY

All the aborigines living in Tasmania at the time of European contact belonged to the same culture. The population was organized into a hierarchy of social units (fig. 2). Five related languages or dialects were spoken, with the possibility of further minor variation. There were nine tribes, each made up of between five and fifteen land-owning bands. Altogether there were about 70 to 85 bands, each one consisting of about 40 to 50 people organized into hearth groups corresponding to families. The total population consisted of between 3,000 and 5,000 people. The similarity of the structure of Tasmanian society to that of the Australian aborigines has interesting implications to the study of the ecology of hunters, especially when we note that according to modern archaeological opinion, the Tasmanians and the Australians shared a common ancient cultural heritage, and that the Tasmanians had been isolated on their island, probably free from all external contact, for at least 8,000 years.

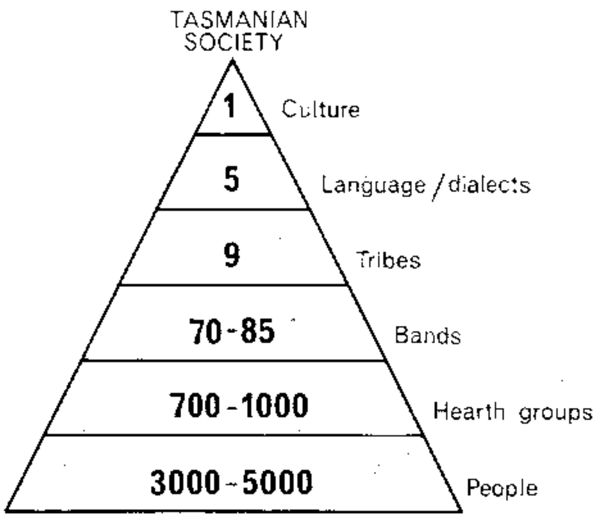


Fig. 2. The structure of Tasmanian society.

Robinson gave a public address in Sydney in 1838 and his speech was reported in *The Colonist* (31 October 1838) as follows: "As regards nations, he [Robinson] could truly say that the island of Van Diemen's Land was divided and subdivided by the natives into districts, and contained many nations. Their divisions he intended at some future period to point out, as he intended to execute a map of the island on aboriginal principles, with the aborigines' names for the mountains, rivers and localities." Robinson never made such a map, but by a series of lucky occurrences, 130 years later we may yet be in a position to do so.

PART III
DETAILED DESCRIPTIONS OF THE TRIBES

In this section, I have taken each tribe in turn, and organized the information under a series of the following headings:

Location: including coordinates of the central point with its territory, area of territory, length of coastlines, description of the location of the boundaries, and a brief description of the physical features of the tribal territory.

Language: both according to Schmidt and, where applicable, O'Grady.

Population: number of bands, calculation of tribal population from various sources where possible.

Seasonal movement and political relationships: brief comment on the economy, discussion of seasonal movements both within and outside tribal territory, including their geographical range, political and economic relations and with neighboring tribes, including trade, roads, and warfare.

References: general references for that tribe. Reference for any specific statement is made in the text.

Nomenclature

For the names of the tribes I have decided for the time being to retain the English terms that are in the literature. These are geographical terms referring either to a prominent feature at the core of a tribal territory—for example, Oyster Bay tribe—or to the general region of Tasmania where the tribe was located—for example, North Eastern tribe. I have done this partly because of precedence, but mostly because there did not appear to be well-established Tasmanian aboriginal terminology for the tribes. Should native-based names be preferred, then the best solution would be to base them on the name of a prominent band within each tribe. Throughout the text, when I have referred to a band or to an individual aborigine by name, I have kept to the spelling within Robinson's text as edited by Plomley. It would only add confusion at this stage to attempt a phonetic tran-

scription until a thorough linguistic analysis has been made.

WESTERN TRIBES

The bands living on the west coast of Tasmania were related to one another and probably constituted a single culture area. The people spoke either the same language (Schmidt, 1952:55–57) or at least mutually intelligible dialects. In some cultural traits, however, there may have been small differences between the northern and southern ends of this coast; for example in hair and beard styles, cicatrice patterns, dances, manicure of dogs, and butchering methods (Robinson, 18 March 1830:132, 5 April 1830:143, 19 June 1832:618, 16 July 1832:632, 24 July 1832:635: Plomley, 1966, pl. 15). The northern bands tended to congregate together, intermarry, and have a pattern of seasonal migration distinctively different from those of the south. There were also some variations in diet, type of stone used for implement manufacture, and degree of use of huts and watercraft, but these might partially be due to ecological factors. The position is complicated by the fact that there was a large overlap in the middle, the bands of the central west sharing some activities with their neighbors on either side. In reality, I suppose that every band differed slightly from each of its neighbors and that a gradual gradient existed along the coast. These differences accumulated until the natives of the northwest and those of the southwest ended up being largely independent of one another.

An analogous situation has been described by linguists working on "dialect chains." Each dialect within such a chain is intelligible to neighboring speakers, but is unintelligible to speakers of dialects several spaces removed from it, though still within the same chain (Tryon, 1971:351). A transitional situation was probably normal at the boundaries of all tribes but it was magnified in western Tasmania because the bands were aligned in linear fashion along the coast, like beads on a string.

Certainly the northwestern group had as much communication with various bands of the northern tribes to its east as it did with the southwestern group; and conversely members of the latter had as much contact with Bruny Islanders who spoke a different language, as they did with their fellow westerners of the far north.

Probably not enough information has survived to allow an analysis of the western language to see whether or not there were separate dialects within it, but the following observations hint that there may have been some difference in dialect between the northwest and the southwest.

Some Bruny Islanders could converse easily with Port Davey people and people of the southwest (Robinson, 17 March 1830:131, 17 June 1833:740). They may have learned the language either when some of the Port Davey people visited the Bruny government settlement, or more likely during the regular seasonal contacts that the two groups had enjoyed in pre-European times. When it came to contacting some of the aborigines on the northern part of the coast, however—for example, the West Point and Sandy Cape bands—the Bruny islanders were of no use to Robinson, and he was totally dependent on natives from the northwest, particularly from Robbins Island and Cape Grim (19 June 1832:617, 22–23 June 1832:619–623, 18 February 1834:844). Robinson himself may have been aware of some differences also, for having already spent several months in the field searching for natives from the northwest, and in the company of Port Davey people, he eventually met them. He commented that he applied himself to learning words of what he called the "Robbins Island" dialect, implying that it was somewhat different from the other languages or dialects that he had already heard (1 July 1830:185, 3 July 1832:625, 28 July 1832:636).

I feel that there were sufficient differences within the western bands for us to divide them into two semiautonomous units, each having a status equivalent to that of a "tribe." I shall call them the North West and South West tribes. The relationship between them was similar to that which existed between the Oyster Bay and Big River tribes of central eastern Tasmania.

Having defined the two ends of a continuum, there remains the problem of where to place the boundary between them. The answer must be somewhat arbitrary and the best solution might be to draw a broad transitional zone occupied by the bands of the central west coast between Sandy Cape and Macquarie Harbour. The position is complicated by the establishment of the convict prison in Macquarie Harbour in 1822 which disrupted the traditional economy in what must originally have been a focal area. Disease had drastically reduced the aboriginal population and the survivors were constantly regrouping themselves through residence or marriage, thus tending to form closer relationships with distant neighbors than may have been the case in the past. When Robinson finally met them in 1833–1834, the central bands were the last ones remaining in the bush and they acted as magnets for odd individuals from neighboring groups whose compatriots were either dead or removed to the aboriginal settlement.

For the purposes of this paper, nevertheless, I shall group these central bands with their neighbors to the north, as it is in this direction that most of their affinities lay. Accordingly, I have placed the boundary at Mac-

quarie Harbour as this is a convenient geographical feature, though I would not quarrel if the watershed between the northwestern and southwestern tribes were placed a little to the north in the vicinity of the Pieman River.

North West Tribe

Location:

Coord.: 144°50′E x 41°20′S.

Area: 1,300 sq. m. (2,000 sq. km.).

Coastline: 340 miles (550 km.) (including the islands of the Hunter Group).

This territory consisted of the northwestern coastal region along the north coast from Table Cape to Cape Grim and down the west coast to the neighborhood of Macquarie Harbour. The islands of the Hunter Group were regularly visited. Inland, occupation was usually restricted to the coastal regions, in most places not more than a few miles from the sea; however, the boundary cut across the northwestern corner of Tasmania from Smithton to the mouth of the Arthur River.

The north coast is dry and sheltered with a mild climate. From Table Cape to Rocky Cape there are cliffs, but west of Circular Head the coast is low with accumulation of sand. Inland there is only a narrow coastal strip and several small rivers flow northward into the sea. In the northwest there is low country with swamps and small meandering streams. The west coast, however, is exposed to the full swells and storms of the Southern Ocean, with the rainfall increasing steadily from north to south. The coast is rocky with offshore reefs, but there are several long surf-swept beaches. Behind a narrow coastal plain, the land becomes rugged with ranges rising to over 2,000 feet (600 m.). Several swift-flowing rivers cut through this country to flow into the west coast, the most important being the Arthur and the Pieman.

Before land clearance, early this century, the north coast was heavily wooded. On rich basaltic soils there were *Eucalypts* with *Nothofagus* rain forest in the gullies; and on some acid soils there were heaths. Inland is still densely forested. In the northwestern corner and on the islands of the Hunter Group, the vegetation is predominantly coastal heath, with dense tea tree scrub in swampy areas. On the west coast there is sedgeland with rain forest in the back country, especially in sheltered gullies. Much of this vegetation pattern has been greatly affected by the intensive fire pressure maintained by the aborigines (see Jackson, 1965:30).

Language: Western Language within Schmidt's Western Language Group. (Western dialect within O'Grady's Southern Language.)

Population: At least eight bands constituted this tribal unit (fig. 1). Robinson's information was good, and he has probably recorded most of the original bands. The north coast, however, had been depopulated by his time and some gaps exist here, for example at Circular Head, the location chosen by the Van Dieman's Land Company to build a settlement and port. Nine or ten bands gives us a population estimate of about 400 to 500 people for this group. There are interesting data on the composition and location of these bands, together with information on marriages and quarrels in Robinson's journals particularly those covering his second, fifth, sixth, and seventh expeditions (see Plomley, 1966:111–241, 587–921).

Seasonal movements and political relationships:

A. *Within tribal territory:* Within the tribal territory, the main axis of seasonal movement was parallel to the coast. People traveled along well-marked footpaths or "roads" that gave easy access through country that was often swampy and covered with dense scrub. Robinson several times comments on the contrast with eastern Tasmania where unobstructed movement through the open forests and savannah plains obviated the need for regular paths (3 July 1832:626). Large rivers such as the Arthur and the Pieman were crossed at their mouths at high tide by means of bark catamarans or by swimming with the aid of floats, smaller streams being crossed by wading or by using tree trunks as bridges (9 April 1834:876, 29 March 1834:868).

For most of the coast, the edge of the coastal plain a few miles wide or less marked the limit of landward penetration. The dense vegetation, rugged terrain, and increased rainfall encountered a short distance from the sea explains this. The bands of the extreme northwest such as the *Pee.rap.per* from West Point used to forage inland of Mount Cameron West in the swampy tea tree and scrub country around the Welcome River and from there visited Robbins Island and Circular Head on the north coast (Robinson, 29 July 1832; see Plomley 1966:691 n. 80). Robbins Island itself was the local residence of a prominent band that foraged on the mainland nearby as well as visiting the other islands of the Hunter Group (Robinson, 19 June 1830:178–179). At low tide it is possible to wade across the mile-wide passage separating Robbins Island from the mainland.

From the west coast there are many accounts of groups of large beehive-shaped huts often set into circular hollows in shell heaps or sand dunes (Robinson, 4 September 1833:790). These ranged in number from one up to five or more, and Robinson and other observers called them "villages." They provided accommodation to all or part of a band and were situated in strategic locations close to rich foraging areas (see Jones,

1971:278). As groups traveled along the coast, they moved from one to the next, occupying old huts or building new ones as occasion demanded. Small wells were dug and kept tidy, abalone shells being placed near them as drinking vessels for travelers (Robinson, 8 June 1830:170).

The movement of individual bands was often in response to chance events, such as the whims of individuals, fights, and deaths. Superimposed onto this however was a systematic seasonal pattern. In late winter, particularly in September, swans and ducks lay their eggs at the mouths of rivers and near coastal lagoons. Aborigines congregated at these egging grounds at that time of year (Robinson, 16 September 1830:212). The sheltered estuarine flats of the north coast were particularly attractive. From about October onward, and particularly from the end of November to about the end of March, the vast mutton bird (*Puffinus tenuirostris*) rookeries on the islands of the Hunter Group were exploited. Aborigines crossed over to the main islands such as Hunter and Three Hummock as well as to rocky stacks. The route to the islands lay across the dangerous tidal rips of the Hunter Passage, the journey being effected by swimming or by the use of catamarans (Robinson, 18 June 1830:177, 13 August 1832:641; Meston, 1936). Bands from as far south as Sandy Cape, 60 miles (100 km.) away, made these regular visits and all the natives of the northwest knew the islands well (Robinson, 13 August 1832:641, 14 October 1832:668–669). The appearance of the blossom of a certain tree was taken as a sign that it was the right time of year to go to the islands, and they were not often visited, if at all, during the winter months when the birds were absent (18 July 1832:633).

Before European sealers had decimated the Bass Strait seal populations, the aborigines used to visit the breeding grounds of these animals to kill females and young pups. In recent prehistoric times the west coast from Sandy Cape north to Mount Cameron West was the major focus in Tasmania for these activities, especially for the exploitation of southern elephant seals (*Mirounga leonina*) (Jones, 1966:7). This would have been carried out in early and midsummer and large, well-defined shell middens such as those at West Point (Jones, 1966:6–8) indicate intensive use and probably semipermanent habitation during the sealing season.

B. *Outside tribal territory:* For movement outside the tribal territory, we have two directions to consider (1) to the south, and (2) to the east.

1. *To the south:* The southernmost bands such as those from Sandy Cape and Pieman River sometimes crossed Macquarie Harbour Heads by catamaran to forage on the southwest coast. They certainly went as far south as Port Davey (Robinson, 7 April 1834:873–876) but this was probably the limit of their range, for there is no evidence for visits farther south, for example, to the Maatsuyker Islands. Relationships between these central western bands and those of the southwest were close (24 July 1833:769). They sometimes foraged together, and there was intermarriage, for example two *Nine.ne* women from Port Davey were married into the *Tarkine* band of Sandy Cape (10 June 1830:172, 7 April 1834:874). The southwestern people made reciprocal visits north of Macquarie Harbour as far as Mount Cameron West or Cape Grim, usually during the warmer part of the year (19 June 1832:618).

Bands from the extreme northwest such as those from Robbins Island and West Point traveled less frequently to the south, and may not have gone farther than, or as far as Macquarie Harbour. They knew the southwestern people well, however, when the latter made their visits north of the Arthur River. A woman from Birches Rocks south of Macquarie Harbour was married to a Robbins Island man (Robinson, 17 July 1832:633) and the West Point band had with them a dog given by the Ninene of Port Davey (20 June 1832:618). Sometimes relations were hostile as in June 1832 when the Port Davey had joined the Pieman River and Sandy Cape bands to fight the West Point band, the quarrel having been started when Sandy Cape men had speared, wounded, and then abducted some West Point women sometime previously. The hostile parties had arranged to meet at *Nongor* (West Point) at a certain time of the lunar month in order to have a fight, so that the West Point men could try and get their women back. A week or a fortnight before the appointed date, some West Point men had gone to Robbins Island to get suitable wood for spears (19 and 20 June 1832:618).

There is one reference about people called the Peternidic told to Robinson by a Robbins Island man (22 June 1834:889). They were reputed to live entirely inland in the bush between the Pieman River and Macquarie Harbour, and to eat snakes. They had become extinct, but the Tarkine from Sandy Cape used to fight them. There are two explanations for the location of the Peternidic. Some of the valleys behind Macquarie Harbour are large and there might have been room for a band to live here, but the country is desolate and wet. The other alternative is that this was a half remembered, half mythical reference to one of the bands of the central plateau region of Tasmania. The inhabitable country belonging to the Big River people formed a salient toward the west coast opposite this point (fig. 1). In 1840 Calder made the first exploratory journey from central Tasmania to the west coast, in a line from Lake St. Clair

to Macquarie Harbour (Calder, 1849), and his route has been followed approximately by what is still the only road from eastern Tasmania through the mountains to the west coast. In two places near Frenchman's Cap, he saw some recently occupied huts and a spear, showing that aborigines were capable of living in this remote region. Did they also use it as a route from plateau to coast, at least intermittently or in times of stress? Archaeological studies may eventually shed some light on this question.

2. *To the east:* Relations with the bands of the North tribe were complex. Many of the northwest coast natives, for example Peevay, a Robbins Island man, could converse with them (Robinson, 20 September 1830:216), but it is clear from Robinson's notes that it was a different language or dialect and regarded as such by the aborigines (19 August 1831:406). In other culture traits too, the western natives explicitly commented on differences between themselves and their northeastern neighbors. The northern men arranged their hair in red-ochred ringlets, made bark sheet lean-to huts, usually disposed of their dead by burial, and by 1830 had large packs of dogs (28 February 1834:854, 29 March 1834:868, 30 March 1834:869, 10 March 1834:859). The west coast men shaved part of their heads and did not use ochre on their hair, made beehive-shaped huts, burned their dead, and had few dogs (12 December 1831:549, 16 July 1832:632, 17 July 1832:633, 30 March 1834:869). The west coast natives often referred to the northerners as "bush people" using the term "brailywy," "brayleny," or other derivative (30 August 1832:645, 28 April 1833:717, 10 March 1834:859). The northerners told the coastal people mythical stories about flying snakes that were reputed to live in the forests and mountains of their own country (4 September 1833:791).

Yet in spite of these differences, the economies of the two groups interlocked and the people were well known to each other (Robinson, 26 August 1833:785). All the coastal bands from Circular Head to Sandy Cape used to travel regularly into the high inland country belonging to the northern tribe, particularly to the Surrey and Hampshire Hills region (7 April 1834:875, 2 September 1833:789). Two main routes were used. One followed the north coast from Rocky Cape past Table Cape to Emu Bay and then inland through a series of small fire-maintained plains. The other left the west coast at Sandy Cape and crossed the Norfolk Range to the southwestern corner of Surrey Hills. This was a famous road consisting of a chain of open plains kept clear by regular firing, and it afforded penetration through an uninhabited area of rain forest and rugged terrain. Robinson has given us details of the coastal end of this road (5 September 1833:791).

In addition to a range of inland bush foods, an added incentive for these travels was ochre. The ochre quarries at Mount Housetop in the Surrey Hills and at Mount Vandyke, a little to the east, will be referred to in more detail in the section on the northern tribe, but they were well known to the aborigines of the northwest coast, who paid regular visits to them to mine the ore (Robinson, 27 April 1832:600, 7 April 1834:875).

These inland excusions were most likely carefully sanctioned, the host band—for example, the *Tommyginny*—often accompanying and foraging with the coastal natives (Robinson, 2 September 1833:789). On unscheduled visits, coastal intruders may have met with a hostile response, as did Peevay from Robbins Island, and two Circular Head boys when they were returning to their own country after having left Robinson's party near Port Sorell (26 September 1830:220).

In return for the use of the inland resources, the coastal bands acted as hosts for the northern bands who visited the west coast, particularly near the debouchment of the Norfolk Range road, during the summer months. (Robinson, 31 December 1832:705, 28 April 1833:717, 26 August 1833:785, 28 February 1834:854). The inland bands also visited Robbins Island to forage for food and to collect shells for their necklaces (21 June 1830:181, 23 March 1834:865, 24 March 1834:866, 14 June 1834:884).

Occasionally, on such occasions, quarrels and fights broke out between the two groups of people. In February 1834 some Tommyginny men camping with the Tarkine at Sandy Cape would not give the latter ochre, which they had. A fight ensued in which one man from each side was speared to death, and the Tommyginny fled up the Norfolk Range road to their own country leaving ochre, knives, and dogs as booty (Robinson, 28 February 1834:854). In June 1830 the body of a girl was lying in putrefaction on Robbins Island. She had been speared by a Peerapper man from West Point because of jealousy and he in turn had been killed by a man belonging to one of the inland bands (21 June 1830:181, 11 July 1830:187). This was the cause for general hostility between the two groups. Robinson's comment for the Tarkine and Tommyginny that they had "been at amity and at war alternately for a long period" (28 February 1834:854), describes succinctly the relationship between the northwest coast people and those living inland to their east, and the boundary between them was an important one in aboriginal Tasmania.

Looking at relationships with other groups farther

afield, the Mersey River or thereabouts marked the eastward limit of the excursions of the western people for Peevay, a Robbins Island man, did not know the country nor the inhabitants living beyond this area (Robinson, 22 September 1830:217). This was approximately the eastern boundary of the northern tribe and there is no evidence from other sources of any friendly contact between the North Midlands/Port Dalrymple people and those from the west coast (21 August 1831:408). The western natives did not understand the language spoken by the Oyster Bay natives (23 June 1832:620), though those with Robinson learned to do so after having joined his party, and they also learned the eastern dances (3 September 1832:649). While in the inland plains of the Surrey Hills, particularly in the vicinity of the ochre mines, the west coast natives sometimes met people from the Big River Tribe (McKay, see Plomley, 1966:583 n. 89), with whom they seemed to have had amicable relationships. The latter for example, the *Lairmairrener*, occasionally visited the west coast at Cape Grim (Robinson, 15 December 1831:554).

To get some idea of the scale of all these movements, let us consider the Tarkine whose local residence was at Sandy Cape. In a normal year they would have moved northward to the Hunter Islands, a distance of 85 miles (140 km.); southward to Port Davey, 160 miles (250 km.) away; and inland to the Surrey Hills, 60 to 80 miles (100 km.). The entire range along the west coast extended some 250 miles (400 km.). Although by reason of its location the Tarkine was probably the most mobile of the northwestern and central western bands, the range of most of the others would have been on the order of 170 miles (250 km.) or more, if we include the inland movements.

Ref.: Kelly, 1815–1816, in Bowden 1964:29–32; Robinson, 1829–1834, especially the journals of his second, fifth, sixth, and seventh expeditions (Plomley, 1966:111–241, 587–921); Backhouse, 1843: 103–106.

South West Tribe

Location:

Coord.: 145°40′E x 43°60′S.

Area: 1,100 sq. m. (2,800 sq. km.).

Coastline: 280 miles (450 km.) (including the shore lines of Macquarie Harbour and Port Davey).

This territory extended along the southwest coast of Tasmania from Macquarie Harbour to somewhere between Coxes Bight and South Cape. The inland boundary followed the coast closely, particularly in the southwest. North of Low Rocky Point the boundary cut inland in a straight line to Birches Inlet and the eastern side of Macquarie Harbour.

The coast is rocky and bears the brunt of the southwesterly gales and swells. There is a narrow coastal platform, and behind this the land rises rapidly to mountains over 2,000 feet (600 m.) high. In the extreme south these rise almost precipitously to a height of 4,000 feet (1,200 m.) within a mile or two of the coast. There are two large, protected deep water harbors, Macquarie Harbour and Port Davey. The climate is oceanic with an annual rainfall of over 100 inches (2,500 mm). The vegetation consists of sedgeland, with patches of rain forest in protected pockets. Large areas of rain forest occur to the east and southeast of Macquarie Harbour, and on the coast between Point Hibbs and Low Rocky Point.

Language: Western Language within Schmidt's Western Language Group. (Western dialect within O'Grady's Southern Language.)

Population: There were at least four bands living in this area (fig. 1). There may originally have been about two more, particularly as we do not know the details of occupation of Macquarie Harbour and its environs following the establishment of the convict settlement there in 1822. For the region, a population range of between 200 and 350 is indicated. Prominent bands were the Ninene of Port Davey and the *Low.reen.ne* of Low Rocky Point. The southwestern natives were referred to in a general way by the Bruny people and possibly by themselves as the *Too.gee* (Robinson, 25 March 1830:136, 26 March 1830:138, 17–19 April 1830:153–155, 14 June 1833:736). Whether this was a general term meaning "people" (Plomley, 1966:970) or whether it was a more specific tribal or regional appellation is not known, but I suspect the latter. Many details of band composition, marriages, and alliances are contained in Robinson's work especially in the journals of his second and sixth expeditions (see Plomley, 1966:111–241, 704–821).

Seasonal movement and political relationships: The economy was focused on the seashore and the coastal plain immediately behind it. Major food resources were shellfish, crayfish, seals, wombats, and macropods (Hiatt, 1967:120). Vegetable foods, though eaten, were less abundant than elsewhere in Tasmania. Members of a band lived in local camps consisting of several sturdily built dome-shaped huts that were situated close to fresh water and food-collecting areas (Robinson, 26 March 1830:139, 5 April 1830:144). Movement was mostly parallel to the coast along well-defined footpaths, and huts were numerous along these. Rivers and harbors were crossed by means of bark catamarans. Two routes afforded shortcuts away from the coast. One led from the head of Elliott Bay near Low Rocky Point in a northerly direction inland to Birches Inlet in the southeastern

corner of Macquarie Harbour (11 May 1833:718 ff.). This ran in a funnel between two areas of rain forest, and it is likely that aboriginal fire pressure helped to form or at least enlarge and maintain this disclimax. The other was from Cox's Bight across a high neck of land to Bathurst Harbour, an inner part of Port Davey, thus avoiding the necessity of going around the exposed southwestern corner of Tasmania (10 February 1830:118, 7 March 1830:125).

Egress from the region was either to the north across Macquarie Heads or to the east hugging the coast past South East Cape to Recherche Bay. There were no routes leading inland across the mountains to central and eastern Tasmania and the aborigines did not go there (Robinson, 13 March 1830:128); indeed the country is so rugged that it has successfully defied having a road through it even to this day.

During the height of winter people tended to stay at their local residences, the women collecting shellfish, the men having no spears as they did little or no hunting then (Robinson, 14 June 1833:736). The egging season began in late winter and early spring especially during August–September, when breeding grounds of swans and ducks were frequented. Macquarie Harbour, Port Davey, and the lagoons of the south coast were focuses for these activities (5 March 1830, 7 March 1830:124–125).

Outside their tribal territory the bands of the southwest had close relationships with their neighbors to the north, particularly with the people living between Macquarie Harbour and the Arthur River (see discussion in the previous section). They crossed Macquarie Harbour Heads by catamaran (Backhouse, 1843:58), and traveled regularly as far north as Mount Cameron West and possibly Cape Grim. Between March 1830 and July 1832 the Port Davey Ninene had made this journey several times, visiting and exchanging gossip with all the bands along the route (Robinson, 20 June 1832:618, 5 July 1832:626). Some people probably also visited part of the north coast, the Low Rocky Point people having a name for Table Cape (26 July 1830:190). At the beginning of September 1832, some Port Davey people were at the Arthur River together with Pieman River and Sandy Cape aborigines, and it is likely that these journeys were not made during the coldest parts of the year (19 June 1832:618, 3 September 1832:647).

To the southeast they traveled along the south coast to Cox's Bight where they obtained ochre (Robinson, 11 February 1830:118, 8 June 1830:170). At least since the advent of Pax Britannica, some Port Davey people visited Port Esperance to the southwest of the Huon estuary, and even Bruny Island (9 July 1829:65), though the extent of such journeys in precontact times is not known. During the summer months, they crossed over in their catamarans to the Maatsuyker and De Witt Islands off southwest Tasmania to hunt seals (15 July 1831:378–379, 15 December 1831:554).

During the course of a year the Port Davey band or at least a substantial segment of it would travel from Recherche Bay or the Maatsuyker Islands in the south to Mount Cameron West or Cape Grim in the north. Taking a line along the coast these points are some 250 miles (400 km.) apart, and give an idea of the scale of seasonal movements of the southwestern bands.

During their sealing voyages to the Maatsuyker Islands they sometimes met Bruny Islanders and other southeastern bands. The relationships between the southwestern bands and those to their east are discussed in the next section. Although there were some seasonal contacts between the two groups and some people who were able to converse with one another and had some cultural traits in common, there were also major differences in material culture, speech, economy, and political relationships. The rugged country of the extreme south coast between Cox's Bight and Recherche Bay was an important cultural boundary. Looking farther east, there was no contact between the southwestern people and those from the southern midlands or Oyster Bay. Mannalargenna from the central east coast could not speak nor understand the Port Davey language (Robinson, 21 May 1833:726), neither could "Black Richard," probably Druerertattenanne from Ben Lomond (13 July 1833:754; Plomley, 1966:991).

Ref.: Kelly, 1815, in Bowden, 1964:24–28; Robinson, 1829–1834, especially the journals of his second and sixth expeditions (Plomley, 1966:111–241, 704–821); Backhouse, 1843.

South East Tribe

Location:

Coord.: 147°10'E x 43°10'S.

Area: 1,200 sq. m. (300 sq. km.).

Coastline: 345 miles (550 km.) (including Bruny Island).

The coastal territory extended from opposite De Witt Island near South Cape, past the western shore of the D'Entrecasteaux Channel, the Huon estuary, and the western shore of the Derwent estuary to approximately Hobart or New Norfolk. The inland boundary followed the coast closely around South East Cape to the western bank of the Huon estuary. It moved inland to encompass the Huon valley, and then eastward to Hobart or New Norfolk. Bruny Island was part of this territory, the eastern boundary of which followed the Derwent estuary into Storm Bay, so that South Arm and Tasman Peninsula were outside it.

The coastline is indented and relatively sheltered, especially in the D'Entrecasteaux Channel, though heavy seas are experienced along the southern coastline. The Huon and Derwent are eustatically drowned valleys forming deep estuaries. The land rises rapidly inland reaching heights of over 1,000 feet (300 m.) within a mile of the coast in many places, and Mount Wellington with a height of over 4,000 feet (1,200 m.) dominates the western side of the Derwent estuary. The climate on the coast is mild, with hot summers in the Derwent estuary, but inland can be cold in winter with heavy snowfalls in the southwest and on the highest mountains. Most of the area is thickly forested with *Eucalypt.* In the southeastern part of Bruny Island and on the mainland from South Cape to the Huon valley there is *Nothofagus* rain forest. On Mount Wellington there is montane moorland.

Language: South Eastern Language of Schmidt's Eastern Language Group (Southeastern dialect within O'Grady's Southern Language). This was often called the "Bruny" language by Robinson, who has many words from it scattered throughout his journals.

Population: We have excellent data about the size and composition of local groups from this region, particularly from the coast of Bruny Island and the Huon estuary. Important in this regard are the accounts of Labillardière (1800), Péron (1809), and some of the early colonial observers such as Knopwood (1947–1948). Domestic groups and villages consisting of about 40 to 60 people were observed several times (see Jones, 1971:277, for further details).

On Plomley's map (1966:971) his group no. 26 from the general region of the Huon River represents 12 band names. Even if we dispose of alternative spellings and the "*Brayhelukequonne*" (see below), we are left with nine different names. From contextual evidence, these refer to at least four different bands (Plomley's 26 A–D), and in my opinion quite possibly to six bands located in the Huon valley and in this part of southern Tasmania generally. They are represented in figure 1 by a group of four dots. Apart from these there were at least three other bands on the D'Entrecasteaux Channel and on Bruny Island. The tribal affiliation of the *Mou.he.neen.ner* of Hobart will be discussed later. Thus we have evidence of the former existence of at least seven and possibly nine or ten bands for this tribe. Given the gaps that must exist in our information, I feel that ten would be a reasonable conservative estimate for the original number of bands within this tribe before contact. This gives a population estimate for the tribe of about 400 to 500 people.

Groups of this size were seen several times in the early days of the Hobart settlement, for example on 9 October 1807 when Knopwood recorded between 250 and 300 people camping near Brown's River south of Hobart (1948:99).

Seasonal movements and political relationships: Food was obtained both from the seashore and the bush. It included shellfish, seals, sea birds, kangaroos, possums, and a variety of marine and terrestrial vegetable food (see Hiatt, 1967:124, 130–133 for further references).

In terms of movement this was the most maritime of all the Tasmanian groups. They had the biggest bark catamarans and used them for much of their traveling. Frequent short voyages were made between Bruny Island and the mainland, including journeys across the southern straits of the D'Entrecasteaux Channel to Recherche Bay and to the Huon (Freycinet, see Roth, 1898:155; Robinson, 28 September 1829:78, 25 March 1833:710; Welsh in Plomley, 1966:49). Seasonal excursions were made to the Maatsuyker and De Witt Islands off southern Tasmania, in order to hunt seals which were brought back to the mainland (Robinson, 15 July 1831:379). Similar trips may also have been made to Eddystone Rock 15 miles off South East Cape (15 July 1831:379), though there is as yet no archaeological confirmation for this latter feat.

While visiting the Maatsuyker Group, which was on the western boundary of their territory, the southeastern people sometimes met the *Needwonne* and other western bands from Coxes Bight and Port Davey (Robinson, 15 July 1831:379). Relations between the two groups were often strained, for example Woorrady the Bruny Islanders showed unrelenting hostility toward the Port Davey people when Robinson's party met them in 1830, a response possibly aggravated by the fact that he was in the heartland of strange territory and may have felt insecure and aggressive as a consequence (21 March and 26 March 1830:134, 138). Peaceful encounters must also have occurred, for on another occasion, one of the Port Davey men, Corddeve knew the Bruny Islanders Woorrady and Trugernanna well, having all played together as children (3 September 1832:648). Some of the Bruny Islanders could converse fluently with the Port Davey natives (17 March 1830:131, 17 June 1833:740). The Bruny and Port Davey natives shared many cultural traits, such as the manufacture of baskets and bark catamarans, the burning of the dead, and the use of relics; but they differed in their languages, house types, body cicatrice patterns, hairstyles, and dances (5 April 1830:144).

Between these two tribes is where Schmidt's Eastern and Western Language Groups came into contact, though O'Grady interprets them as two dialects within a single language. The Bruny told mythical stories of the exploits of the Port Davey people and of spirits who were

reputed to live in their land (Robinson, 8 June 1830:170, 7 July 1831:373, 13 July 1831:377), tales traditionally told about strangers. The ethnographic and possibly the linguistic data point to a conclusion that in this area of the extreme south coast between Coxes Bight and South East Cape lay one of the important cultural boundaries of aboriginal Tasmania.

To the east, journeys were made to Tasman Peninsula, sometimes directly across Storm Bay passage by catamarans (Robinson, 25 March 1833:710). The people living on Tasman Peninsula, called the *Pye.dare.rer.me* were associated with the Oyster Bay tribe (25 October 1830:257), and relations with the Bruny and other southeastern people were often hostile. Woorrady relates how the *Nue.non.ne* (from Bruny Island) together with their allies the *Tur.rer.er.quon.ne* and the *Pang.er.ning.he* went to Tasman Peninsula and attacked the Pyedarererme, killing some of them and abducting women to Bruny (25 October 1830:257, see also 15 December 1831:554). Similar attacks were made on other coastal bands of the Oyster Bay tribe, for example the Pare. dare.rer.me (25 October 1830:257), and in the reverse direction the Pyedarererme attacked the Bruny. In most of these stories men were killed or wounded and women carried away by the victorious party. Woorrady made what may have been a slanderous comment about the Pyedarererme—that their men dived for shellfish, thus doing women's work (15 July 1831:379). Some Bruny Islanders did travel as far as Oyster Bay, but by what route is not known (9–10 January 1831:311). In several culture traits, the Bruny people were distinguished from the Oyster Bay and Northeastern natives. These included hairstyle differences and what may have been prohibitions on certain items of food: the Bruny people ate penguin's eggs and pelicans; the others did not (12 October 1830:248, 4 November 1830:267, 3 August 1831:393).

The relationships between the southeastern people and those in the interior to their north, for example the Big River tribe is not known, but I have little to quarrel with Kelly's often quoted remark to the Aboriginal Committee (J. B. Walker, 1898:180) that the two groups "took no part with each other." Bruny natives were even ignorant of some of the food resources of the inland highland region, such as a particular kind of berry that they had never seen before going there in Robinson's party (9 November 1831:509). Woorrady has a comment that the Brayhelukequonne natives used to ambush and spear many people from his own and neighboring bands (Robinson, 15 July 1831:379). The term "brayl," "brail.ly," or other derivative meant "bush" or "inland," and "quonne" was a suffix on other southern band names. This reference is either to some specific inland band, or quite possibly to "bush people" in general (26 March 1830:138, 30 August 1832:645).

The tribal affiliation of the Mouheneenner, or *Mon.her. neen.ner* who had one of their local residences at Hobart, is not quite certain. According to Woorrady, the burial practice of these people was to inter the body in the ground, cover it with a pile of stones, then to return later and take bones as amulets. Some aspects of this custom were similar to the burial practices of the people from the central plateau, and it stood in strong contrast with the cremation practiced by the Bruny and west coast people. The Bruny natives sometimes went to the Mouheneenner burial grounds and took away bones for amulets. (For full documentation and some complications, see Robinson, 25 September 1830:219–220, 25 October 1830:257, 16 January 1831:316, 15 June 1831:362, 15 December 1831:554, 19 June 1834:887.)

I think that it is probable that the northerly extent of the southeastern tribe's territory was along the western shore of the Derwent estuary where Hobart now stands; though being a maritime people, they may have penetrated seasonally to the limit of saltwater in the estuary some 10 or 15 miles (16–25 km.) upstream.

Ref.: Labillardière, 1799–1800; Péron, 1807, 1816. For reference to these and to other maritime explorers, see Hiatt, 1967; Marchant, 1969; Plomley, 1969; Knopwood, 1947, 1948; Robinson, 1829–1834, especially his journal of the "Bruny Island Mission 1829" and scattered information throughout the rest of his journal (see Plomley 1966); Milligan, 1890:16–52; Walker, 1898:179–180: Schmidt, 1952:54–55; Jones, 1971.

Oyster Bay Tribe

Location:

Coord.: 147°40′E x 42°30′S.

Area: 3,300 sq. m. (8,500 sq. km.).

Usable coast: approximately 320 miles (500 km.).

This territory was located along the east coast, south from St. Patrick's Head, past Oyster Bay, Tasman Peninsula, and the east shore of Storm Bay to the Derwent estuary. Inland from St. Patrick's Head, the boundary ran across the Eastern Tiers near the southern watershed of the South Esk and Macquarie rivers, to St. Peters Pass at York Plains. It then ran southward near the Jordan River to the Derwent estuary at New Norfolk.

The region is dry, the coast warm with mild summers. Inland in the Midland valley there is a tendency toward a continental climate with hot summers and cold winters. The total coastline is some 440 miles (700 km.) long, but some of this consists of high exposed cliffs of Freycinet and Tasman peninsulas (Meston, 1936:157). There were about 320 miles (500 km.) of usable coastline, including

large sheltered bays and estuaries at Oyster Bay and Frederick Henry Bay. Inland, the Eastern Tiers form rugged hills rising to 2,500 feet (750 m.), behind which are a series of broad river valleys with lake and lagoon systems. The western boundary corresponds approximately with the central mountainous region, the land rising to 3,000 feet (900 m.) and above. Most of the area is clothed with open *Eucalyptus* woodland, with many savannahs and open *Poa* grassland plains, especially in the Midlands.

Language: Mid East Language within Schmidt's Eastern Language Group (Mid East dialect within O'Grady's Southern Language). There were small vocabulary and cultural differences within this group, for example as between bands from Oyster Bay, Little Swanport, and the east coast north of Oyster Bay (Robinson, 16 January 1831:316, 2 July 1831:369, 17 August 1831:403, 31 August 1833:786).

Population: The names, locations, and boundaries of the coastal bands from St. Patrick's Head to Tasman Peninsula have been recorded in some detail by Robinson (8–15 January 1831:310–315), and they enable us to reconstruct the major features of the geography of bands in this region. Some demographic data exists on the sex and age composition of local groups on this coast before European colonization, from the records of the maritime explorers such as Péron. There is little information about bands whose core territories lay inland. On figure 1 are plotted 10 bands belonging to this tribe. There may originally have been at least 5 additional ones in the rich region consisting of the north shore of Storm Bay, the valleys of the Coal and Jordan rivers, and the lagoons of Lakes Dulverton and Tiberias. Taking 15 bands as a conservative estimate of the original group, this gives it a population range between 600 and 800 people. This is a high figure, but the territory was a large rich and varied one, and Robinson's data, palimpsests though they are, do confirm the impression gained from a reading of the colonial literature that the Oyster Bay tribe was a big one, probably the largest in Tasmania. Congregations of people estimated at having been 200 to 500 in number, and referred to as belonging to the Oyster Bay tribe, were recorded from this region several times during the early years of the colony (Earl in Robinson, 29 March 1832:595; West, 1852, *2*:6; White in Turnbull, 1965:33).

There were some regional subgroups within the Oyster Bay tribe. For example, Mannalargenna belonged to a group of bands allied to the other Oyster Bay people, but living on the east coast in the northern sector of their territory probably between Oyster Bay and George Bay (Robinson, 15 November 1830:277, 4 April 1831:335, 12 April 1831:397, 17 August 1831:403, 2 November 1831: 498, 31 August 1833:786). There were probably some small linguistic differences between his band(s) and others from Oyster Bay (31 August 1833:786).

Seasonal movements and political relationships: The economy of this group has been reviewed by Hiatt (1967, 1968) and Lourandos (1968, 1970). Major elements in the diet were shellfish from estuarine beds, kangaroos and possums from the open forests and plains, and a variety of vegetable foods. Lourandos (1970) has pointed out that many economic and domestic activities tended to be dispersed over a wide area in contrast with the more localized home bases of the west coast.

There are two seasonal movements to consider:

1. *Along the coast:* During August and September, swans and ducks congregated around coastal lagoons to lay their eggs and raise their young. Aborigines moved to these places during the egging season, and large groups were regularly seen at Moulting Lagoon on the northern corner of Oyster Bay, and in some of the lagoons near Tasman Peninsula (Backhouse, 1843:219; Gorson in Hiatt, 1967:126). Frequent visits were made by bark catamarans to Schouten and Maria Islands, the latter being the local residence of the *Ti.er.re.mair.re.mer.lune.ne* band (Plomley, 1966:975).

2. *Inland:* The precise nature of the inland movements has been a matter of controversy. There is no doubt that bands moved from the coast across the Eastern Tiers into the inland valleys and also outside the tribal territory into the high country to the west belonging to the Big River people. Many authors from Jeffries to Kemp (1963) have stated that this movement took place in summer, in contrast with winter when the bands moved up and down the coast. Hiatt (1968:202–203), however, has shown that throughout the summer months there were many people living along the coast, and she suggests that there was never a massive movement from the sea to the inland districts at a certain time of year, rather each band regulated its movements so as to take advantage of seasonal foods, and although there was a tendency to move to the high country in summer, this was not done by everybody at the same time. Most of the country is easy to walk through, but the Eastern Tiers themselves are rugged with patches of dense bush. Access across these followed a few well-defined routes notably up the Little Swanport River (Lourandos, 1970) and the valley of the Prosser River through Black Charlie's Opening (Robinson, 14–16 January 1831:314–316). There were also roads on the Tiers and within the Midland valley which were frequently used by the Oyster Bay people (22 October 1831:489, 3 November 1831:498).

Outside their tribal territory, the Oyster Bay people had close and usually amicable relationships with the Big

River people who occupied the high country to their west. Both groups spoke either the same or closely related languages. Bands from Oyster Bay had access to the Derwent valley and to some of the high plateau and lakes region. There is positive evidence for penetration as far as Lake Echo and the Ouse River (Robinson, 8 November 1831:508, 14 December 1831:551). During their last stand against the colonists, the shattered remnants of the Oyster Bay tribe joined with Big River people and foraged together in the high country belonging to the latter (Robinson, 25 January 1832; see Plomley, 1966:570–574).

In addition to the range of bush foods, two products may have acted as stimuli for these highland excursions. The sweet and potentially intoxicating gum of *Eucalyptus gunnii* was highly prized (Robinson, 28 November 1831:534) and this tree is confined to the central plateau (Jackson, 1965:35). There were no major ochre sources within the territory of the Oyster Bay people, and the coveted mineral may have been hard to find there. The Big River people had ready access to it both in their own country and at the large ochre mines at Mount Vandyke and the Hampshire Hills. Some of this was passed on to the Oyster Bay people, shell necklaces being among the goods traded in return (Robinson, 25 October 1830:257). Big River bands also had access to the east coast, as discussed in the next section.

Sometimes, relations between the two tribes were hostile. On one occasion, the Paredarererme, the Pyedarererme, and the *Loon.tim.mair.re.ner* bands from Oyster Bay and Tasman Peninsula had combined to attack the *Lug.ger.mair.rer.ner.pair.re.ner* from the Great Lake, killing and abducting several women. The cause of the quarrel was the refusal of the latter to fulfill their obligations in an ochre–shell necklace exchange (Robinson, 25 October 1830:257). Other fights, some of which were fatal, have also been recorded by Robinson (11 January 1831:312, 8 November 1831:508, 28 November 1831:534, 6 December 1831:543). Oyster Bay natives showed a marked reluctance to accompany Robinson on his excursion to the highland country of the Lairmairrener band, claiming as excuses cold weather (though in fact it was almost the beginning of November), personal infirmity, and evil spirits (30 October 1831:496). Possibly, in traditional times, the timing of such visits was carefully sanctioned and a sudden appearance out of season could be a prelude to war (3 November 1831:500). Indeed a short time before Robinson met them in northeastern Tasmania, some east coast aborigines, including Mannalargenna, had returned from a war expedition to the lakes and had killed some people there (1 November 1830:263).

To the south, we have little detailed information about the relations of the Oyster Bay people with those of the southeastern tribe. In the previous section, I have referred to sporadic raids and abduction of women carried out by bands of the two groups, particularly between those of Tasman Peninsula and Bruny Island. I suspect that although there was plenty of opportunity for casual contacts between the two tribes, they mostly kept to themselves in a state of mutual neutrality, and there are sufficient differences in their cultural traits to support such a view.

Bands from the northern subgroup of the Oyster Bay tribe used to forage some distance to the north of their territory toward George Bay and the Bay of Fires (Robinson, 13 August 1831:398, 2 September 1831:418). In general, however, relations of Oyster Bay people with those from northeastern Tasmania and from the North Midlands were hostile. Robinson has dozens of references to past fights between them, to dangerous quarrels flaring up between Oyster Bay and North East or North Midlands aborigines in his party, and to nervous or aggressive responses shown by Oyster Bay men accompanying him in northeastern Tasmania (2 December 1830:285, 9 December 1830:290, 6 July 1831:372, 1 August 1831:392, 11 August 1831:396, 13 August 1831:398, 21 August 1831:408, 30 August 1831:416, 3 September 1831:419, 8 September 1831:421). Fights had taken place both outside Oyster Bay territory in the northeast and toward the central lakes (8 December 1831:545); and also close to the boundary, as was the case in the ambush on the *Ty.er.rer.note.te.pan.er* from Campbelltown, which took place near Oatlands (4 November 1831:502). There are several stone quarries in central eastern Tasmania, and the largest of these at St. Peter Pass, Syndal, Mount Connection, and Lake Leake are situated on the boundary between the central eastern and northeastern tribes, thus giving potential access to both.

Several Oyster Bay natives could converse with or understand people from southeastern and northeastern Tasmania, but the west coast language was mutually unintelligible (Robinson, 23 June 1832:620). The question of intelligibility with speakers of the northern language is difficult to assess because, although certain Oyster Bay men could speak with natives from Port Sorell and Surrey Hills (18 September 1830:213), we cannot discount their having learned to do this during the seasonal excursions of some of the latter with the Big River people.

Ref.: Robinson, 1829–1834, especially the journals of his third and fourth expeditions (Plomley, 1966). There are many references to this tribe in the colonial litera-

ture: West, 1852, *2*:10, 47; Backhouse, 1843:104; Turnbull, 1965:60, 62, 76, 193.

Big River Tribe

Location:

Coord.: 146°40′E x 42°20′S.

Area: 3,000 sq. m. (7,500 sq. km.).

Coast: nil except by arrangement with other tribes.

From the mouth of the Derwent River at New Norfolk, the southwestern boundary of this territory extended along the western side of the Derwent valley including the valleys of some of the western tributaries such as the Florentine. The northwestern boundary was situated somewhere to the west of Lake King William near Mount Arrowsmith, whence it swung east past Lake St. Clair to the Great Lake and then northward past Lake Augusta to the Great Western Tiers near Quamby Bluff. The eastern boundary followed the edge of the Great Western Tiers past Dry's Bluff and Brady's Look Out, to St. Peter Pass, and then southward along the valley of the Jordan River to the Derwent estuary.

Much of the region consists of a mountainous plateau over 2,000 feet (600 m.) above sea level, from which higher plateaus and peaks rise up to 5,000 feet (1,500 m.). During the last glaciation, these mountains supported Australia's largest ice sheet which has left its mark with glaciofluvial gravels, lakes, and swamps. The Great Lake (3,380 feet, 1,000 m.) with an area of 60 square miles (150 sq. km.) is the largest natural freshwater lake in Australia, and altogether the shorelines of the major lakes add up to more than 150 miles (250 km.). The main axis of drainage is southeastward to the Derwent, and the name Big River is an old one for the River Ouse, giving access from the Derwent valley to the lakes region. To the immediate northwest of this tribal area are the highest mountains in Tasmania, and to the southwest there is extremely rugged country. The Great Western Tiers that form the curving eastward bulwark drop precipitously from 4,000 feet (1,200 m.) to about 500 feet (150 m.) and constitute a formidable natural barrier.

Most of the area is clothed with *Eucalypt* woodland that contains several endemic subalpine species such as *E. gunnii* and *E. robertsonii.* West of the Great Lake there is mountain moorland and the western edge of the Derwent valley marks the boundary with the *Nothofagus* dominated rain forest. This ecotone is complex, with partial extension of fire-tolerant species into the rain forest zone, believed to have been brought about by aboriginal fire pressure (Gilbert, 1959; Jackson, 1965).

Languages: Mid Eastern Language within Schmidt's Eastern Language Group.

Population: Figure 1 shows the location of 5 bands within the region occupied by this tribe. Plomley's band/tribe number 29 (1966:971) in the Great Lake district refers to at least 2 different bands and probably to 3 (Robinson, 25 October 1830:257, 13 November 1831:517; Plomley, 1966:973, 976). The *Brayl.wun.yer* (no. 27), however, were alluded to by a Lairmairrener (Big River) woman as being an extinct band living in the direction of the Peak of Teneriffe (Wylds' Crag) to the south of the upper Derwent valley, country that she said was unknown to her (Robinson, 20 November 1831:526). This may have been a general reference to people living in the upper reaches of the Huon or even to southwestern natives, the prefix "Brayl" being the word for "bush" and often used when referring to strangers or to people living in remote country. There is a possibility, discussed elsewhere, that the Mouheneenner (Plomley's no. 21) from Hobart should be grouped with the Big River bands.

Robinson had no information on many important parts of this region, particularly from the Derwent valley and the lower plateaus and valleys of the southeast, areas occupied early by the European colonists. Taking seven or eight as the number of bands in the tribe, the original total population would be about 300 to 400 people. The Big River tribe formed the nucleus of the struggle against the white colonists, and they figure prominently in the folklore of tribal killings and fights that Robinson recorded. Although their strength may have been partly due to the nature of their terrain, it was also probably a reflection of their original numbers.

The Lairmairrener was a prominent band whose core territory was in the middle reaches of the Ouse or Big River (Robinson, 19 November 1831:523), but Robinson sometimes used the name in a way that suggests it was also understood as a more general term for the Big River tribe as a whole, or at least for its remnants (30 October 1831:496). Should native based tribal names be preferred to the colonial or geographical ones that I have used, then Lairmairrener or a derivative would be an apt one for this tribe.

Seasonal movements and political relationships: A variety of animals were hunted including wallabies and wombats. The marshes and swamps would have provided vegetable foods. One food unique to this region was the sap of *E. gunnii* (cider gum). This is extremely sweet with a taste like honey and, if allowed to ferment, is mildly intoxicating. The aborigines used to tap the trees allowing the liquid to collect in a hole at the bottom of the trunk, whence it was sucked through a reed or rolled bark (Robinson, 28 November 1831:534, 6 December 1831:542, 16 December 1831:556–557).

Little is known about the details of seasonal movements within the tribal territory. Some focal points were

the lake shores, particularly those of the Great Lake, the Arthur Lakes, and Lake Echo, together with the pattern of streams and swamps connecting these to the Derwent River (Robinson, 9 November 1831:509). Well-marked roads gave access through rough country (20 November 1831:524). Stone implements from the shoreline of Lake Augusta (Lourandos, 1968:42) show that the aborigines penetrated into the highest moorland of the central plateau—4,000 feet (1,200 m.). The vegetation pattern in the Florentine and other valleys to the southwest of the Derwent suggests that at least periodic excursions were made into these densely wooded valleys (Gilbert, 1959), though the mountain ranges here marked the limit of their occupation (Robinson, 20 November 1831:526).

Outside their territory, we have some interesting information about the pattern of movement.

1. *To the east:* As discussed in the previous section, the Big River people had reciprocal arrangements with some of the Oyster Bay bands to visit one another's country. From the middle reaches of the Ouse River, three main routes were followed. One went southwest to the Derwent River, then down that valley to lead on to Pittwater on the north shore of Storm Bay. Another went eastward past Jericho to the Eastern Tiers past Hobbs' Lagoon and eventually to Oyster Bay. The third went northeastward in the direction of the Macquarie River which is in the Midland valley (Robinson, 1 November 1831:497, 3 November 1831:498, 13 November 1831:517, 19 November 1831:523). Knopwood's account suggests strongly that some of these movements were carefully timed according to the season. He described (16 November 1815, in Hookey, 1929:101–102) how people came southward down the left bank of the Derwent River opposite New Norfolk during the same month and almost on the same day each year. They were almost certainly some of the Big River people on their way to Pittwater and perhaps to Oyster Bay.

The Big River tribe foraged with Oyster Bay people on the Eastern Tiers themselves, had access to coastal foods both in Oyster Bay and in Storm Bay, and exchanged ochre for shell necklaces (Robinson, 14 August 1831:400, 20–22 October 1831:487–489, 24–25 October 1831:491–492, 27 October 1831:494, 25 October 1830:257). The relations between these two tribes have been discussed in the previous section. They were usually amicable and cooperative, though quarrels and fights occasionally broke out between them.

It is likely that there was a general movement away from the highest country to the Derwent valley and to the southeast valleys and coast during the winter months. During times of stress, however, they were capable of living throughout the year in the plateau country. The free remnants of the Big River and Oyster Bay tribes had been doing this for most of the two or three years prior to meeting Robinson in 1831, descending to the lowlands for raiding and brief clandestine visits. For example, there is positive evidence of their having been in the middle Ouse area during August in their attack on a settler's hut (Robinson, 8 November 1831:507–508, 14 December 1831:551). Calder's exploratory party west of Lake St. Clair in 1840 found a hut and other recent remains near Mount Arrowsmith on the extreme west of the area occupied by the aborigines. These probably belonged to a small relict group managing to survive in this fastness away from European settlement which had by then encroached to the lakes region (Calder, 1849).

If the argument be accepted that the Mouheneenner ought to be grouped with the Big River rather than with the Bruny and other southeastern bands (see discussion in the previous section), then there might have been seasonal excursions of some of the Big River bands down the west bank of the Derwent round the base of Mount Wellington as far as Hobart. On their route to Pittwater, they certainly passed nearby on the north bank. The Melukerdee, probably a southeastern band, were reputed to have been in the habit of taking women from the Mouheneenner, and the Bruny natives also made amulets from bones taken from their decomposed corpses left in graves (Robinson, 16 January 1831:316, 15 June 1831:362, 15 December 1831:554).

2. *To the north:* There were two routes leading out of their territory. The most commonly used went past the Great Lake and through a pass in the Western Tiers near Quamby's Bluff where the modern Lake Highway makes the same descent (Robinson, 9 December 1831:546, 12 December 1831:549–551). There it connected with an east-west road leading westward to the ochre mines near Mount Vandyke (12 December 1831:549). These were the most important in Tasmania, and although the Lairmairrener had an ochre source within their own country (Robinson, 19 November 1831:524), they and the other Big River bands paid regular visits to the Mount Vandyke mines to obtain the mineral (12 December 1831:549, 15 July 1834:903). They also went farther westward to the open plains at Surrey and Hampshire Hills, and to the ochre mines situated at Mount Housetop, where they sometimes met northwest coastal bands (27 April 1832:600, 5 May 1832:604; McKay in Plomley, 1966:583). Some Big River bands even went to the west coast as far as Cape Grim (Robinson, 15 December 1831:554), going presumably either via the Norfolk Hills road, or northward to Emu Bay. Either way the distance from Cape Grim to the Great Lake is some 150 miles (250 km.).

The other route to the north led from the vicinity of Lake St. Clair past Cradle Mountain and Lake Dove to just south of Barn Bluff (Robinson, 25 June 1834:889, 27 June 1834:890). Much of this is between 3,000 and 4,000 feet (900–1,200 m.), skirting the highest mountains in Tasmania, but, interestingly, it is the same route as that taken by the celebrated modern bush-walking track, a good average walker doing the journey in about five days. This route would have given convenient access from the western side of the Big River country to the Surrey Hills plains, Mount Housetop, and to the eastern end of Norfolk Range road to the west coast.

These ochre mines and roads were situated along the southern boundary of the country of the northern tribe, with whom the Big River people usually had amicable relationships. Bands from both tribes traveled together, for example to Port Sorell on the north coast (Robinson, 27 October 1831:494, 3 November 1831:500). When the rest of his Port Sorell band had died out, or was no longer in the bush, the young man Lacklay joined the Lairmairrener (3 November 1831:500–501, 5 December 1831:540). Joint attacks were carried out on white colonists (14 December 1831:551). In return, northern people were allowed into Big River country, traveling certainly to the Ouse valley, and some individuals possibly went as far as Pittwater (15 December 1831:554, 3 November 1831:500). They had many distinctive cultural traits in common, such as burial customs, hair coiffure, and ochre drawings inside their bark huts (references in section on North Tribes). As was so often the case, however, hostilities sometimes occurred between the two groups. On one occasion the Lairmairrener captured muskets from a Surrey Hills/Port Sorell band during a fight, and another time two northern women including Walyer the amazon were speared and wounded by Lairmairrener men (15 December 1831:554, 1 July 1832:625, 24 January 1834:837).

3. *To the northeast:* Relations with the people from the North Midlands, the Stony Creek, Campbelltown, and Port Dalrymple bands/tribes were cool and usually hostile. Numerous fights between the two groups are recorded (Robinson, 1 November 1830:263, 9 January 1831:311, 3 November 1831:500, 4 December 1831:538; Walker, 1898:184). The marriage of Eumarrah a prominent North Midlands native, to a Big River woman shows that this was not always the case and some North Midlands bands such as the Tyerrernotetepaner had seasonal access to the high country around the northern part of the Great Lake and the Western Tiers (Robinson, 5 December 1831:540, 8 December 1831:545, 22–23 October 1831:489–490).

It is unlikely that the Big River people had much or even any contact with the southwest coastal bands, though from their high country on clear days they could sometimes see smoke haze resulting from west coast natives firing their country on the other side of the mountains (Robinson, 19 November 1831:523).

The Big River tribe was the only one in Tasmania which had regular access both to the east and west coasts. The bulk of its coastal visits were to the east and south, those to northwest being probably primarily associated with trade or other specialized activities. Owing to its central position it had contact with a larger number of Tasmanian tribes than any other group. During a single year a Big River band might travel as far as Cape Grim in the northwest, and down the Derwent to Oyster Bay in the east. Along the routes that the aborigines traveled, these points are about 300 miles (450 km.) apart.

The Big River tribe was among the few in the Australian region to have gained their living in a highland and largely subalpine zone. Mainland aborigines had seasonal excursions into the New England highlands and to the bogong moth country of the Australian Alps. Although some of these mountains are higher than the Tasmanian ones, Tasmania is more southerly and its central plateau supported Australia's largest ice sheet during the last glaciation. In view of this, we may look at the Big River economy as one of the prime examples in Australia of a montane ecological adaptation, and a further study of it would be interesting.

Ref.: Robinson, 1829–1834, especially the journal of his mission to the Big River tribe, October to December 1831, in Plomley, 1966:481–586. Within the colonial literature there are many general references to the Big River tribe and to military activities against them; for further reference: West, 1852, *2*:61; Turnbull, 1965:122, 193, 208; Walker, 1898:183–184.

North Tribe

Location:

Coord.: 146°20′E x 41°20′S.

Area: 1,800 sq. m. (4,500 sq. km.).

Coastline: 70 miles (100 km.).

Along the north coast this territory extended from the Tamar Heads or Port Sorell to Emu Bay. Inland from Emu Bay the western boundary led west of Hampshire Hills to the southwest corner of Surrey Hills. The southern boundary west and south of Black Bluff, Middlesex Plains, and Roland's Repulse to the base of the Great Western Tiers, and the eastern boundary ran from the coast near the ridge of the Asbestos Range to the foot of the Great Western Tiers near Quamby's Bluff. Most of this region is mountainous with peaks such as Black Bluff, Roland's Repulse, and Western Bluff rising to over 4,000 feet (1,200 m.). Many rivers flow north

through deeply incised valleys, those of the Forth and the Mersey being particularly steep-sided. There is a rainfall gradient from the south with 80 or even 100 inches (2,000–2,500 m.) to the north coast with 30 inches (750 m.). The highland regions are cold in winter with frequent snowfalls, but the coast has a mild climate.

Much of the vegetation belongs to an important ecotonal disclimax known as wet sclerophyll forest. A complex mosaic is produced under the varying influences of soil fertility, aspect, and fire frequency (Jackson, 1965:30–33). At one end of the scale there is relatively pure *Nothofagus* dominated rain forest that merges with an association consisting of an overstory of mature *Eucalyptus* trees especially *E. obliqua* and *E. regnans* and an understory of rain forest and shrub forms through to a wet scrub or open *Poa* grassland. This condition is thought to have been greatly influenced by aboriginal fire pressure. In the 1820s there were large open grassed areas in the high country at Surrey Hills, Hampshire Hills, and Middlesex Plains. Chains of small plains connected these to the coast. Since the aborigines have been removed, many of these areas have become scrubby or reforested, a process noticeable in the 1830s and well advanced by the end of the century (Walker, 1898:181).

Introduction and Language: This North tribe does not appear in Walker's account (1898) where, due to lack of evidence to the contrary, the northwestern region was tentatively grouped with the west coast. Working from a few vocabularies, Schmidt isolated a language that he thought was related to the Western Language but which was sufficiently different to be classed separately. This he called the Northern Language, and he suggested that it be placed on the north coast somewhere between Circular Head and the mouth of the Tamar (1952:57–59, 60). O'Grady considers this language to be a separate one, as opposed to the four others designated "languages" by Schmidt but which O'Grady sees merely as dialects of a second language (1966:19).

From reading Robinson's journals and those of the Van Dieman's Land Company explorers Fossey, Goldie, Jorgensen, and Hellyer, it seems clear to me that there was a group of people living in the Emu Bay, Port Sorell, Mersey River, Mole Creek, and Surrey Hills region, whose diet, pattern of seasonal movement, political relations, and some culture traits point to their having belonged to a coherent unit distinct from their neighbors to the west, east, and southeast. I shall call this group the North tribe. It is probable that the informants who were the original sources of Schmidt's Northern Language vocabularies belonged to it. Robinson lists many words of what he variously calls the Port Sorell or Surrey Hills language or which were told to him by natives from that region, so further linguistic and biographical work is possible to test this correlation of language and tribe (12 August 1831:397, 19 August 1831:406, 30 June 1834:893, 8 July 1834:897).

The west coast natives sometimes referred to the northern group as "bush people" using the term "Brayl" or one of its derivatives (Robinson, 30 August 1832:645, 10 March 1834:859). A native name that Robinson often used to refer to them was Tommyginny, Tom.me.gin.ne, or in its fuller form *Tommegin.pane.er* (31 December 1833:705, 10 March 1834:859, 29 March 1834:868); the second word *pane.er* or *pair.en.er* being quite common at the end of Tasmanian band names, and may as Plomley suggests (1966:970) be a term meaning "plenty of them" or some similar meaning. Tommyginny may have been the specific name of a band in the Surrey Hills/Emu Bay region, but Robinson uses it in such a way that suggests that it was also understood as a more general term for natives living in at least the western part of the northern region.

Population: Figure 1 shows the location of four bands in this area. There were originally probably one or two more—along the coast and associated with the Mersey River. This gives us an estimate of about 200 to 300 people for the original population of this group. Some hints of regional subgroups are given by Robinson (26 August 1833:785).

Seasonal movement and political relationships:

A. *Roads and ochre mines:* Because the two played such an important role in the seasonal movements and political relationships of the North tribe, I shall discuss them briefly first. Ochre was extremely important to the Tasmanians. Rubbed onto their bodies, it served both as a protection against the weather and as a cosmetic. The most famous ochre mine in Tasmania was situated near Mount Vandyke just south of Roland's Repulse, and Robinson has an excellent description of it, and of natives mining the ore from large pits dug into the ground. Other mines were situated near Mount Housetop and Valentines Peak in the Surrey Hills district and one somewhere north of the Norfolk Range. Together they formed by far the most important sources for ochre on the whole island (Robinson, 27 April 1832:600, 7 April 1834:875, 16 July 1834:904).

Partly related to these mines was a system of well-defined roads or lines of communications kept open by firing. A major route ran east-west along the southern boundary of the tribal territory from the Norfolk Plains past Quamby's Bluff to the Mount Vandyke mine, and then on to the Surrey Hills and eventually across the Norfolk Ranges to the west coast at Sandy Cape. From this, several routes ran northward, one from Mount

Vandyke to the sea at Port Sorell, another from Mount Housetop to Port Sorell, and one from the Surrey Hills to Emu Bay. Running southward were the roads to the Big River country (discussed in that section), one past Quamby's Bluff to the Great Lake, and the other past Cradle Mountain to Lake St. Clair. There was also a road running along the coast (Robinson, 11 July 1830:186, 11–12 December 1831:548–549, 28 April 1832:601, 2 September 1833:789, 5 September 1833:791, 29 March 1834:868–869, 25 June 1834:889, 27 June 1834:890, 30 June 1834:893, 5 July 1834:896, 12 July 1834:899–900, 16 July 1834:903, 18 July 1834:905; Plomley, 1966, PL. 16; Hobbs in Walker, 1898:181; Hellyer in Meston, 1958:53).

B. *Movements within their territory:* The inland plains were kept open by regular firing, and on these game was hunted including wallaby, wombat, possum, and emu, and a variety of vegetable foods were gathered. Because of the cold and heavy snowfalls, it is likely that this high country was not occupied during winter, and Robinson several times comments that the usual season for inland excursions was in summer (8 August 1830:196, 21 August 1839:203; Official Report, February 1831 in Plomley, 1966:237 n. 152). Some winter excursions were made, however, as in 1834 when the Tommyginny foraged from Surrey Hills to the upper reaches of the Forth River in late May to early July (Robinson, 10 June 1834:884, 29 June 1834:891, 3 July 1834:895). Hellyer reported seeing people in the Vale of Belvoir near the Surrey Hills in winter (letter to Robinson, 1830 in Plomley, 1966:237 n. 157). During early spring, between August and September, people congregated at Port Sorell and at the mouths of the north coast rivers to collect the eggs of swans, ducks, and other water birds (Robinson, 16 September 1830:212, 18 September 1830:213, 22 September 1830:217). Other coastal foods would have included shellfish.

C. *Movement outside their territory:*

1. *To the west:* The northern people, particularly those from the Surrey Hills and Emu Bay districts, paid regular visits to the west coast via the Norfolk Range road. The journey from Chilton in the Surrey Hills to Cape Grim took as little as 48 hours (Hellyer in Meston, 1958:53). These journeys were usually made in summer, possibly to take advantage of the sealing season. Excursions were made to Robbins Island, where in addition to coastal food, shells were collected for manufacture into necklaces. In return the coastal people obtained ochre from their visitors and rights to visit the inland plains and ochre mines. The complex political and trading relationships that existed between these two peoples, and the resultant similarities and differences in their cultural traits have been documented in more detail in the section on the North West tribe, and will not be repeated here.

2. *To the southeast:* The northern bands had access to the high plateau country belonging to the Big River people, traveling there via the Cradle Mountain or the Great Lake roads. They foraged at least as far as Lake Echo. In return, Big River people could go to Port Sorell and, more important, to the ochre mines at Mount Vandyke and Mount Housetop. These excursions and the usually amicable, though occasionally hostile, relations between the two groups have been discussed in the section on the Big River tribe. Cultural traits they had in common include men's hairstyles and ochre drawings inside their bark huts (Robinson, 28 February 1834:854; 20 September 1830:214, 11 November 1831:514–515, 23 December 1831:563; Hellyer, 1832:171).

3. Details of the eastern boundary and of movements beyond it are obscure. The country immediately to the east of the Mersey River was heavily timbered and relatively rugged, access to the coast being along the western bank (Robinson, 27 September 1830:220). This country together with the Asbestos Range and the rain forest area to its south make a convenient boundary with the people of the Tamar valley. Whether or not there was much penetration eastward along the Norfolk Plains road to the Midland valley is not known. In the next section I discuss some references by Robinson which at first sight seem to suggest that they did this, but my conclusion is that the case is not proven. Some of the midlands bands such as the Tyerrernotepanner visited the Mount Vandyke mines (12 December 1831:549), but there is no evidence of their traveling farther westward. In general, I think that relations between the northern tribe and those to its east were cool or even hostile. Kickerterpoller told Robinson that all of the north-eastern natives were likely to kill Lacklay, the Port Sorrell boy, being at war with his tribe and having already previously ambushed and killed his father (13 August 1831:398). In his own turn, the boy himself would exact his revenge thus perpetuating the vendetta in Woorrady's words "by and by you a big man, you spear black fellow; plenty boys in my country whose fathers had been killed by black men, when they grew up, made spears and went away and killed him that killed his father" (15 December 1831:554).

In this pattern of movement we see how a small group like the northern tribe, with an important localized resource within its territory had reciprocal arrangements with its neighbors, so that it had access to the products of the coast and of the inland plateau. In return it gave access to its ochre mines to the others. These movements took place along well-marked roads, which in their

configuration relative both to the terrain and to the tribal territories concerned, illustrated very well Tindale's dictum (pers. comm.) of "maximum access with minimum trespass."

Ref.: Hellyer, 1832; journals of V.D.L. Co. explorers, Goldie, Fossey, and Jorgensen, see Meston, 1958 for further details; Robinson's Journals 1829–1834, especially his second, fourth, fifth, and seventh expeditions (Plomley, 1966); Schmidt, 1952:57–59.

TRIBES OF THE MIDLANDS AND NORTHEASTERN TASMANIA

One of Walker's main groups, which he called the "Northern and North-Eastern tribes" (1898:184–186), consisted of four tribes: (1) the Stony Creek tribe centered in the North Midlands around Campbelltown; (2) the Port Dalrymple tribe in the Tamar valley and the Launceston district; (3) the Ben Lomond tribe in the river valleys around the Ben Lomond mountain block; and (4) the North-East coast tribes along the coast from the mouth of the Tamar to Cape Portland and south to George's Bay.

Schmidt (1952:59–60) identified his North Eastern Language with this group of tribes. In a previous article, I followed Walker's scheme without comment (Jones, 1971:279–280 and fig. 19:2), but here I wish to modify it slightly because I do not think that there is enough evidence to support it in its entirety.

Port Dalrymple on the mouth of the Tamar was settled in 1804, and the river valley gave easy access southward to the open grassy plains of the North Midlands. By the middle 1820s this was one of the most populous and prosperous areas of rural Australia, serving as a base ten years later for the colonization of Victoria. The local aboriginal population was quickly disrupted and eventually destroyed. In contrast with the early years at Sydney and to a lesser extent Hobart, we have no detailed descriptions from this area of the aborigines nor of contact with them. This was probably because of the paucity of educated officers in what was originally a small outpost, and by the time an intelligentsia was established in Launceston and in other Midland centers, most of the remnant aborigines had become fugitives. Robinson was able to record almost no useful information about the aborigines of the Tamar or Launceston districts, but we are more fortunate in dealing with the Campbelltown region to the south in that we have some indirect accounts of the names and movements of the bands whose bases were originally in that area.

In northeastern Tasmania there was little or no European settlement, but the coast had been systematically raided by sealers during the 30 years previous to 1830, and this had had a drastic effect on the aboriginal population. Robinson spent a year in this region in 1830–31 searching for the remnants of the population, and he was accompanied by several aborigines who knew the country well. He was thus able to record much information about the names and geography of the bands that had previously lived there, as well as contacting all of the survivors.

As a result of this uneven coverage of historical sources, we find that for an attempted reconstruction of aboriginal tribes our information is good from the northeast, adequate from the central Midlands region near Campbelltown, but almost nonexistent from the northern Midlands and the Tamar valley. I agree with Walker (1898:184) that in their political affiliations all the bands in this northeastern quarter of Tasmania were more closely related to each other than they were to the tribes to their south and west.

The bands of the northeast coast and its hinterland had a sufficiently separate identity to be grouped into what I shall call the North East tribe. There was also a large tribe or subtribe living in the Midland valley, the remnants of which were referred to by the colonists as the Stony Creek tribe (Backhouse, 1843:104). It is when we try to document an identity for the Port Dalrymple tribe separate from the other Midlands bands that we are in trouble. There certainly was an aboriginal group known to the colonists as the Port Dalrymple mob or tribe, but whether this was a separate tribe or merely a subtribe or even a prominent band of a larger North Midlands agglomeration is not known. What little information we have suggests that the Stony Creek and Port Dalrymple groups were closely related (Robinson, 30 August 1831:416, 2 September 1831:418). Rather than try to justify Walker's separate identity for them, I would prefer to amalgamate them into a single unit. This I shall call the North Midlands tribe, rather than extend the meaning of the Stony Creek or Port Dalrymple terms, which are already established in the literature and are contained within my North Midlands unit. We are left with the Ben Lomond tribe. Although direct evidence about this group is sparse, I am inclined to think that it had sufficient identity to be classified as a full tribe separate from its two neighbors. It was a small, fairly isolated group living in remote mountainous and forested country, and in these features I see it as being similar to the Northern tribe.

Thus within northeastern Tasmania there were probably three tribal units; the North Midlands tribe, the Ben Lomond tribe, and the North East tribe. Further

archival work is possible, and any additional information on tribal affiliation would be most welcome.

Some Documentary Details

Before proceeding further, I should like to try and clear up a few confusions and inconsistencies within Robinson's text because they are relevant to the descriptions that follow.

Soon after meeting the remnants of what he called the "Stony Creek tribe" near the Forester River in northeastern Tasmania, Robinson commented that two of the men, Me.mer.lan.ne.lar.gen.ne and Ning.er.noo.put.ten.er, "belong to the same country as Walyer and speak the same dialect as Lacklay" (1 September 1831:418). This statement is not consistent with other data.

I think that it is either in error, or at least is not substantiated and is contradicted by better evidence. The error could either be in the process of transcription when writing up the journal or a straight misunderstanding on Robinson's part, it being the first occasion that he had met the natives in question. Plomley (1966:480) also hints at confusion here with the possibility of misspellings, and so on. Perhaps Robinson himself was also aware of the difficulty as he makes a point later on in his journals of stressing the "tribal" affiliation of Memerlannelargenne.

Robinson stresses, later in his journals that Memerlannelargenne was a prominent member of the Tyerrernotepanner band whose country was in the Campbelltown district of the central Midlands (20 October 1831:486, 6 November 1831:506, 10 December 1831:547). Walyer or Tare.re.nore.rer, however, was a remarkable warlike woman who led a band sometimes referred to as "Walyer's mob" in the Surrey Hills, Emu Bay, and Port Sorell area of northwestern Tasmania, and whose main axis of extraterritorial movements were toward the northwest coast (21 June 1830:182, 11 July 1830:186, 16 December 1830:292, 19 December 1830:295–297). We are specifically told that she was "a native of the country of St. Valentines Peak and Round Hill" which is in the Emu Bay-Surrey Hills area within the territory of the northern tribe (19 December 1830:297). The boy Lacklay was also from the Surrey Hills-Port Sorell district and spoke the language of the Northern tribe (14 December 1831:553; Plomley, 1966:1003 n. h). Robinson is explicit that the "Stony Creek" and "Port Sorell" languages/dialects are different (19 August 1831:406).

The point of the above discussion is that on the basis of the statement made by Robinson, there is no need to postulate that (1) movement of northern bands nor their members into the Midlands nor to northeastern Tasmania; (2) that the North tribe and the North Midlands tribe (Stony Creek) spoke the same language.

It is possible that Robinson saw the two Midlands men converse with Lacklay. They could have understood one another either because their languages were indeed similar (or identical) or that one or other of the parties could speak a second language. Should the linguistic affiliations of the North Midlands language(s) become an important enough question, then there is some scope for further inspection and analysis of Robinson's word lists and manuscripts to elucidate the problem.

Following his statement about Memerlannelargenne and Ningernooputtener Robinson says that the two men belonged to a tribe/band called the *Pare.rer.no.tem.me.ter* by the Cape Portland people (northeast) and *Pyer.noo.he.per.nel.le* by the Cape Grim people (northwest) (1 September 1831:418). Later we are told indirectly that these two men belonged to the *Tannertemeter* or *Tareermotemmote* band (2 September 1831:418, 10 September 1831:423), and still later that one of them, Memerlannelargenne, belonged to the Tyerrernotepanner of Campbelltown (see references above). Were these all different names for the same band, or has Robinson confused the names of two or even three separate bands from the same general area? I think that it is more likely that the latter is the case.

Kickerterpoller (Tom), an Oyster Bay man, told Robinson (4 November 1831:502) how his tribe had killed a man from "Man.ne.le.lar.gen.ner's or the Tyerrernotepaner nation" near Oatlands in the southern Midlands. However, Mannelelargenner (or Mannalargenna), who was present during the story telling and who was an ally of Kickerterpoller's, was a prominent "chief" of one of the Oyster Bay bands, probably the northern part of the Oyster Bay territory, and on these grounds alone it would have been unlikely that they would have fought. The man referred to is almost certainly Memerlannelargenne who featured in the previous discussions. Not only was the Tyerrernotepanner his own band, but during the ambush, we are told that Parwareatar who was his brother was present and just escaped with his life (4 November 1831:502, 11 September 1831:424). Furthermore, on another occasion the Tyerrernotepanner men had speared and killed Mannalargenna's son (4 December 1831:538). Plomley (1966:1004 n. l) has said that the similarity between the names Mannerlelargenner and Memerlannelargenne has often led to confusion "some of which may still remain." I am sure that Robinson meant the latter man in his statement above; thus we may use this statement as part of the support for the general hostility that existed between the Oyster Bay

and the North Midlands tribes, and there need be no ambiguity about the tribal affiliation of Mannalargenna, an important figure in the literature.

North Midlands Tribe

Location:

Coord.: 147°20′E x 41°40′S.

Area: 2,600 sq. m. (6,500 sq. km.).

Coastline: 100 miles (160 km.) (if we include both shores of the Tamar estuary).

The Great Western Tiers from St. Peter Pass to Quamby Bluff formed the western boundary of this tribe, which then ran northward through the Deloraine district to the western edge of the Tamar valley and to the coast. The southern and eastern boundary ran from St. Peter Pass northeastward along the watershed of the Eastern Tiers to the neighborhood of St. Paul Dome, then northwestward along the valley of the South Esk to Launceston and the eastern bank of the Tamar estuary to the coast.

Physiographically, this region forms the floor of the Midlands graben, rising gradually from sea level to about 900 feet (300 m.) at Woodbury. The Great Western Tiers form a precipitous wall 4,000 feet (1,200 m.) high in places, and to the east there is a second range of mountains with Ben Lomond rising massively to 5,000 feet (1,525 m.). Being in the rain shadow of the western mountains, this is the driest area in Tasmania with a tendency toward a continental climate. Within the floor of the valley are several slow meandering rivers with chains of lagoons and intermittent ponds, all relics of a larger drainage system in the Pleistocene. The hill and mountain slopes on both sides of the valley are clothed in *Eucalyptus* woodland, but the valley floor itself was either sparsely wooded savannah parkland or open grass plains. The long and indented Tamar estuary gives access from these plains to the sea.

Language: This tribe had close cultural affiliations with the North East tribe, and probably spoke the same or similar language/dialect to it. This is what Schmidt called his North Eastern Language within his Eastern Language Group (1952:59–60) (O'Grady's North Eastern dialect within his Southern Language). As discussed in the preamble to this section, there is a possibility that some North Midlands people could speak the language of the Northern tribe, either because it was similar to their own or more likely because they had learned it as a foreign tongue. Further research into Robinson's word lists is possible (19 August 1831:406).

Population: We have little detailed information about the band names and structure of this group. Plomley has mapped only two different bands within the territory occupied by it—his numbers 46 and 13 (1966:971). His number 13 in the Campbelltown district, however, consists of at least seven names, and I agree with Plomley (1966:976), that some of these refer to different bands. There were certainly two different bands, probably three, and possibly up to five. Further detective work is possible and in the preamble to this section I have tried to clear part of the ground, or at least to indicate the kind of further research and cross checking that is required. In my figure 1 I have plotted two dots close together to indicate this central Midlands complex. A band that is prominent in Robinson's notes is the Tyerrernotepanner, whose core territory was near Campbelltown (20 October 1831:486) and whose seasonal movements can be analyzed with some detail.

There is much indirect archaeological and documentary evidence to indicate that the aboriginal population in the Midlands region was originally as high as anywhere else in Tasmania. Several times, groups of people estimated to have consisted of two hundred individuals were reported, for example at George Town on the Tamar, moving southward from Launceston to the Lake River, and at the Macquarie River (West, 1852, *2*:16; Walker 1898:184–186). Throughout the colonial literature, the Stony Creek tribe is referred to in the same terms as the Oyster Bay or Big River tribes, and it was one of the prime targets of the various punitive campaigns. I feel that the North Midlands tribe was the same size as the Oyster Bay tribe, possibly a little smaller. My guess is that it originally consisted of about 400 to 500 people. Whether this was a homogeneous group, or whether there was a tendency for polarization into a northern and a southern subgroup, is a question for further research.

Seasonal movement and political affiliation: Within their territory, the inland plains provided game, including forester kangaroos (*Macropus giganteus*). The rivers and lagoons would have acted as focuses for settlement, and numerous archaeological sites on their shorelines attest that this was the case. There are also sites and middens on the banks of the River Tamar (Brimfield, pers. comm.) which provided estuarine food as well as giving access to the north coast. There was considerable mobility from the plain to the wooded hills on the east and west with well marked roads and routes of travel (Robinson, 21–22 October 1831:488–489, 10–11 December 1831:547–548; Walker, 1898:184–186). Originally there was probably a seasonal patterning to these movements, but, unfortunately, not enough evidence has survived to analyze its structure.

Outside their territory we have three directions to consider:

1. *To the south:* There is ample evidence for long-stand-

ing hostile relationships between the North Midlands bands and those belonging to the Oyster Bay and Big River tribes to their southeast and southwest. Most of the tales of conflict told to Robinson by eastern Tasmanian natives featured fights between these two groups. These were either band fights or personal vendettas. In the usual manner of Tasmanian warfare, they were prosecuted by ambush, subterfuge, or treachery, and they often resulted in the death of one or several of the participants. Many of these recorded combats or ambushes took place near the tribal boundaries, for example—at the watershed of the Macquarie and Little Swanport rivers near Crown Lagoon; near the upper reaches of the Shannon; at Oatlands; on the shores of the Arthur Lakes. I doubt if North Midlands bands traveled much farther south of this border which ran in a curve down the spine of the Eastern Tiers, past Oatlands, and up toward the Big River country. Other fights took place in the northeast between North Midlands and various Oyster Bay natives, again probably close to the boundary between Oyster Bay and northeastern tribal territories (Robinson, 11 August 1831:396, 30 August 1831:416, 3 September 1831:419, 7–9 September 1831:421–422, 21 October 1831:488, 27 October 1831:494, 3 November 1831:500, 4 November 1831:502, 6 November 1831:506, 4 December 1831:538, 8 December 1831:545; Plomley, 1966:107 n. 65).

2. *To the northwest:* Some Midlands bands, such as the Tyerrernotepanner, had rights to travel onto the northern part of the Western Tiers and to forage around the Great Lake and possibly farther west to some of the high plateau country. They moved to the highlands through the Quamby Bluff pass, and possibly through smaller passes up the face of the Tiers themselves (Robinson, 9 December 1831:546). These excursions were along the northern edge of the Big River country, but they were regular, probably seasonal, and so must have been sanctioned. There is even a possibility that the crest of the Western Tiers around the northwestern part of the Great Lake was within the territory of some Midland bands, or at least that there was mutual access to them for people both from the plain and from the Big River. In December 1831 the Tyerrernotepanner were probably in this high country when Robinson was looking for them (21 October 1831:488, 5 December 1831:540, 6 December 1831:542, 8 December 1831:545, 17 December 1831:557).

Allied with these movements were visits to the Mount Vandyke ochre mine (Robinson, 12 December 1831:549). As discussed previously, I think that relations with the Northern tribe were neutral but cool. There is no suggestion that Midlands bands went farther westward than the Mount Vandyke area, and it is probable that complex feuding existed between at least some bands from both tribes (13 August 1831:398, 15 December 1831:554).

The west coast was beyond the midlander's geographical range, and its inhabitants were alien to them (Robinson, 22 September 1830:217, 21 August 1831:408). It is worth remembering, however, that Umarrah, a prominent and warlike man from Port Dalrymple absconded from Robinson's party at Trial Harbor on the west coast, and with two other men managed to find his way back via the north coast to his own country (Robinson, 12 May 1830:160; Plomley, 1966:107 n. 65, 230 n. 82). This was an atypical event and may never have happened in precontact times.

3. *To the northeast:* Relations with the North East and Ben Lomond tribes were close and usually amicable, all groups having in common the absence of watercraft, inability of the men to swim, and possibly styles of body decoration (Flinders, 1814:cxlviii–cliv; Robinson, 26 March 1830:139, 25 July 1831:389, 29 August 1831:415). Midlands bands traveled past Launceston to the east bank of the Tamar, and they visited some of the Ben Lomond country (Robinson, 3 September 1831:419, 19 October 1831:486). In late August 1831 Robinson met a remnant Midlands band consisting of seven people near the Forester River on the north coast. There were representatives of Campbelltown, Port Dalrymple, and probably northeast coast natives in the group, and they had been hunting kangaroo and emu, gathering swan's eggs, and had also gone to Waterhouse Point to collect shellfish. (22 August 1831:410, 29 August 1831:415, 1–2 September 1831:418). Thus there was access to the north coast and to its resources. These would have been especially plentiful during the late winter egging season and the midsummer mutton birding and sealing seasons. The possibility of a second route to the east coast up the valley of the South Esk and through St. Mary's Pass is discussed in the next section.

We are fortunate that Robinson mentioned the Tyerrernotepanner band or some of its key members so often, for they allow us to analyze the scale of movement of a single North Midlands band over a period of a year or two. The extreme ends of this range form a rough triangle with apices at Waterhouse Point, Mount Vandyke/Great Lake, and Crown Lagoon in the Eastern Tiers. The sides of this triangle are respectively approximately 85 miles, 85 miles, and 100 miles (140 km., 140 km., 160 km.) long, enclosing an area of about 3,500 square miles (9,000 sq. km.).

Ref.: Robinson, 1829–1834, especially the journals of his third and fourth expeditions (Plomley, 1966:242–

586). There are many references in the colonial literature to the "Stony Creek" and "Port Dalrymple" tribes, Backhouse, 1843:104; Walker, 1898:184–186; Turnbull, 1965:193, 209.

Ben Lomond Tribe

Location:

Coord.: 147°40′E x 41°30′S.

Area: 1,000 sq. m. (2,500 sq. km.).

Coast: nil (probable seasonal access).

This territory consisted of Ben Lomond Mountain and its neighborhood. The eastern and southern border probably followed the South Esk River. This rises on the northern flank of Ben Lomond flowing eastward, it then swings around the mountain in a clockwise direction to join the Macquarie River at Longford. The northern boundary coincided with the edge of the rain forest in a line from the upper valley of the South Esk westward to the North Esk River, and just south of the peaks, Mount Saddleback, Ben Nevis, and Mount Barrow.

Physiographically, the region is dominated by the mountain Ben Lomond which rises rapidly to a height of just over 5,000 feet (1,525 m.), with other peaks between 4,000 and 4,500 feet (1,200–1,350 m.). To the west are the flat Midland plains, the South Esk valley giving easy access to them from the mountainous country. There is a wide range of climatic conditions, from the lowlands and valleys that enjoy a climate similar to the rest of the North Midlands, to the mountain tops, with subalpine conditions. Ben Lomond supported a small ice sheet during the last glacial period. Most of the area has *Eucalyptus* forest with savannah woodlands and open plains in the valley of the South Esk River. Along the northern boundary there is a rain forest dominated by *Nothofagus,* and there is a small patch of rain forest at the head of St. Mary's Pass. The vegetation on the top of Ben Lomond consists of mountain moorland.

Language: Probably closely related to or identical with Schmidt's North Eastern Language.

Population: Little is known about the band composition of this group. By Robinson's time the area had become depopulated, and he did not penetrate it in search of people. Within Robinson's notes, there are three different names for bands located at the Ben Lomond district, and these probably refer to at least two separate groups (Plomley, 1966:970). I think that this tribe or subtribe was a small one living in isolated country, and that originally it may have consisted of only three or four bands, giving it a population of about 150 to 200 people. Roth (1899, appendix A:vi–vii) reproduced a list of names given in the Reverend Norman's vocabulary of natives belonging to the "Ben Lomond mob." I do not know yet how Norman, who lived at Port Sorell, was told this information nor if it referred specifically to Ben Lomond rather than to neighboring areas as well, but for the record, the list contains 63 names of men apparently all belonging to different individuals. Such a list would imply a total population of at least 150 people.

Seasonal movements and political affiliations: Unfortunately almost nothing is known of the economy of this people. I suspect that it may have been similar to that practiced by the southernmost forest bands of the North East tribe (Robinson, 14 July 1831:377). There was a belt of rugged unoccupied country separating the two groups (see discussion on the North East tribe). Ben Lomond people had some foraging rights on the northeast coast (15 November 1830:277). The existence of an aboriginal name for the small lagoon on the top of Ben Lomond implies, as Walker (1898:186) suggests, that people occasionally climbed to the very top of the mountain. There were close relations with some of the Midlands bands, so it is likely that regular excursions were made from the valleys to the plains. Some Midlands aborigines enjoyed foraging rights in the Ben Lomond hill country (Robinson, 19 October 1831:486).

Walker (1898:186) thinks that there may have been access to the east coast via the valley of the South Esk and St. Mary's Pass. There is no direct evidence for this, but this route is one of the few practicable ones from the inland to the northern part of the east coast and it is followed by the modern road. There is a patch of rain forest here and the pass is quite rugged, but that there was some aboriginal occupation or movement through the area is shown by the discovery of human relics in a bag found on Mount Nicholas at the head of the pass (Pulleine, 1924). The stretch of coast that this route led to lay at the boundary between the territories of the Oyster Bay and North East tribes. Robinson recorded no band owning the coast at this point, compared with a consistent coverage both to the north and south (Plomley, 1966:969). This may have been because the zone lay on the boundary between the two tribes. The St. Mary's Pass route would have given coastal access to Ben Lomond and possibly to some North Midlands bands without trespassing on the territories of the two east coast tribes.

As can be seen from the above account, we have little detailed information about the Ben Lomond tribe, and other workers may prefer to see it as a subtribe of the North Midlands group, rather than to give it a separate identity as I have done. There is scope for further literature research, particularly in the papers, official and otherwise, based on Launceston. Possibly the journals of John Batman may give some information.

Ref.: Robinson, 1829–1834 (Plomley, 1966); Backhouse, 1843:104; Walker, 1898:186.

Northeast

Location:

Coord.: 147°40′E x 41°10′S.

Area: 2,200 sq. m. (5,500 sq. km.).

Coastline: 160 miles (250 km.).

This territory encompassed the northeast coast from east of the Tamar Heads to Cape Portland, and then south to the Scamander River. Inland the boundary went in an arc to the north of the mountain ranges from Mount Young to Mount Barrow and then on to the Tamar valley whose eastern edge it followed to the north coast.

The northern slopes of Mount Arthur, Mount Barrow, Mount Young, and Blue Tier Ranges, with peaks over 3,000 and in some cases 4,000 feet (900–1,200 m.), give way to an extensive and relatively flat coastal plain. Many small winding rivers flow across this to the coast, which has many sandy beaches with extensive dunes and lagoons behind them. The rainfall follows a gradient from wet mountain slopes to dry conditions along the coast, where there are warm summers and mild winters. The mountain region supports a *Nothofagus* dominated rain forest. Elsewhere, there is *Eucalyptus* woodland with patches of open country, and along the north coast there is a belt of coastal heath. Today, this area supports a high population of native animals.

Language: North East Language of Schmidt's Eastern Language Group (North East dialect of O'Grady's Southern Language). Robinson's journals contain many new data about the language of this group which at various times he calls the "Cape Portland" language (2 July 1831:369). This information was not available to Schmidt and will be useful in checking and possibly in refining his conclusions.

Population: Although the aboriginal population in this area had been greatly disrupted by Robinson's time, he managed to record a surprising amount of information about the names and location of the bands that had previously lived there. Figure 1 shows the location of eight bands within this tribal area. A good coverage was achieved along the coast and in the northeastern corner. There may be a few gaps, however, for example at St. Helens on the east coast and in the wet sclerophyll country along the southern borders of the region, where the original population had become totally extinct (Robinson, 6 July 1831:372, 15 July 1831:378). Taking ten as the original number of bands, this gives us a population estimate of about 400 to 500 people for this tribe.

In January 1816 the sealer Kelly met a large group of aborigines at Eddystone Point in the northeast. This he called a "tribe" and it appeared to have been led by a prominent man or "chief" called Tolobunganah. Kelly estimated that the whole group consisted of about 200 or even 300 people, including women and children (Kelly in Bowden, 1964:38–42). Although this account was written several years after the event and there are minor inconsistencies between various versions of it (see Bowden, 1964:106–108), there is no need to doubt the substance of the story, though there may have been exaggeration in details. Kelly saw these people over a period of several days and was accompanied by another sealer Briggs who was married to some northeastern Tasmanian women, spoke the northeastern language, and knew several men of this group. A few days previously, Kelly had met another "tribe" led by Lamanbunganah, one of Briggs's fathers-in-law, near Cape Portland, about 15 miles (25 km.) away. This group was able to muster 50 fighting men. The two "tribes" were planning to have a fight and this together with the abundant coastal food at that time of year may have concentrated the population. In spite of all this, Kelly's account does give some indication of the number of people living in the northeastern region at that time, and it is compatable with my population estimate above.

Seasonal movements and political affiliations:

A. *Within their territory:* In the heaths and plains back from the coast, the country was kept open and clear by firing, so that movement was easy and not confined to narrow routes of travel (Robinson, 17 July 1831:380, 23 July 1831:385–386, 24 July 1831:388). Game included kangaroos, wallabies, emus, and possums. The coast itself and the lagoons and estuaries associated with it provided abundant food resources, including some that were seasonal. Winter, from late July to early September, was the egging season, when natives congregated around the lagoons and mouths of rivers to get the eggs of swans and ducks (20 July 1831:382, 6 August 1831:394, 2 September 1831:418). In summer, fur seals (*Arctocephalus* sp.) bred and raised their pups on the rocks off northeastern Tasmania, and numerous seal bones in middens there (Lourandos, 1968:43–46) confirm Kelly's account (Bowden, 1964:40–42) that this resource was exploited, probably intensively. The northeastern natives apparently did not possess watercraft (Flinders, 1814:cxlviii–cliv; Robinson, 26 March 1830:139), and the absence of any shell middens on Cape Barren and other islands of the Furneaux Group lends support to the view derived from the ethnographic literature that these islands were not visited. Banks Strait separating the islands from the mainland is some 13 miles (20 km.) wide. A few stone implements discovered there may date from late glacial

or early postglacial times (Tindale, 1941:145). Whether or not visits were made to some of the small offshore islands, such as Waterhouse or Swan, has not yet been investigated. The latter would certainly have been attractive because of the ochre and mutton birds on it (Robinson, 20 November 1830:280). Mutton bird eggs and young birds are easily collected or caught at the rookeries, of which there were some on the Tasmanian mainland along the northeast coast, and these were visited in summer from about November to March (20 November 1830:280, 24 November 1830:282). It can be seen that this coast and its immediate hinterland was capable of supporting a high aboriginal population during most seasons of the year. There may have been regional subgroups along this coast, one centered on Cape Portland and another to the west near Waterhouse Point. Occasionally, quarrels broke out between them (Kelly, 1815, in Bowden, 1964:36–38; Robinson, 14 August 1831:400).

Along the southern edge of the territory, the land rises into mountains and the open country gives way to dense wet sclerophyll forest with an overstory of large *Eucalypts* such as *E. obliqua* and *E. regnans* and an understory of temperate rain forest forms, together with fern glades. Within this, especially close to the northern edge of the forest, small plains were kept open by intensive burning. These provided a variety of food as well as affording easier access through the forest. There were well-marked "roads" consisting of tracks and chains of small plains running east-west near and parallel to what I estimate to be the southern boundary of this tribe. To the south of this is rugged mountainous rain forest country, most of which was probably not occupied by aboriginal man. This formed a strong physical boundary with the Ben Lomond and North Midlands people. One road led eastward from the Tamar probably north of Mount Barrow to the upper reaches of the Ringarooma River from which there was a route via the headwaters of the George River to George Bay or the Scamander River on the east coast. Other smaller routes gave access to the northern heaths (Robinson, 4 July 1831:371, 6–7 July 1831:372, 12–13 July 1831:376–377, 12 August 1831:397). Within this wet forested country, several bands, for example the *Py.em.mair.re.ner.pair.re.ner,* had their country. They subsisted on wombats, possums, and echidnas; and for vegetable food, on ferns, roots, and fungi of various types (Robinson, 2 July 1831:369, 6 July 1831:372, 14–15 July 1831:377–378). Ecologically, this country was similar to the inland territory of the northern tribe, and some of the adaptations made to it were also similar.

B. *Outside their territory:* We have no evidence about the extraterritorial movements, if any, of the northeastern bands. We do have information about the seasonal movement of other groups into their territory, and it is likely, given the nature of such social relationships in Tasmania, that some rights or products were given in return.

Because of the rugged nature of the southern boundary as discussed above, there were only two easy routes into the northeastern country, one from the Tamar by Launceston or George Town and round the Mount Barrow/Mount Arthur massifs and the other up the east coast past George Bay and either north by the Bay of Fires or inland in a northwesterly direction up the valley of the George River (12 August 1831:397).

Taking the eastern approaches first, as discussed in the section of the North Midlands tribe, we saw how Midlands and Port Dalrymple bands enjoyed extensive access to the northeast. Relations between the two tribes were usually friendly, and I suspect that the situation was similar with the Ben Lomond people.

Down the east coast corridor, relations with the bands of the Oyster Bay tribe were mostly hostile and warlike. Some of the northern bands of the Oyster Bay tribe, for example the one that Mannalargenna belonged to, must have had foraging rights in some of the northeastern country inland of Anson's Bay and the Bay of Fires on the east coast, for Mannalargenna knew this country well (Robinson, 13 August 1831:398). Several fights between his group and the northeasterners are also recorded. Kickerterpoller's band from Little Swanport at Oyster Bay had fought with the Pyemmairrenerpairrener band previously referred to, which lived in the forest country (6 July 1831:372). Some northeastern natives told Robinson of a fight that their tribe had had with the Oyster Bay tribe, when they killed two foolhardy young Oyster Bay men who had stayed to fight, the others having fled the evening before (1 August 1831:392). Other incidents have been documented in the section on the Oyster Bay tribe.

Ref.: Flinders, 1814:cxlviii–cliv; Kelly, 1815, in Bowden, 1964:36–43; Robinson, 1829–1834, especially the journal of the third expedition (Plomley, 1966:242–480); Walker, 1898:186; Schmidt, 1952:59–60.

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This bibliography is not intended to be complete. It supplements the Catalog of Australian Aboriginal Tribes and principally lists those books and papers that have proved useful in the identification and authentication of tribes, that have contributed to the confirmation of their geographical placement, or that have given alternative versions of names and variant spellings, even though they were thought to be erroneous or otherwise unacceptable. A cross index links such rejected terms with the accepted versions.

The works of each author are presented in order of publication by years, without regard to the alphabetization of titles. In the interests of compression a few very long titles have been shortened. Abbreviations used in the citing of journals in general follow those given in the work of John Greenway, *Bibliography of the Australian Aborigines* (Sydney, 1963). That work incorporated all the tribal references I had gathered and passed to Greenway up to the year 1956. Book titles are given in italics. Immediately following the abbreviation for the journal is given the city of publication. The numbers following indicate the volume number and the part number, if available, in parentheses, a colon separates these from the page numbers that follow. In the exceptional case of the London journal *Man*, where there is an anomalous system of recording, the last number refers to the paper in the journal instead of the page.

For one reason or another, one or two references are incomplete. They have been included in the hope that despite their inadequacy they may help some reader to trace additional information. Some of the manuscript material used has also been listed, especially where information on the tribe would be scant except for such. Unless otherwise stated, such manuscripts remain in the possession of the author who intends that they will be lodged for safekeeping in the South Australian Museum.

In the catalog and also in the general text authors are listed in the form Withnell, 1901; Smyth, 1878; Barlee in Curr, 1886. Using this method one minor difficulty arose when directing readers to the important and very great flow of papers published by R. H. Mathews (nearly 200 papers in 25 years). A solution devised to overcome the possibility of having to sort through as many as eleven papers in the one year was to quote the number assigned to the paper in the Greenway bibliography in parentheses, in the form Mathews, 1900 (Gr. 6506). These numbers are repeated in the Mathews listings in the following pages.

In the body of the catalog it has not been found practicable to link each author with his specific contribution. Any person engaged in detailed study of a given tribe would be expected to do this for himself by reading the sources. The data presented under each tribal heading indicate in succinct form the author's analyses of all available data, both that obtained during contacts with aboriginal members of the tribe and from a weighing of the information presented by others.

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INDEXES

General Index

This index serves the text of Part I and takes cognizance of the principal headings in Parts II and III.

Where there is relevant discussion of a tribe in Part I, the tribal name is linked with the page in Part II where the formal data about the tribe appears.

References to illustrations are given after the list of pages, in the following order: color plates (col. pl.), plates in black and white (pl.), text figures (fig.), and tables.

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